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OR, A

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OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, and ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS and TRACTS,

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With HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and CRITICAL NOTES.

WITH

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TO

His most Gracious MAJESTY,

GEORGE II.

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND,

KING, Defender of the Faith, &c.

This FIRST VOLUME

OF THE

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Is most humbly inscribed, by,

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Most faithful, and

Most obedient Subject,

Thomas Osborne.

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*** The *Pedigree of General MONK*, a certain Gentleman deſires to be publiſhed, being found imperfect; it ſhall be publiſhed as ſoon as compleated; being my conſtant Endeavours to oblige every Subſcriber in their Recommendation of any Pamphlet in our Power.

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A new Looking-Glass for the Kingdom: Wherein those, that admire the late Governments, may have a true Prospect of Liberty and Slavery, and take their Choice, 1690, *Folio*, containing Half a Sheet 590

A modest Account of the wicked Life of that grand Impostor, *Lodowick Muggleton*; wherein are related all the remarkable Actions he did, and all the strange Accidents that have befallen him ever since his first Coming to *London*, to this 25th of *January*, 1676. Also, a Particular of those Reasons which first drew him to these damnable Principles. With several pleasant Stories concerning him, proving his Commission to be but counterfeit, and himself a Cheat, from divers Expressions which have fallen from his own Mouth. Licensed according to Order, 1676, *4to*, containing 6 Pages 593

An Epitaph, or, rather, a short Discourse made vpon the Life and Death of D. *Bonner*, sometime vnworthy Bishop of *London*, whiche dyed the 5th of *September*, in the *Marshalsie*, 1569, *12mo*, containing 14 Pages 595

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH the Scheme of the following *Miſcellany* is ſo obvious, that the Title alone is ſufficient to explain it; and though ſeveral Collections have been formerly attempted upon Plans, as to the Method, very little, but, as to the Capacity and Execution, very different from Ours; we, being poſſeſſed of the greateſt Variety for ſuch a Work, hope for a more general Reception than thoſe confined Schemes had the Fortune to meet with; and, therefore, think it not wholly unneceſſary to explain our Intentions, to diſplay the Treaſure of Materials, out of which this *Miſcellany* is to be compiled, and to exhibit a general Idea of the Pieces which we intend to inſert in it.

The INTRODUCTION.

THERE is, perhaps, no Nation, in which it is ſo neceſſary, as in our own, to aſſemble, from Time to Time, the *ſmall* Tracts and *fugitive* Pieces, which are occaſionally publiſhed: For, beſides the general Subjects of Enquiry, which are cultivated by us, in common with every other learned Nation, our Conſtitution in Church and State naturally gives Birth to a Multitude of Performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other Place.

THE *Form* of our *Government*, which gives every Man, that has Leiſure, or Curioſity, or Vanity, the Right of enquiring into the Propriety of publick Meaſures; and, by Conſequence, obliges thoſe, who are intruſted with the Adminiſtration of *National* Affairs, to give an Account of their Conduct, to almoſt every Man, who demands it, may be reaſonably imagined to have occaſioned *innumerable* Pamphlets, which would never have appeared under *arbitrary* Governments, where every Man lulls himſelf in Indolence under Calamities, of which he cannot promote the Redreſs, or thinks it prudent to conceal the Uneaſineſs of which he cannot complain without Danger.

THE Multiplicity of *Religious Sects* tolerated among us, of which every one has found Opponents and Vindicators, is another Source of unexhauſtible Publication, almoſt peculiar to ourſelves; for, *Controverſies* cannot be long continued, nor frequently revived, where an *Inquiſitor* has a Right to ſhut up the Diſputants in Dungeons, or where Silence can be impoſed on either Party, by the Refuſal of a *Licenſe*.

NOT that it ſhould be inferred from hence, that *Political* or *Religious* Controverſies are the *only* Products of the *Liberty* of the *Britiſh Preſs*; the Mind once let looſe to Enquiry, and ſuffered to operate without Reſtraint, neceſſarily deviates into peculiar Opinions, and wanders in new Tracks, where ſhe is indeed ſometimes loſt in a Labyrinth, from which, tho' ſhe cannot return, and ſcarce knows how to proceed; yet, ſometimes, makes uſeful Diſcoveries, or finds out nearer Paths to Knowledge.

THE boundleſs Liberty, with which every Man may write his own Thoughts, and the Opportunity of conveighing new Sentiments to the Publick, without Danger of ſuffering either Ridicule or Cenſure, which every Man may

may enjoy, whoſe Vanity does not incite him too haſtily to own his Performances, naturally invites thoſe, who employ themſelves in Speculation, to try how their Notions will be received by a Nation, which exempts Caution from Fear, and Modeſty from Shame; and it is no Wonder, that where Reputation may be gained, but needs not be loſt, Multitudes are willing to try their Fortune, and thruſt their Opinions into the Light, ſometimes with unſucceſsful Haſte, and ſometimes with happy Temerity.

It is obſerved, that, among the Natives of *England*, is to be found a greater Variety of Humour, than in any other Country; and, doubtleſs, where every Man has a full Liberty to propagate his Conceptions, Variety of Humour muſt produce Variety of Writers; and, where the Number of Authors is ſo great, there cannot but be ſome worthy of Diſtinction.

All theſe and many other Cauſes, too tedious to be enumerated, have contributed to make *Pamphlets* and *ſmall Tracts* a very *important* Part of an *Engliſh* Library; nor are there any Pieces, upon which thoſe, who aſpire to the Reputation of *judicious* Collectors of Books, beſtow more Attention, or greater Expence; becauſe many Advantages may be expected from the Peruſal of theſe ſmall Productions, which are ſcarcely to be found in that of larger Works.

If we regard *Hiſtory*, it is well known, that moſt *Political* Treatiſes have for a long Time appeared in this Form, and that the firſt Relations of Tranſactions, while they are yet the Subject of Converſation, divide the Opinions, and employ the Conjectures of Mankind, are delivered by theſe *petty* Writers, who have Opportunities of collecting the different Sentiments of Diſputants, of enquiring the Truth from living Witneſſes, and of copying their Repreſentations from the Life; and, therefore, they preſerve a Multitude of particular Incidents, which are forgotten in a ſhort Time, or omitted in formal Relations, and which are yet to be conſidered as Sparks of Truth, which, when united, may afford Light in ſome of the darkeſt Scenes of State, as, we doubt not, will be ſufficiently proved in the Courſe of this *Miſcellany*; and which it is, therefore, the *Intereſt* of the Publick to preſerve unextinguiſhed.

THE ſame Obſervation may be extended to Subjects of yet more Importance. In Controverſies that relate to the Truths of Religion, the firſt Eſſays of Reformation are generally timorous; and thoſe, who have Opinions to offer, which they expect to be oppoſed, produce their Sentiments, by Degrees; and for the moſt Part in *ſmall Tracts*: By Degrees, that they may not ſhock their Readers with too many Novelties at once; and in *ſmall Tracts*, that they may be eaſily diſperſed, or privately printed; almoſt every Controverſy, therefore, has been, for a Time, carried on in Pamphlets, nor has ſwelled into larger Volumes, till the firſt Ardor of the Diſputants has ſubſided, and they have recollected their Notions with Coolneſs enough to digeſt them into Order, conſolidate them into Syſtems, and fortify them with Authorities.

FROM *Pamphlets*, conſequently, are to be learned the *Progreſs* of every Debate; the various State, to which the Queſtions have been changed; the Artifices and Fallacies, which have been uſed; and the Subterfuges, by which Reaſon has been eluded: In ſuch Writings may be ſeen how the Mind has been opened by Degrees, how one Truth has led to another, how Error has been diſentangled, and Hints improved to Demonſtration. Which Pleaſure, and many others are loſt by him, that only reads the *larger Writers*, by whom theſe ſcattered Sentiments are collected, who will ſee none of the Changes of Fortune, which every Opinion *has paſſed through*, will have no Opportunity of remarking the tranſient Advantages, which Error may ſometimes obtain, by the Artifices of its Patron, or the ſucceſsful Rallies, by which Truth regains the Day, after a Repulſe; but will be to him, who traces the Diſpute through, into particular Gradations, as he that hears of a Victory, to him that ſees the Battle.

SINCE the Advantages of preſerving theſe *ſmall Tracts* are ſo numerous; our Attempt to unite them in Volumes cannot be thought either *uſeleſs* or *unſeaſonable*; for there is *no other* Method of ſecuring them from Accidents; and they have already been ſo long neglected, that this Deſign cannot be delayed, without hazarding the Loſs of many Pieces, which deſerve to be tranſmitted to another Age.

THE

THE Practice of publiſhing Pamphlets, on the moſt important Subjects, has now prevailed more than *two Centuries* among us; and, therefore, it cannot be doubted, but that, as no large Collections have been yet made, many curious Tracts muſt have periſhed; but it is too late to lament that Loſs; nor ought we to reflect upon it, with any other View, than that of quickening our Endeavours, for the Preſervation of thoſe that yet remain, of which we have now a *greater Number*, than was, perhaps, ever amaſſed by any *one* Perſon.

THE firſt Appearance of Pamphlets among us is generally thought to be at the new Oppoſition raiſed againſt the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. Thoſe, who were firſt convinced of the Reaſonableneſs of the *New Learning*, as it was *then* called, propagated their Opinions in ſmall Pieces, which were cheaply printed; and, what was then of great Importance, eaſily concealed. Theſe Treatiſes were generally printed in foreign Countries, and are not, therefore, not always very correct. There was not then that Opportunity of Printing in *private*, for, the Number of Printers were ſmall, and the Preſſes were eaſily overlooked by the Clergy, who ſpared no Labour or Vigilance for the Suppreſſion of *Hereſy*. There is, however, Reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome Attempts were made to carry on the Propagation of Truth by a *ſecret* Preſs; for one of the firſt Treatiſes, in Favour of the Reformation, is ſaid, at the End, to be printed *at Greenwich, by the Permiſſion of the Lord of Hoſts.*

IN the Time of King *Edward the Sixth*, the Preſſes were employed in Favour of the *Reformed* Religion, and *ſmall Tracts* were diſperſed over the Nation, to reconcile them to the new Forms of Worſhip. In this Reign, likewiſe, *Political* Pamphlets may be ſaid to have been begun, by the Addreſs of the Rebels of *Devonſhire*; all which Means of propagating the Sentiments of the People ſo diſturbed the Court, that no ſooner was Queen *Mary* reſolved to reduce her Subjects to the *Romiſh* Superſtition; but ſhe artfully, by a *Charter* * granted to certain Freemen of *London*, in whoſe Fidelity, no doubt, ſhe confided, intirely prohibited *all* Preſſes, but what ſhould be licenſed by them; which Charter is that by which the Corporation of *Stationers*, in *London*, is at this Time incorporated.

* Which begins thus, KNOW YE, that WE conſidering, and manifeſtly perceiving, that ſeveral *ſeditious* and *heretical* Books or *Tracts* —— againſt the Faith and ſound Catholic Doctrine of holy Mother, the Church, &c.

UNDER

UNDER the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when Liberty again began to flouriſh, the Practice of writing Pamphlets became more general; Preſſes were multiplied, and Books more diſperſed; and, I believe, it may properly be ſaid, that the *Trade of Writing* began at this Time, and that it has ever ſince gradually increaſed in the Number, though, perhaps, not in the Stile of thoſe that followed it.

IN this Reign, was erected the firſt *ſecret* Preſs againſt the Church as now Eſtabliſhed, of which I have found any certain Account. It was employed by the *Puritans*, and conveighed from one Part of the Nation to another, by them, as they found themſelves in Danger of Diſcovery. From this Preſs iſſued moſt of the Pamphlets againſt *Whitgift*, and his Aſſociates, in the Eccleſiaſtical Government; and, when it was at laſt ſeized at *Mancheſter*, it was employed upon a Pamphlet, called, *MORE WORK FOR A COOPER.*

IN the peaceable Reign of King *James*, thoſe Minds, which might, perhaps, with leſs Diſturbance of the World, have been engroſſed by War, were employed in Controverſy; and Writings of all Kinds were multiplied among us. The Preſs, however, was not wholly engaged in Polemical Performances, for more innocent Subjects were ſometimes treated; and it deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it is not generally known, that the Treatiſes of *Huſbandry* and *Agriculture*, which were publiſhed about that Time, are ſo numerous, that it can ſcarcely be imagined by whom they were written, or to whom they were ſold.

THE next Reign is too well known to have been a Time of Confuſion, and Diſturbance, and Diſputes of every Kind; and the Writings, which were produced, bear a natural Proportion to the Number of the Queſtions that were diſcuſſed at that Time; each Party had its Authors, and its Preſſes, and no Endeavours were omitted to gain Proſelytes to every Opinion. I know not whether this may not properly be called, *The Age of Pamphlets*; for, though they, perhaps, may not ariſe to ſuch Multitudes as Mr. *Rawlinſon* imagined, they were, undoubtedly, more numerous than can be conceived by any who have not had an Opportunity of examining them.

AFTER

AFTER the Reſtoration, the ſame Differences, in Religious Opinions, are well known to have ſubſiſted, and the ſame Political Struggles to have been frequently renewed; and, therefore, a great Number of Pens were employed, on different Occaſions, till, at length, all other Diſputes were abſorbed in the *Popiſh* Controverſy.

FROM the Pamphlets which theſe different Periods of Time produced, it is propoſed, that this *Miſcellany* ſhall be compiled; for which it cannot be ſuppoſed that Materials will be wanting, and, therefore, the only Difficulty will be in what Manner to diſpoſe them.

THOSE who have gone before us, in Undertakings of this Kind, have ranged the Pamphlets, which Chance threw into their Hands, without any Regard either to the Subject on which they treated, or the Time in which they were written; a Practice, in no wiſe, to be imitated by us, who want for no Materials; of which we ſhall chuſe thoſe we think beſt for the *particular* Circumſtances of *Times* and *Things*, and moſt inſtructing and entertaining to the Reader.

OF the different Methods which preſent themſelves, upon the firſt View of the great Heaps of Pamphlets, which the *Harleian Library* exhibits, the two which merit moſt Attention, are to diſtribute the Treatiſes according to their *Subjects* or their *Dates*; but neither of theſe Ways can be conveniently followed. By ranging our Collection in *Order of Time*, we muſt neceſſarily publiſh thoſe Pieces firſt, which leaſt engage the Curioſity of the Bulk of Mankind, and our Deſign muſt fall to the Ground for Want of Encouragement, before it can be ſo far advanced as to obtain general Regard: By confining ourſelves for any long Time to any *ſingle Subject*, we ſhall reduce our Readers to one Claſs, and, as we ſhall loſe all the Grace of Variety, ſhall diſguſt all thoſe who read chiefly to be diverted. There is likewiſe one Objection of equal Force, againſt both theſe Methods, that we ſhall preclude ourſelves from the Advantage of any future Diſcoveries, and we cannot hope to aſſemble at once all the Pamphlets which have been written in any Age or on any Subject.

It may be added, in Vindication of our intended Practice, that it is the ſame with that of *Pliny*, whoſe Collections are no leſs Miſcellaneous than ours, and who declares, that he leaves it to his Reader, to reduce his Extracts under their proper Heads.

Most of the Pieces, which ſhall be offered in this Collection to the Publick, will be introduced by ſhort Prefaces, in which will be given ſome Account of the Reaſons for which they are inſerted; Notes will be ſometimes adjoined for the Explanation of obſcure Paſſages, or obſolete Expreſſions; and Care will be taken to mingle Uſe and Pleaſure through the whole Collection. Notwithſtanding *every Subject* may not be reliſhed by *every Reader*; yet the Buyer may be aſſured that each Number will repay his generous Subſcription.

THE

REASONS

WHICH INDUCED

Her MAJESTY.

To Create the RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT HARLEY, Eſq;

A PEER of *Great-Britain*, in the Year 1711.

There can be no Objection againſt the Prefixing the Reaſons for Creating the Right Honourable ROBERT HARLEY, *Eſq*; a Peer of GREAT-BRITAIN, *and* Earl of OXFORD ; *eſpecially, as the valuable* Collection, *intended to be publiſhed in* this Form, *was made by the Greatneſs of his* Knowledge *in all Branches of Learning, and at the vaſt* Expence *of that noble Family. He*, that noble Peer, *who always encouraged Learning, and was the* Mecenas *of learned Men in his Time ; whoſe* Patent *of Creation extols him, and ennobles him with the Title of the Univerſity of* OXFORD *on that particular Account ; and whoſe chiefeſt Delight, in his Leiſure from the Care he took of the Good of the Nation in General, was to be* conſtantly *among his* Books ; *by which Familiarity, he is ſaid to have acquired ſo particular a Knowledge of them* ALL, *as to be able, without a Catalogue, to go immediately to the leaſt of them, upon hearing of it named, tho' his Library conſiſted of more than* 100000 *different Authors : He, I ſay, cannot be denied the firſt Place in this* Miſcellany, *which eſteems it an Honour to bear his Name. A Name, that, when alive, gave Life to Learning, and, by this Monument of Learning, ſhall live for ever, in the real Eſteem of learned Men.*

WHATEVER Favour may be Merited from a Juſt Prince, by a Man Born of an Illuſtrious and very Ancient Family, fitted by Nature for Great Things, and by *all Sorts of Learning* qualified for greater ; Conſtantly Employed in the Study of State Affairs, and with the Greateſt Praiſe, and no Small Danger, exerciſing Variety of Offices in the Government : *So much* does Our Well-beloved and very Faithful Counſellor *ROBERT HARLEY* deſerve at Our Hands : He, who in Three Succeſſive *Parliaments*, was Unanimouſly choſen *Speaker* ; and, at the ſame Time that he filled the Chair, was Our Principal *Secretary of State :* In no wiſe unequal to either Province. Places, ſo ſeemingly diſagreeing, were eaſily reconciled by One, who knew

how with equal Weight and Addreſs to Moderate and Govern the Minds of Men *: One who could preſerve the *Rights* of the *People*, without infringing the *Prerogative* of the *Crown*: And with thoroughly underſtood how well *Government* could conſiſt with *Liberty*. This Double Talk being performed, after ſome ſhort Reſpite, he bore the Weight of Our *Exchequer* as *Chancellor*, and thereby prevented the further *Plundering* † the Nation, and alſo provided for the Settling a New Trade to the *South* Seas, and (by Reſcuing Public Credit ‡) ſo opportunely Relieved the Languiſhing Condition of the *Treaſury*, as to deſerve Thanks from the *Parliament*, Bleſſings from the *Citizens*, and from *Us* (who never ſeparate Our *Own* Intereſts from the *Public*) no Small Approbation. Therefore, we Decree to the Man that has ſo Eminently Deſerved of *Us*, and of all our Subjects, thoſe Honours which were long ſince due to *Him* and his *Family*, being induced thereto by our own Good Pleaſure, and the Suffrage of all *GREAT-BRITAIN*. For we take it as an Admonition, that *He* ſhould not in Vain be Preſerved, whom the *States* of our *Realm* have Teſtified to be obnoxious to the Hatred of Wicked Men, upon Account of his moſt Faithful Services to Us, and whom they have Congratulated upon his Eſcape from the Rage of a *Flagitious Parricide* ‖. We gladly indulge their Wiſhes, that He who comes thus recommended to us by ſo Honourable a *Vote* of both Houſes of *Parliament*, ſhould have his Seat among the *Peers*, to many of whom his Family have been long allied, and that He who is Himſelf *Learned*, and a *Patron* of *Learning*, ſhould happily take his Title from that City, where *Letters* do ſo Gloriouſly Flouriſh.

Now Know ye, &c.

* *His Prudence* kept quiet, and brought to Temper, the Heats and Paſſions of Parties; and ſuffered not the two Sides of Whig and Tory to meet together in a Storm; but cauſed them to ebb gently, and to loſe themſelves inſenſibly in the great Ocean of *Moderation*.

His Conduct reſcued the Church from Danger; protected the Diſſenters in their Toleration Liberty; preſerved the Union from the Infractions of *Jacobites* and the *Pretender*, and quieted the Minds of the People in Matters of Religion, and the *Hanover* Succeſſion. See the *Spectator*'s *Addreſs*, Pages 10, 11.

† *His Wiſdom* overthrew a *Management*, that, under the Pretence of Keeping up Credit, concealed the Circumſtances of the Nation, till it ran *ſeven Millions* in Debt, and knew nothing of the Matter. *Id.* p. 9.

‡ At that Time the *Creditors of the Government* gave 22 *per Cent.* Diſcompt for Money on the Government's Bills. *Id. ib.*

‖ The *Marquis de Guiſcard*, who was a *French* Refugee, and, in Conſideration of his noble Birth and Misfortunes, was at that Time ſupported with a Penſion of 400 *l. per Ann.* from the Crown of *England*; but held ſecret Correſpondence with the *French* Miniſtry; which being detected by Mr. *Harley*, this *Guiſcard* was ſeized by the Queen's Meſſengers, in St. *James*'s Park, on the 8th of *March* 1711, and brought before the Committee of Cabinet Council at the *Cock-pit*; where, the Fact being clearly proved by Mr. *Harley*, the Villain ſtooped down, and ſaying, *J'en veux donc a'toy*; *Then have at thee*; ſtabbed the honourable Mr. *Harley*. Redoubling the Stroke, the Penknife broke, which he was not ſenſible of; but, ruſhing on towards Mr. *St. John*, overthrew the Clerk's Table that ſtood between. Mr. *St. John*, ſeeing Mr. *Harley* fall, cried out, *The Villain has killed Mr.* Harley. Then Mr. *St. John* gave him a Wound, as did the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Duke of *Newcaſtle*. But, Mr. *Harley* getting up, and walking about, they left the Villain's Execution to them to whom it more properly belonged; hoping that Mr. *Harley* was ſlightly hurt. But, when *Buſſier*, the Surgeon, ſearched the Wound, the Penknife was found ſtruck a-ſlant, and buried in the Wound. Had it been an Inch lower, it had touched the *Diaphragma*, and then all the World could not have ſaved his Life: And, if it had pierced a Nail's Breadth deeper, it muſt have reached his Heart. Mr. *Harley* took the broken Blade out himſelf, and, having wiped it, called for the Handle, and ſaid, *They belong to me*. And then, being dreſſed, ordered the Surgeon to take Care of Monſieur *de Guiſcard*. See this more at large, in the true Narrative of this Fact, publiſhed by *John Morphew*, 1711.

An ESSAY upon the Original and Design of Magistracy: Or, a modest Vindication of the late Proceedings * in *England.*

As to the Author *of this excellent Tract, we can say no more, than that he was equally an* Hater *of* Rebellion *and* Tyranny; *an* impartial *and* judicious *Writer*; *that he had the* public *Peace and Prosperity more at Heart, than any* private *View to serve himself*; *and, if it may be allowed to guess, by his Expression in several Places, he seems to have been a* North-Britain.

As to the Design *of it*; *it was to prove the* just *Rights of the* Prince *and* People; *to expose* Tyranny *and* Rebellion; *to explode the Doctrine of* absolute Non-Resistance; *to clear the Prince of* Orange, *and the* English *Nation that adhered to him in the* Revolution, *from all Imputation of* Rebellion, *&c. to prove that King* James the Second *was a* Tyrant; *and the Necessity of preserving the Succession to the Crown of* Great-Britain *in the* Protestant *Line. All which is done with that Conciseness and Perspicuity, and so free from Passion and Faction, that, I presume, will recommend it to every true Lover of our present* happy Constitution.

AS the right Knowledge of the *Supreme Magistrate* is the *Basis* and *Foundation* of our *Submissions*, and the Cause of all the Blessings, which flow from a well-tempered *Government*; so the Misapprehensions, and false Notions, that many People, either through Ignorance, or the Prejudice of Education, frame to themselves of his *Power*, are no less remarkable for their contrary Effects.

We fall into two *Extremes* equally dangerous, if either we give the People so much Liberty, that the *Magistrate* cannot go about these great Ends, for which he was designed, but, like a *Weather-cock*, is turned about at the Pleasure of the *Mobile*; or such a boundless Power to the *Magistrate*, as makes the Property of the Subject altogether precarious, depending upon the Caprice of an insatiable *Monarch*.

To keep a just *Balance*, we must consider *Magistracy*, as it was first instituted by *God Almighty*, before it was depraved by the Ambition, Pride, and Avarice of those, who were invested in it. So that, in its Original, it may be defined, a Power delegated from God, for maintaining Order, rewarding the Virtues, and punishing the Crimes of Mankind; the Application of which Power is left *free* to any independent People or Nation.

It cannot be doubted, but that God, as Creator of all Things, might, in his own Person, have exercised a *Sovereign Power* over all his *Creatures*, which since he was not pleased to do: He thought fit, in his infinite Wisdom, to appoint his *Lieutenants* here on *Earth*, to whom he communicates some Rays of his *Divine Majesty*, both to beget a greater Reverence for their Persons, and procure a chearful Obedience from those that were to be subject; so that the profound Deference, and blind Submission, which *Millions* of Men pay to a *Mortal*; perhaps, subject to as many Infirmities as the most Part of those he rules over, can be ascribed to nothing else but the firm Persuasion of a *Divine Institution*: But, that we may the more admire the Goodness of God in ordaining *Magistracy*, he hath no less proposed Man's Happiness, than his own Glory,

* Concerning King *James* II. in the Year 1688.

that we might find it our Intereſt, as well as Duty, in Obeying. For tho' Man was born free, and, conſequently, by Nature, deſirous of Liberty; yet, an unbounded Freedom could have done him very little Service in a natural State, when Innocency was no Protection from the Oppreſſion of the Stronger; but Rapines, Violence, and Murder were the chief Ways of acquiring Right, in this univerſal *Chaos*, where *homo* was *homini Lupus*, nothing was thought *unlawful*, that Ambition, Malice, or Cruelty, could propoſe; ſo that the *Weaker* were driven to a Neceſſity of uniting their Forces againſt the *Stronger*. Then began they to erect *Societies*, and make *Laws* for regulating them; the Executing of which Laws was committed to one or more Perſons, as the *major* Part of the Society thought fit to truſt, who had the Name of *Captain*, *General*, or *King*: It was he who led them out to *Battle*, who diſpoſed of *Prizes*, and puniſhed *Malefactors*; his Commands were eaſily obeyed, becauſe but few; and all juſt, honeſt, and profitable. Theſe had not learned the *Arcana Imperii*, or ſecret Ways to enſlave their People; but their eminent Virtue and ſingular Valour both procured their Dignity, and maintained them in it; and having no *ſycophant Flatterers* about them, to abuſe their eaſy Credulity, they had not forgot that the People's Liberty was reſigned for no other End, but for obtaining a greater Happineſs under their Protection, than what they could have propoſed, if every Individual had retained it in his own Perſon.

There is no other Original of *Magiſtracy* to be learned from *Sacred* or *Profane Hiſtory*; for tho' the *Patriarchs* had the Government of their own Families (which, by reaſon of their long Age, were very numerous) yet that Right was derived from the Law of Nature, and not from any *Civil Obligation*: They had for the moſt Part no fixed Habitation, but lived as *Strangers* and *Sojourners*, by the Favour of other Princes, and were never modeled into a *Commonwealth*.

When *Dominions* were enlarged, and *Empires* began to be erected, different Forms of Government were eſtabliſhed, according to the various Inclinations of the People; when the *Conqueror* gave Laws to the *Conquered*, it was called *Deſpotic*; but when a free People did enter into a Contract, and give up their Liberty on certain Conditions, it was called a *Limited Government*, and theſe Conditions the *Fundamental Laws*.

This *Sovereignty* was either entailed upon a particular Family for conſiderable Services done to the *Commonwealth*, or it was only to be held during Life, whence Succeſſion and Election.

There is a *Majeſty* in every free State, which is nothing elſe but an independent Power upon Earth, tied to no Laws, but theſe of God; theſe of Nature and Nations, and the Fundamental Laws of a Kingdom.

This *Majeſty* is either real, or perſonal; *real* is that Independency, which every free State hath in Relation to one another; *perſonal*, that Right, when it is lodged in a particular Perſon; which, tho' it be inſeparable from the *Sovereign Power*, for the greater Splendor, yet it may be violate, when the *real* remains intire, otherwiſe the Freedom and Independency of a Nation would be extinct, by the Death or Captivity of the Prince.

To *Majeſty* or *Sovereign Power* are annexed the *Regalia* or *Regal* Right, which are, more or leſs, according to the Meaſure of Liberty given from, or reſerved to the People, or their Repreſentatives at the firſt Conſtitution: For Inſtance, a King may have Power to make War and Peace, and yet cannot raiſe Money; the *Legiſlative Power* may be alſo divided, as it is in *England*, betwixt *King* and *Parliament*, and generally in all mixed *Governments*; for that Maxim, that *jura Majeſtatis ſunt indiviſa*, does only take Place in an *abſolute Monarchy*.

That Power, which the People reſerveth from the *Sovereign*, is called *Liberty*, and it is either *Tacite* or *Expreſs*; *Tacite* Liberty is the Exemption of ſuch Things as cannot fall under the Cogniſance of the *Supreme Power*, which may be reduced to three. *1ſt*, *Religion*, or the Empire over the Conſcience, which belongs only to *God Almighty*. *2dly*, The Power of *Life* and *Death*, till we forefault them by the *Divine Law*, or *Municipal Laws* of a *Kingdom*. *3dly*, Our *Goods* and *Heritages*, which cannot be taken from us without a *Judicial Proceſs*, or when the Good of the *Commonwealth*, we live in, requires a Share of them. Theſe three Privileges were ever reſerved in the moſt *ample Reſignation of Liberty*; the *Firſt* we cannot give away, becauſe not ours; we have Right to the *Second*, as Men, who are to be governed by Reaſon; to the *Third*, as Members of a *Society* or *Commonwealth*.

Expreſs

Expreſs Liberty is a *Stipulation*, whereby ſome Things are by expreſs Paction *eximed* from the Power of the *Sovereign*, by the People or their Repreſentatives; which Reſervations are called *Privileges*, and are either thus eſtabliſhed by Contract and Agreement at the firſt Conſtitution, or are afterwards granted by Princes, when they would either oblige or gratify their People; as was the *Magna Charta* in *England*, and the Edict of *Nantes* in *France*: Or when they deſire any Favour from them, as was the *Golden-Bull*, wherein the Emperor, *Charles the Fourth*, granted conſiderable Immunities to the *Electors*, to engage them to chuſe the ſtupid *Venſiaſlus*, his Son, Succeſſor in the *Empire*.

This Property of the *Subject* hath ever been the *Eye-ſore* of *Monarchs*, tho' he has as juſt a Claim to *it*, as theſe have to their *Crowns*; and whoever goes about to ſubvert it, diſſolves the Conſtitution, and forefaults his own Title; ſince the ſame Laws, that beſtowed this, at the ſame Time ſecured that; and maintaining the one was made an inſeparable Condition of poſſeſſing the other. Neither can a Rape, committed on our Liberty, be excuſed, upon Pretence that Authority is derived from Heaven. For, the *Great Sovereign* of the *Univerſe*, ordained *Magiſtracy* for the Preſervation, not the Deſtruction of Mankind; and he never ſent down any Perſon or Family from Heaven, with a Commiſſion to enſlave a People or Nation, to whom the Application of the *Civil Power* was left abſolutely free: So that they might beſtow it on whom, and after what Manner they pleaſed; for, tho' God loves Order, yet he never approved of Tyranny and Oppreſſion; and he, who is all Juſtice and Mercy, can never be ſuppoſed to authoriſe what is contrary to both. So that whoſoever acts beyond his Commiſſion, and devours the *Flock*, inſtead of protecting it, is ſo far from being God's *Vicegerent*, that he is to be looked on as the common Enemy of Mankind.

The Violation of the Subjects Property is called *Tyranny*. A Name, which, at firſt, did only ſignify the *Regal Power*; but, when Liberty began to be oppreſſed, through the Ambition, Wickedneſs, or evil Management of the Governors, it was made Uſe of, to denote the *Exceſs* of *Power*.

There are two Sorts of *Tyrants*, thoſe in *Title*, and thoſe in *Adminiſtration of the Government*. The *firſt* Sort is he, who *uſurps* the *Crown* without any Title or juſt Pretence; as did *Oliver Cromwel* in *England*. Of the *other*, one who hath a juſt Right to the Crown; but, poſtponing the public Good, acts *arbitrarily*, and *contrary* to Law: Such a *Tyrant* was *Philip the Second* of *Spain*.

The Want of a Title, or a bad one, may be ſupplied by Preſcription, or the ſubſequent Conſent of the People; to which, perhaps, the moſt Part of *Princes* muſt at laſt recur, unleſs they would derive their *Pedigree* from one of the Sons of *Noah*, and inſtruct an uninterrupted Succeſſion ever ſince.

Tyranny is the moſt miſerable Condition a *Commonwealth* can be in; it diſſolves the Union betwixt *King* and *Subject*, and expoſes both to all the Miſeries that attend a *Civil War*, and to the Hazard of falling under a *Foreign Power*: Yea, even tho' a *Tyrant* ſhould be ſucceſsful in his Attempt, yet is he as far from his Happineſs as ever; for, beſides the inward Remorſes that inceſſantly gnaw his Conſcience, he ſuſpects all Men, fears every Thing, and is moſt juſtly hated by all: So that they did not repreſent a *Tyrant* ill, who drew him ſitting under a Canopy of State, feaſting in great Riot, with a naked Sword hanging over his Head.

What Remedy is there then againſt ſo great an Evil? Are we *tamely* to *ſubject* our Necks to a Yoke ſo inſupportable to the more refined Sort of Men? Or are we to *reſiſt* the *Supreme Magiſtrate* and reclaim him *by Arms* when other Means prove ineffectual? The Difficulty is great, and each Opinion hath had its Champions, who writ Volumes in Defence of their Cauſe.

The horrid Parricide of King *Charles* I, in the Middle of this Age *, was with great Heat and Zeal defended by *Milton* †, and impugned by the learned *Salmaſius*, who being a Stranger to our Conſtitution, and the Tranſactions of our Country (I ſpeak it with Reverence to ſo great a Man) did but weakly defend ſo good a Cauſe, in endeavouring to prove, that *Tyranny* was not to be reſiſted, whereas he ſhould have evinced (as eaſily he might) That *Charles* I. was a *good Prince* and *no* Tyrant.

* *Anno* 1648, in the Seventeenth Century.

† The Poet and Author of *Paradiſe Loſt*, &c.

The

The present Revolution ‡ in *England* revives the Dispute and engages me, contrary to my Humour, to impart my Thoughts to the Public, with no other Design than to contribute my mean Endeavours for vindicating the Nation's Honour from the heavy Imputations of *Treason* and *Rebellion*; and, if I can make out That Resistance in some Case is lawful, I doubt not but I shall be easily able to demonstrate That the present Taking up Arms by the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England*, in Defence of their *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*, is both *just* and *necessary*.

There are *three* Degrees of *Resistance*. The *first* is the Taking up Arms against the *Civil Magistrate*. The *second* is, The Deposing him, and Shaking off our *Allegiance*. The *third* proceeds to the Inflicting of *capital Punishment*. Which last seems inhuman; because God has placed a certain Sacredness in the Person of Princes, so that none *can touch the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless:* And the *Depriving* them of their Crowns is a great enough Punishment; and our Injuries are sufficiently repaired, when we are out of the Hazard of being any more obnoxious to them. The *other Two* may be allowed of, provided the Remedies be applied by *fit Persons*, after a *due Manner*, and with *such Caution*, as a Matter of so great Importance does require.

First, By *fit Persons*, as the Nobility, Gentry; and other Representatives of the Nation, who, as they are most concerned in the Laws, are supposed to understand them, and, consequently, are the best Judges of Liberty. And they are Persons of so much Honour that it were a Piece of ill Breeding to suspect them of Partiality.

Secondly, The Tyranny must be *evident* and *manifest*; some few tyrannical Acts do not constitute Tyranny; private Injuries must be suffered, rather than hazard the *public Peace*; there must be a wilful *Subversion of the Laws*, not those of lesser Moment, but such as shake the very Foundations of Government. *David*'s Murder and Adultery were very arbitrary and tyrannical, and yet did not make him a Tyrant; for, human Frailty is still to be indulged, seeing, on this Side of Time, Perfection is not to be expected.

Thirdly, This is a violent Remedy, and, consequently, should be the last, it ought to be gone about with the greatest Deliberation and Circumspection imaginable; when Addresses, Petitions, Supplications, and such gentle Methods prove ineffectual.

Fourthly, The *Commonwealth* must be in such Danger, that the whole Fabric would otherwise be dissolved and overturned.

Lastly, The Effectuating of the Design must be certain, otherwise, we fall into a worse Evil, than what we seek to shun; for, *Confusion* and *Anarchy*, are worse than *Tyranny*; and a wounded Head is better than none at all.

What is objected against this Opinion, from the *Old* and *New Testament*, is very judiciously refuted by the Author of the *Inquiry into the Measures of Submission*.

The *second* Argument is taken from the *Oath of Allegiance*, which Subjects swear to their Prince, whereby they engage *never* to rise in Arms against him. To which, it is answered, That this Oath is accessory to the Contract agreed on betwixt the King and People, and so must follow the Nature of its *Principle*. The Nature of all Contracts is *obligatory* on both Parties; so that, if one of the Parties fail in the performing his Part, the other is loosed from his Obligation. As it is in this Case, the People devolve the Power on the Prince upon certain Conditions, expressly specified: The Accepting of a Crown, on such Terms, binds the Prince to perform the Conditions; if he does not perform them, he, in Effect, renounces his Right, and tacitely consents that it return to those, who bestowed it.

Lawyers say, that Contracts can only oblige *Equals*; and therefore no Paction betwixt King and Subject can be binding. There is no Force in this Argument, if we advert that, when this Stipulation was made, the *Prince* and *Subjects* were *equal*, and were only distinguished *after* the Power was conferred.

Thirdly, They instance, that this does not bind the Successor. To which, it is answered, That the *Prince* engages for himself and Successors; who, if they would reap the Advantage from their *Predecessors*, must have also the Disadvantage of being tied to the same Rules they were adstricted to. But, for the further Security, none is admitted to the Government, till they take the *Coronation Oath*.

‡ K. *James* II's Mission, Flight, and Abdication of the Crown in 1688.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, They upbraid us with the Example of the *Primitive Christians*, who suffered the *Persecution* of *Heathen Emperors*, with the greatest Moderation and Patience. I do admire, as well as they, the Constancy, Patience, and other Virtues, which these holy Men were endued with; but their Case and ours is quite different: *Paganism*, at that Time, was established by *Law*, and *Christianity* condemned; the Professors whereof suffered, as the *Disturbers of the public Peace*; but, blessed be GOD, the *Law is now on our Side*; and our Religion is become a great Part of our Property; and the Peace of our Country does very much depend on the Preservation of it: Besides, if the *Christian Religion* had been propagated by Arms, its Worth had been diminished, and the Reputation of the first Founders of *Christianity* had very much suffered; whereas the Morality and Justice of all its Precepts, the Holiness and Purity of its Doctrine, were of sufficient Efficacy to recommend it; and the Constancy and Resolution, with which the first *Christians* suffered Martyrdom, were strong Motives to convince the *Pagan World* of the Truth of it. But in our *Christian Commonwealth*, where there are no more *Heathens* to convert, as the *Robbing* us of our Religion would be the highest Act of Injustice, so the Parting with it, *tamely*, would argue the greatest Stupidity and Inconcernedness that Men can be capable of.

The only Difficulty that remains, is, Who shall be Judge of the *Prince*'s Actions, to know when he is a *Tyrant*, and when not? If it were allowed to the *Prince himself*, he would be too partial: If we should constitute a Right in the *People*, they would be too apt to misconstrue the *Prince*'s Actions (which should ever receive the most benign Interpretation that the Subject can admit.) So that, to shun both Inconveniencies, the Controversy must be decided by the *Laws* of the Kingdom. There is just such a Plea betwixt the *Church of Rome*, and the *Protestants*, concerning a *Judge of Controversies*: They contend for the *Pope*, *as Christ's Vicar*; and reject the *Scriptures*, which we believe are the only *Rule of Faith*; and that, in them, all Things, which *relate to Salvation*, *are clearly set down*, so that those of the meanest Capacities may easily understand them.

In a *Politic State*, the *Supreme Magistrate* is sworn to rule according to the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, which we must suppose are known both to King and People; because they are a *Rule* to direct the Government of the one, and a *Measure* of the Obedience of the other, and were fairly enacted at the *first Constitution*. It is true, indeed, that if a Law, made by the Civil Power, contains any Obscurity, the sole Power of interpreting that Law belongs to the *Lawgivers*; but we must imagine the Fundamental Laws full of Perspicuity, and, except there be a *notorious Violation* of them, Resistance can never be lawful.

What has been said on this General Head, will not answer the Design of this Paper, if it cannot be applied to the *present* State of Affairs in *England*: For it is of no Purpose to prove, That *Tyranny is to be resisted by Arms*; unless we make it appear, That the *English Government* had altogether degenerated into Tyranny; and that the Taking up of Arms, under the auspicious Conduct of his Highness the *Prince of Orange*, was no rash Act, but done after mature Deliberation, and with all the Circumspection, that an Affair of so great Importance did require.

The great and earnest Endeavours, to have the *Bill of Exclusion* passed *, did sufficiently evince, what Fears and Jealousies the Parliament had of the Danger to which their Religion and Liberties would necessarily be exposed under a *Popish Successor*. His *Majesty's* † Behaviour, since he came to the Crown, has clearly demonstrated, that these Fears were not groundless; for, not being content to introduce the *Popish Religion*, so much contrary to Law, he hath endeavoured to alter the whole Frame of the Constitution, and swallow up all our Liberties and Privileges, in an *Arbitrary* and *Despotic Power* ‡.

First, The first Step was made against the Freedom of *Parliaments* (which makes up a great Part of the Government, by their having a Share of the *Legislative Power* lodged in them) by their issuing out *Quowarranto's* against all the *Burghs* and *Corporations* in *England*. The most Part of them, either through Fear or

* In King *Charles* the Second's Time, against the Duke of *York*, a *Papist*, afterwards King *James* the Second, whose Principles were destructive of our Religion and Ecclesiastical State, and all the Laws by which our Church was established. † King *James* the Second. ‡ See his Commission for erecting an *Ecclesiastic Commission* Court.

Force,

Force, did ſurrender their *Charters* to the King, who placed ſuch Magiſtrates in them, as he was moſt aſſured of, and, by this Means, did altogether invert the Freedom of Election.

Secondly, Nothing could be more contrary to Law, than the erecting of *Seminaries* of *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* in all the *Capital Cities of his Dominions*; yea, ſuch Confidence hath he repoſed in that Order, that he hath committed the Direction of his Conſcience to ‖ one of its Fathers, and was not aſhamed to own himſelf a Son of their Society.

Thirdly, His Pretence to a *Diſpenſing Power* was no mean *Breach* of his *Coronation Oath*; for, by it, he uſurped the whole *Legiſlative Power*; and would have impoſed on the People (in procuring the Votes of the *Twelve Mercenary Judges*) if they had not wiſely foreſeen the dangerous Conſequences, and feared that his *Majeſty* would farther oblige his *Roman Catholic Subjects*, by Repealing all the *Laws* that were enacted in Favour of the *Proteſtant Religion*.

It was by Vertue of this *Diſpenſing Power*, that the *Eccleſiaſtic Commiſſion* was eſtabliſhed; the *Biſhop of* London *ſuſpended*; the *Fellows of* Magdalen *College turned out*: And, becauſe the *Biſhops* of *England* would not ſo far juſtify his illegal Pretences, as to cauſe their Clergy to read the *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience* § from their *Pulpits*, they quickly ſaw all the fair Promiſes made them evaniſh, and the *Loyal Church of* ENGLAND was firſt branded with the infamous Character of *Trumpeters* of Rebellion, and afterwards treated as the worſt of *Criminals*; a very bad Recompence for that great Zeal, with which they had ever preached up the impracticable Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*.

Fourthly, In Proſecution of the bleſſed Deſign of reducing *Heretics* to the *See of Rome*, all Ways were taken to diſcourage *Proteſtants*, who were not only debarred from Offices and Employments of any Truſt, unleſs upon ſuch Conditions, as the Court pleaſed to impoſe, but were even turned out of thoſe that had been *heritable* to their Families; and a great Part of the *Militia* was intruſted to *Roman Catholics*, of Purpoſe to *over-awe* the *Parliaments*, in Caſe the next Aſſembly ſhould have proved ſtubborn.

Fifthly, Though by many Laws the holding *Correſpondence*, any Way, with *Rome*, be declared *High-Treaſon*, yet hath his *Majeſty* had his *Reſident* there, and received his *Nuncio* here, to the great Scandal of all good *Proteſtants*, and true-hearted *Engliſhmen*: For it is in Effect a Subjecting the Kingdom to a Slavery, from which our Anceſtors had moſt gloriouſly delivered us. Theſe Things were acted in the Face of the Sun *, and none can deny them without renouncing the moſt comfortable of all his Senſes; yea, the King himſelf did ſufficiently acknowledge them, by his ſudden reſtoring the City Charters, *Magdalen College*, and ſome other of the groſſer Sort of Abuſes, upon the firſt Information he got of the *Prince*'s † *Declaration*.

The King's old Age, and the fair Proſpect of a *Proteſtant Succeſſor*, made us ſuffer theſe Things patiently, becauſe we hoped to be very ſhortly delivered from them; but, to deſpair us, and cut off all our Hopes, and to puniſh the *Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, for refuſing to comply with the King's Will, there is a ſudden Rumour ſpread of the Queen's being with Child, which, as it did alarm the whole Kingdom, ſo it made theſe, who were moſt concerned, be at ſome Pains to be aſſured of the Truth of it; and yet, after their moſt exact Enquiry, their Doubts were increaſed.

The Court was not ignorant of all this, and yet would not give themſelves the leaſt Trouble to ſatisfy Them, though *they had the* greateſt Intereſt in the *World to do it*.

The Place of the Queen's lying in was ſo uncertain, and the Management of the Birth ſo myſterious; the ſending away the *Princeſs of* Denmark ‡, the impriſoning the *Biſhops* in the *Tower*, gave more than probable Grounds to ſuſpect an *Impoſture*; and though theſe be but Preſumptions, and have not the Strength of a full Probation, yet they transfer a Neceſſity of eliding them by clearer Evidences.

Thus, our Religion, Liberties, and Laws being ready to ſink, when gentle Methods had proved ineffectual, when Addreſſes and Supplications, even from the moſt loyal Part of the

‖ Father *Peters*, a *Jeſuit*, and one of his Privy Council. § Calculated to introduce Popery, againſt all the Laws in Force againſt that Superſtition. * As ſhall be more particularly ſhewn in the Courſe of this Miſcellany. † Of *Orange*. ‡ Afterwards Queen *Anne*, who was married to Prince *George* of *Denmark*.

Nation,

Nation, were counted so many Acts of Treason, it was high Time to recur to that Remedy which Nature seems to dictate to every Individual in its own Defence.

That Zeal, with which his *Highness the Prince of* Orange, had ever espoused the *Protestant* Interest against all its Adversaries, made the Nobility and Gentry of *England* unanimously pitch on him as the fittest Person to be their Deliverer; and, both he and his *Princess* being so nearly interested in the Succession, no rational Man can blame him for appearing in Arms and demanding Satisfaction that Way, which hitherto had been refused him. If the Remedy had been delayed, it is more than probable, the greater Part of the Nation had fallen a Sacrifice to *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*.

I shall conclude all with a short Reflection upon his *Majesty's* leaving the Kingdom, and going for *France*, which Action alone hath done him more Hurt, than all the rest together; for, by depriving us of that *Protection*, which we might expect from his Government, he looses his Subjects from that *Allegiance* they swore unto, upon *no other* Condition, than *so long as they should enjoy so great a Benefit:* Neither can any, who knows his Majesty's Temper, impute his Flight to Fear or Cowardice, but rather of his being conscious of a *certain Guilt*, which did banish him from one of the greatest *Stations in the World*, and robbed him of that Bravery and Resolution, that he is naturally attended with; and which though he had wanted, yet Innocency had supported him, and made him out-brave all the malicious Calumnies of his Enemies, with such an heroic Constancy of Mind, as seldom or never fails to come off *victorious*.

The *Prince* * had also acquainted him in his *Declaration*, that he had no other Design in coming to *England*, than to refer all the Grievances of the Nation, and his own Pretences, to a *Free Parliament*. Neither the King, nor any Man else, could ever accuse this Prince with the least Breach of Promise: And, though he had been wanting in that Reverence that is due to the Character of an *Uncle* and *Father-in-Law*, yet the Prince's own Interest had secured the King from any harsh Treatment; for, if any Thing had been attempted against his Person, the Nation's Eyes had been opened and would have seen clearly, that these specious Pretences of Liberty and Property were but so many Delusions, and such a Treatment certainly had deserved the greatest Resentment.

But if the King must needs go, can he find no Place for Shelter but *France?* Where so much *Protestant* Blood hath been so lately shed †, with the greatest Cruelty and Barbarity that ever was heard; he cannot be ignorant that his Subjects have a natural Aversion for that Nation, and that his close and constant Correspondence with its *Monarch* gave them just Jealousies to apprehend, that there was more than an ordinary Friendship betwixt them, which was every Day increased, by his copying so near the Methods that had been used in that Nation, for suppressing the *Protestant Religion*, and establishing ‡ *Arbitrary Government*.

* Of *Orange*. † Against the Faith of solemn Treaties and National Laws.

‡ Of which Jealousies we can have no better Idea than what is strongly conveighed to Posterity, by an ingenious Author, who wrote soon after, in these Words:

" Though I was never much surprised and alarmed with *popular* or *artificial Fears* and *Jealousies* " (which will perhaps make a Noise, even in the most promising Seasons, as long as the World endures) " yet, when *Matter of Fact* is *notoriously* plain and evident; when *tyrannical*, base, and undermining Prin- " ciples are seconded with Power, Revenge, and successful Issues; it is a weak Piece of Bravery merely " to defy Danger, and rank Folly and Stupidity not to be *nationally* concerned.

" The *Politics* of *France* are now fairly legible in Speeches and Bravadoes, in Actions and Menaces, and " many self-evident Tokens of a designed *Usurpation*; and we are not only to expect the same burning Ef- " fects from the same damning Cause; but have also too just and apparent Reason to fear, that we shall " be graduated up, through all the decent Forms of ingenious Cruelty, and the several Stages of Torture " to a more solemn and ceremonious Death, if ever *Popery* lift up its Head in *England*.

" Perhaps, the more dull and half-witted *Priests* may content themselves with a short fiery Trial; with " the plain and old-fashioned Way of sacrificing Heretics to the *Roman Idol*; and I have Charity to be- " lieve, there are many *kind* and *good-natured Romanists* amongst us, who are so much our Friends, as to " shrink and tremble even at the Thoughts of *such* Barbarities as these: But all their *good Wishes* must " prove but vain and plausible Nothings, when the insolent *Jesuit* has once got the Ascendant, and is " roaring up and down with *Racks*, *Wheels*, and *Damnation* in his Mouth, and all the *Terrors* of the *ten* " *Persecutions:* And what will a *Not Swearing*, or, *Who would have thought it*, signify, when our Gates " are

ment. And, if the King ‡ have any Hopes to reduce his Subjects by invading them on the Head of a *French Army*, he will find them but ill grounded; for, inſtead of reconciling them to him, ſo dangerous and improper a Method would even alienate the Hearts of his beſt Friends, and *Britain* would ſhew itſelf as forward to fight againſt *Popery* and *Tyranny*, as it was averſe from giving Proofs of its Courage, when it muſt needs have been fatal to Liberty and the *Proteſtant* Religion.

" are ſet open to that *Royal Thunderer*, who has been ſo far influenced by his beloved Oracles, and the omnipotent Charms of canonical Executioners, as to give no Reſt either to the World or himſelf; and " whoſe magnified Conduct bears a near Reſemblance to that awful Sort of Majeſty, which Mr. *D——n* " preſents us with, in his notable Deſcription of a *Bull* after this Manner:

While, Monarch-like, he rang'd the liſted Field,
Some toſs'd, ſome gor'd, ſome trampling down he kill'd.

‡ *James* II.

VOX REGIS.

As an APPENDIX *to what hath been ſaid, we ſhall preſume to annex Part of King* James the Firſt's *Speeches to the Parliaments in* 1603, *and* 1609, *who was Grandfather to King* James the Second: *As alſo his Advice to his Son in his* Baſilicon Doron; *which* Appendix *is intitled,* VOX REGIS: *Or, the Difference betwixt a King Ruling by* Law, *and a Tyrant by his* Own Will; *and, at the ſame Time, declaring his Royal Opinion of the Excellency of the* Engliſh *Laws, Rights, and Privileges,* viz.

In his Speech to the Parliament 1603, he expreſſeth himſelf in theſe Words, *viz.*

'I Do acknowledge, that the ſpecial and greateſt Point of Difference that is betwixt a *rightful King*, and an *uſurping Tyrant*, is in this: That whereas the proud and ambitious Tyrant doth think his Kingdom and People are only ordained for Satisfaction of his Deſires, and unreaſonable Appetites, *The righteous and juſt King doth, by the contrary, acknowledge himſelf to be ordained for the procuring of the Wealth and Proſperity of his People; and that his great and principal worldly Felicity muſt conſiſt in their Proſperity:* If you be rich, I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot but be fortunate: and, I proteſt, your Welfare ſhall ever be my greateſt Care and Contentment. And, that I am a Servant, it is moſt true, that, as I am Head and Governor of all the People in my Dominion, who are my natural Subjects, conſidering them in diſtinct Ranks, ſo if we will take in the People as one Body, *then as the Head is ordained for the Body, and not the Body for the Head, ſo muſt a righteous King know himſelf to be ordained for his People, and not his People for him.*

'Wherefore, I will never be aſhamed to confeſs it my *principal Honour, to be the great Servant of the Commonwealth*, and ever think the Proſperity thereof to be my greateſt Felicity, &c.

In

In his Speech to the Parliament, *March* 21, 1609, he expreſseth himſelf as followeth:

'IN theſe, our Times, we are to diſtinguiſh betwixt the State of Kings in the firſt Original, and between the State of ſettled Kings and Monarchs, that do at this Time govern in Civil Kingdoms: For even as God, during the Time of the Old Teſtament, ſpake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles; yet, how ſoon it pleaſed him to ſettle a Church (which was bought and redeemed by the Blood of his only Son Chriſt) then was there a Ceſſion of both: He ever after governing his Church and People within the Limits of his *revealed Will*. So in the firſt Original of Kings, whereof ſome had their Beginning by *Conqueſt*, and ſome by *Election* of the People, their Wills at that Time ſerved for a Law; yet, how ſoon Kingdoms began to be ſettled in Civility and Policy, then did Kings ſet down their Minds by Laws, which are properly made by the King only; but, at the Rogation of the People, the King's Grant being obtained thereunto; and ſo the King came to be *Lex loquens*, a ſpeaking Law, after a Sort, binding himſelf, by a double *Oath*, to the Obſervation of the *Fundamental Laws* of his Kingdom: Tacitly, as by being a King, and ſo bound to protect as well the People, as the Laws of his Kingdom; and expreſly by his *Oath* at his Coronation: So as every juſt King, in a ſettled Kingdom, is bound to obſerve that *Paction* made to his People by his Laws, in framing his Government agreeable thereunto, according to that Paction which God made with *Noah* after the Deluge: *Hereafter, Seed-time and Harveſt, Summer and Winter, Cold and Heat, Day and Night ſhall not ceaſe, ſo long as the Earth remains. And therefore a King, governing in a ſettled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as ſoon as he leaves off to rule according to his Laws.* In which Caſe, the King's Conſcience may ſpeak unto him, as the poor Widow ſaid to *Philip* of *Macedon*, Either govern according to your Law, *aut ne Rex ſis*, or ceaſe to be King; and, though no Chriſtian Man ought to allow any Rebellion of People againſt their Prince; yet doth God never leave Kings unpuniſhed, when they tranſgreſs theſe Limits *. For in that ſame *Pſalm*, where God ſaith to Kings, *Vos dii eſtis*, *Ye are Gods*, he immediately thereafter concludes, *But ye ſhall die like Men.* The higher we are placed, the greater ſhall our Fall be; *Ut caſus ſic altior*, as the Fall, ſo the Grief; the taller the Trees be, the more in Danger of the Wind; and the Tempeſt beats ſoreſt upon the higheſt Mountains. *Therefore, all Kings that are no Tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bind themſelves within the Limits of their Laws, and they that perſuade them the contrary, are Vipers and Peſts, both againſt them and the Commonwealth.* For it is a great Difference betwixt a King's Government in a ſettled Eſtate, and what Kings, in their original Power, might do in *Individuo vago*: As for my Part, I thank God, I have ever given good Proof, that I never had Intention to the contrary: And I am ſure to go to my Grave with that Reputation and Comfort, that never King was, in all his Time, more careful to have his Laws duly obſerved, and himſelf to govern thereafter, than I.

'Juſt Kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the Curſe of God. I will not be content that my Power be diſputed upon, but I ſhall ever be willing to make the Reaſon appear of all my Doings, and rule my Actions according to the Laws.

And, afterwards, ſpeaking of the Common Law *of* England, *which ſome conceived he contemned, ſaith to this Purpoſe:* 'That, as a King, he had leaſt Cauſe of any Man to diſlike the *Common Law*; for, no Law can be more favourable and advantageous for a King, and extendeth further his Prerogative, than it doth; and for a King of *England* to deſpiſe the *Common Law*, it is to neglect his own *Crown*. It is true, that no Kingdom in the World but every one of them hath their own *Municipial* Laws, agreeable to their Cuſtoms, as this Kingdom hath the *Common* Law. Nay, I am ſo far from diſallowing

* See this verified in the Perſons of King *Charles the Firſt*, and King *James the Second*, his Son and Grandſon.

'the Common Law, as I proteſt, that, if it 'were in my Hand to chuſe a new Law for 'this Kingdom, I would not only prefer it 'before any other *National* Law, but even be-'fore the very *Judicial* Law of *Moſes*, for 'Conveniency to this Kingdom at this Time, 'though, in another Reſpect, I muſt ſay, both 'our Law and all other Laws elſe are very in-'ferior to that Judicial Law of God; for no 'Book nor Law is perfect nor free from Cor-'ruption, except only the Book and Law of 'God. And, therefore, I could wiſh, that 'ſome Corruptions might be *purged* and *clear-'ed* in the Common Law, but always *by the 'Advice of Parliaments*; for the King with 'his Parliament, *here* *, are abſolute in mak-'ing or forming of *any Sort* of Laws.

'*Firſt*, I could wiſh that it were written 'in our *Vulgar Language* †; for now it is an 'old mixed corrupt Language, only under-'ſtood by Lawyers; whereas every Subject 'ought to underſtand the Law under which 'he lives; for, ſince it is *our Plea* againſt the '*Papiſts*, that the Language in God's Service 'ought not to be in an *unknown Tongue*, 'according to the Rule in the Law of *Mo-'ſes*, that the Law ſhould be written in the 'Fringes of the Prieſt's Garment, and ſhould 'be publickly read in the ears of all the peo-'ple; ſo, methinks, ought *our Law* to be 'made as *plain*, as can be to the People, that 'the Excuſe of Ignorance may be taken from 'them for conforming themſelves thereunto.

'*Next*, Our Common Law hath not a '*ſettled Text*, being chiefly grounded upon *Old 'Cuſtoms*, which you call *Reſponſa Prudentum* '—— I could wiſh that ſome more cer-'tain were ſet down in this Caſe by Parlia-'ment; for ſince the *Reports* themſelves are 'not always ſo binding, but that divers Times 'Judges do diſclaim them, and recede from 'the Judgment of their Predeceſſors; it were 'good that upon a mature Deliberation the *Ex-'poſition* of the Law were ſet down by Act of 'Parliament, and ſuch Reports therein con-'firmed as were thought fit to ſerve for Law 'in all Times hereafter, and ſo the People 'ſhould not depend upon the *bare Opinions* of 'Judges, and *uncertain Reports*.

'And *laſtly*, there be in the Law *contrary* 'Reports and Precedents; and this Corruption 'doth likewiſe concern the *Statutes* and *Acts* 'of Parliament, in Reſpect there are divers 'croſs and cuffing Statutes, and ſome ſo pen-'ned as they may be taken in divers, yea con-'trary Senſes. And, therefore, would I wiſh 'both thoſe Statutes and Reports, as well in the 'Parliament as Common Law, to be once ma-'terially reviewed and reconciled.

'And that not only *Contrarieties* ſhould be 'ſcraped out of our Books, but that even ſuch '*penal Statutes*, as were made but *for the Uſe 'of the Time* (for Breach whereof no Man can 'be free) which do not *now* agree with the 'Condition of this our Time, might likewiſe 'be left out of our Books, which under a ty-'rannous and avaricious King could not be en-'dured.

'And this Reformation might, we think, 'be made a worthy Work, and well deſerves 'a Parliament to be ſet of Purpoſe for it, *&c.*'

And as to the Point of Grievances *He tells 'them*, That there are *two* ſpecial Cauſes of the 'People's preſenting Grievances to their King 'in Time of Parliament.

'*Firſt*, For that the King cannot at other 'Times be ſo well informed of all the Grie-'vances of his People, as in Time of *Parlia-'ment*, which is the Repreſentative Body of 'the whole Realm. *Secondly*, The Parliament 'is the higheſt Court of Juſtice, and therefore 'the fitteſt Place where divers Natures of Grie-'vances may have their proper Remedy by the 'Eſtabliſhment of good and wholeſome Laws: 'Wherein he addreſſes himſelf eſpecially to the 'Lower Houſe, who, as repreſenting the Body 'of the People, may as it were both *Opportunè* '& *Inopportunè*, in Seaſon and out of Seaſon; 'I mean either in Parliament as a Body, or out 'of Parliament as private Men, preſent your 'Grievances unto me.——

'I am not to find Fault that you inform 'yourſelves of the particular Grievances of 'the People: *Nay I muſt tell you, ye can nei-'ther be* juſt *nor* faithful *to* me *or to* your Coun-'tries, *that truſt and employ you, if you do not*; '*for true Plaints proceed not from the Perſons 'employed, but from the Body repreſented, which 'is the People.* And it may very well be, that 'many Directions and Commiſſions, juſtly 'given forth by me, may be abuſed in the 'Execution thereof upon the People, and 'yet I never receive Information, except it 'come by your Means at ſuch a Time as this is.'

* In *England*.

† This has been lately enacted by the Parliament.

To

To which we may add what he ſaith to his Son, in his *Baſilikon Doron*, p. 155, 156, of his Works, *viz.*

'FOR the Part of Making and Executing of Laws, conſider firſt the true Difference betwixt a lawful King and an uſurping Tyrant, and ye ſhall the more eaſily underſtand your Duty herein; for *contraria juxta ſe poſita magis eluceſcunt*. The one acknowledgeth himſelf ordained for his People, having received from God a Burden of Government, whereof he muſt be accountable; the other thinketh his People ordained for him, a Prey to his Paſſions and inordinate Appetites, as the Fruits of his Magnanimity: And, therefore, as their Ends are directly contrary, ſo are their whole Actions, as Means whereby they preſs to attain to their Ends. A good King thinketh the higheſt Honour to conſiſt in the due Diſcharge of his Calling, imployeth all by Study and Pains to procure and maintain, by the Making and Execution of good Laws, the Welfare and Peace of his People; and, as their natural Father and kindly Maſter, thinketh his greateſt Contentment ſtandeth in their Proſperity, and his greateſt Surety in having their Hearts, ſubjecting his own private Affections and Appetites to the Weal and Standing of his Subjects, ever thinking the Common Intereſt his chiefeſt Particular; whereby the Contrary, an uſurping Tyrant thinking his greateſt Honour and Felicity to conſiſt in attaining *per fas aut nefas*, to his ambitious Pretences, thinketh never himſelf ſure but by the Diſſenſion and Factions among his People, and counterfeiting the Saint, while he once creep in Credit, will then (by inverting all good Laws to ſerve only his only private Affections) frame the Common Weal ever to advance his Particular, building his Surety upon his People's Miſery; and in the End (as a Step-Father and an uncouth Hireling) make up his own Hand upon the Ruins of the Republic; and, according to their Actions, ſo receive they their Reward.

'For a good King, after a happy Reign, dieth in Peace, lamented by his Subjects, admired by his Neighbours, and, leaving a Reverence behind him on Earth, obtaineth the Crown of eternal Felicity in Heaven. And, although ſome of them (which falleth out very rarely) may be cut off by the Treaſon of ſome unnatural Subjects, yet liveth their Fame after them, and ſome notable Plague faileth never to overtake the Committers in this Life, beſides their Infamy to all Poſterities hereafter.

'Whereby the Contrary, a Tyrant's miſerable and infamous Life armeth in the End his own Subjects to become *by Burreaux*; and, although that Rebellion be ever unlawful on their Part, yet is the World ſo wearied of him, that his Fall is little meaned by the reſt of his Subjects, and but ſmiled at by his Neighbours. And, beſides the infamous Memory he leaveth behind him here, and the endleſs Pain he ſuſtaineth hereafter, it oft falleth out, that the Committers not only eſcape unpuniſhed, but farther, the Fact will remain as allowed by the Law in divers Ages thereafter.

'It is eaſy then for you, my Son, to make Choice of one of theſe two Sorts of Rulers, by following the Way of Virtue to eſtabliſh your Standing.'

A Plea for Limited Monarchy, as it was eſtabliſhed in this Nation, before the late War; in an humble Addreſs to his Excellency, General *MONK*, by a Zealot for the good old Laws of his Country, before any Faction or Caprice, with Additions.

Optima Libertas, ubi Rex, cum Lege, gubernat.

Printed in the Year MDCLX.

This excellent Tract is ſaid to be written by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, *and, without the Heat of Party or Faction, conveys to us a deſirable Repreſentation of true* Engliſh *Liberty, only to be ſupported by Monarchy; and the eminent Danger it fell into by* Anarchy, *in the Time of the great Rebellion, and may properly be recorded as an efficacious Antidote againſt* Republicans *and* State-Levellers.

SIR,

FInding, by ſeveral Letters, publiſhed in your Name, that you profeſs a more than ordinary Zeal to *popular* Government; and not knowing any Thing herein, that can ſo miſlead you, but the glorious Pretence of a *Free State* (a Notion, which hath even intoxicated many, otherwiſe, great and worthy Perſons) I held it my Duty, *firſt*, to acquaint you, how neceſſary it is to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Form and Eſſence of a Commonwealth; the Miſtake whereof (each for the other) hath proved ſo fatal in our Times*: *Next*, to examine, whether thoſe that ſurfeited of our *kingly* Government, and longed for Novelty, have not, indeed (like the Dog in the Fable) loſt the Subſtance of Liberty and Happineſs, in Purſuit of the Shadow.

Our fierce Champions of a *Free State* will not, I preſume, maintain, that it is ſubject to no Violations, leſt woeful Experience confute, and force them to confeſs, either that a Commonwealth may degenerate, or, at leaſt, that this never was a Commonwealth: And, as they muſt renounce their Senſes, ſo they muſt deny the Faith of Story, which proves, that Republicks have been ſometimes invaded with *Uſurpation*, ſometimes debauched and embaſed with *Oligarchy*, moſtly, by Reaſon of their Weakneſs and Diviſions, ſubdued or forced to truckle under their neighbouring Princes; always tormented with Faction. Neither, indeed, do they themſelves offer any Argument but ſuch, as, in Effect, beg the Queſtion, by preſuppoſing great Unity in the Coalition, great Probity in the Intention, and great Purity in the Exerciſe; which, doubtleſs, being admitted, we ſhould ſo little need to differ about Forms, that, perhaps, we ſhould ſcarce need any Government at all. The ſtouteſt Aſſertors of *Monarchy* muſt, likewiſe, acknowledge, that it, being but Earthen-ware (tho' the fineſt and ſtrongeſt) is ſubject to divers Accidents; for nothing under Heaven is perfect. And, when we conſtitute Governments, we muſt not think to build Babels againſt the Deluge, but imbank againſt Floods, and incloſe the beſt we can againſt Treſpaſſors. This being premiſed, let us conſider theſe two Governments, not *Metaphyſically*, in Notions abſtracted from their Subjects (a Paſtime which our *Platonics* much delight in) but *morally* and *reaſonably*, as concrete and adapted to Times, Places, and Perſons, *viz.* our own.

* Alluding to the Days of *Anarchy* in the Grand Rebellion.

I might

I might, perhaps, decide the Queſtion in few Words, by alledging the manifeſt Inclination of the whole People, now, to *Monarchy*; for, *As no Man can be wronged with his Conſent, ſo neither is any to be obliged againſt his Will*; and how ſhould a Government, founded upon Inequality and Force, ever ſubſiſt without it? Or, a State, which is the meer Adjective of an Army, become a Subſtantive; Beginnings of this Kind being ſo ominous? As reaſonably might I object Matter of *Title* and foreign Pretence; for the ſame Eſtate with a Flaw in the Conveyance, or clogged with Statutes and Judgments, is not ſurely of like Value, as if it had deſcended clearly from the Great-Grandfather, and were free both from Claims and Incumbrances; and one that hath little, yet owes nothing, is likelier to thrive than he who owing vaſt Sums (*which he reſolves never to pay*) dares not walk the Streets for Fear of Serjeants; but my Intent is only to ſhew, that our former * Government (as it excellently complied with the Laws, Genius, and Intereſt of this Nation) ſo it comprehended all the Benefits of a Commonwealth in great Perfection; and this I ſhall do as briefly as I can.

To ſhew how it complied with our Laws and Conſtitutions, let it ſuffice that (Monarchy, in theſe Nations, being more antient than Story or Record, more venerable than Tradition itſelf) our Laws were, as it were, under that Climate, habituated to that Air and Diet, grafted into that Stock; and though they have (God be thanked) forgot their *Norman* †, yet they will hardly learn *Greek* ‡, much leſs *Utopian* ‖: That, in the late Protector's § Times, our Lawyers, with one Voice, importuned him, rather to aſſume the Stile and Power of a *King*, to which they found all our Laws were ſhaped, than retain that of a *Protector*, unknown to the Law; that nothing hath rendered our Architectors of a Commonwealth more obnoxious, than that their infinite Diſcords, in other Things, generally agreed in the Neceſſity of ſubverting all our Fundamentals, in order to their Deſign; which hath likewiſe obliged all ſober Men and true Patriots (even the chiefeſt Pillars of the Parliament's Cauſe, in the late War) to unite themſelves with the Royal Intereſt, as not enduring to hear of thoſe violent and dangerous Alterations, which they ſee a Republic muſt introduce.

For its Compliance with our Genius conſider, that as our *Engliſh* Nature is not, like the *French*, ſupple to Oppreſſion, and apt to delight in that Pomp and Magnificence of their Lords, which they know is ſupported with their Slavery and Hunger; nor like the Highland *Scots*, where the Honour and Intereſt of the Chief is the Glory of the whole *Clan*; ſo doth it as little or leſs agree with the *Dutch* Humour, addicted only to Traffic, Navigation, Handy-crafts, and ſordid Thrift; and (in Defiance of Heraldry) every Man fancying his own Scutcheon: Doth not every one amongſt us, that hath the Name of a Gentleman, aim his utmoſt to uphold it? Every one that hath not, to raiſe one? To this End, do not our very Yeomen commonly leave their Lands to the eldeſt Son, and to the others nothing but a Flail or Plough? Did not every one, that had any Thing like an Eſtate, pinch himſelf in his Condition, to purchaſe a Knighthood or ſmall Patent? What need further Proof? Our late Experience ** of that Glimpſe and Shadow of Monarchy (though in Perſons hated and ſcorned, and upon a moſt ſcandalous Account) yet (for mere Reſemblance) admitted as tolerable, and, in Reſpect of a Commonwealth, courted, clearly evinces, how grateful the Subſtance would be to *Engliſhmen*.

For our Intereſt briefly (we wave tedious and politic Diſcourſes) certain it is, that our Republic (were it like to ſettle) would alarm all our Neighbours, would make our beſt Allies, our bittereſt Enemies, and (upon ſeveral Accounts) probably draw upon us the united Forces of Chriſtendom to cruſh the *Embryo*. Which (the Nation being ſo weakened, and divided, as it is) muſt evidently endanger our total Oppreſſion, or, at leaſt, to bring in the King by Conqueſt. Beſides, by what Title ſhall we pretend to hold *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſince that of Deſcent is now avoided, and Conſent we know there is none; nor, indeed, can any be expected?

I come now to aſſert, that our former Government †† eminently included all the Per-

* *i. e.* Monarchical. † Brought in by *William the Conqueror*, Duke of *Normandy*. ‡ *i. e.* The Forms of Government which the *Grecian* Republicks ſubmitted to; which were as various as the Humours of the People. ‖ A *chimerical* Sort of Government, which never had any Exiſtence. § *Oliver Cromwell*. ** Under *Richard Cromwell*. See his Speech and Letter to the Parliament in this Number. †† By King and Parliament.

fections of a free State, and was the Kernel, as it were, of a Commonwealth, in the Shell of Monarchy: *First*, I will begin with the eſſential Parts of a Commonwealth, which are three, *viz.* The Senate propoſing, the People reſolving, the Magiſtrate executing: For the Senate or Parliament, if ever there were a free and honourable one, it was here; where the Deputies of the whole Nation, moſt freely choſen, did, with like Freedom, meet, propound, debate and vote all Matters of common Intereſt: No Danger eſcaped their Repreſenting; no Grievance, their Complaint; no public Right, their Claim; or Good, their Demand; in all which, the leaſt Breach of Privilege was branded as a civil Sacrilege; and though there lay no Appeal to the diſperſed Body of the People (a Deciſion manifeſtly impracticable in Government, and fitter indeed for Tribunes to move, than Nations to admit) yet (Elections being ſo popular, and Aſſemblies frequent) the ſame End was attained with much more Safety and Convenience. The Prince had, likewiſe (in Effect) but an executive Power, which he exerciſed by Miniſters and Officers, not only ſworn, but ſeverely accountable: For, though both he and the Lords had their Negatives in making Laws, yet (no Tax being impoſſible, but by Conſent of the Commons, nor any Law (without it) of ſuch Validity, that the Miniſters of Juſtice durſt enforce it) there was a wiſe and ſweet Neceſſity for the King, and likewiſe for the Lords (who were but as a Grain in the Royal Scale) to confirm all ſuch Bills, as were convenient for the People, and not greatly hurtful to the Prince; and ſo this Bug-bear Negative was reſolved into a meer Target, to ſhelter and preſerve the Government from being altered, at the Will of the Commons, if, at any Time, they ſhould prove factious: Which (being in Reaſon manifeſt) hath been alſo confirmed by great Experience: Our Kings having, rarely, obſtructed any Bill, which they might ſafely grant; but, on the other Side, paſſed many high Acts of meer Grace, circumſcribing their Prerogative, and clipping its Wings; nay, I could wiſh they had not pierced its Bowels. This was that triple Cord, which, one would think, could not be broken; nor, indeed, was it broken, but cut aſunder *: This was our Gold, ſeven Times refined; for every Bill, being thrice read, debated, and agreed, in either Houſe, was, at laſt, brought to the King, for his Royal Aſſent, the Mint of our Laws: A Trial ſo exact, that, ſurely, no Droſs could eſcape it; ſince all Intereſts muſt thereto concur (as truly, it was but fit they ſhould, in the Eſtabliſhment of that, which muſt bind them all). This was that Temperament, which poiſed our Humours, and, at once, endued us with Health, Vigour, and Beauty: No Vote was precipitated, no Act was huddled up; as by ſad Events, we have ſince ſeen, that, Power being ingroſſed by † one of the Eſtates, purged and modeled to the Intereſts of a Faction; a Conſequence natural to ſuch Premiſes: (As in a Balance conſiſting but of one Scale) nothing hath been weighed, our Laws have been Mandrakes of a Night's Growth, and our Times as fickle as the Weather, or Multitude.

The King, indeed, had the Power of *making War*, but he had not the Means; and then, it ſignified no more, than giving him Leave to fly, if he could get Wings; or to go beyond Sea, ſo he went without Shipping: He had a Sword, but he alone could never draw it; for the Trained-bands ‡ were a Weapon, which he (decently) wore, but the Nation, only, could uſe: He choſe his Miniſters (as who doth not his Servants?) But alas, he was accountable for them, to the *Triennial* Parliament, which none but the ſoundeſt Integrity could abide: He could hinder the Stroke of Juſtice with his Pardon (though ſtill, the Jaws not being muzzled, it would bite terribly) but certainly, it was great Wiſdom, rather, to give Way; ſince (with his own Scandal) he could afford Offenders but a lame and ſcurvy Protection; and ſince the Power of relieving his Wants reſted in the Commons, to balance his Will, and oblige him to a Correſpondence with Parliaments.

That his Perſon ſhould be moſt *ſacred*, it was but needful; to avoid Circulation of Account; reaſonable, ſince it carries with it the Conſent of Nations; juſt, that he ſhould not be the meer Butt of Faction and Malice, in worſe Condition, than the baſeſt of Vaſſals; honourable, that the Nakedneſs of Government might not be daily uncovered; wiſe, in the Conſtitution, not, at once, to truſt and provoke, by forcing him to ſhift for his own Indemnity, no Danger to the Public ſeeming

* When King *Charles the Firſt*'s Head was cut off. † The Rump Parliament. ‡ The Army.

ſo

to extreme, as the Outlawry of a Prince; no Task, by daily Experience, ſo difficult, as the arraigning of any Power, whether Regal or Popular; and ſince we make golden Bridges, for flying Enemies, much more may we afford them to relenting Sovereigns; (upon which Account, in our neighbour Kingdom of *France*, even Princes of the Blood are not ſubjected to capital Puniſhments;) finally, very ſafe, in the Conſequent, for (being, by the Danger, threatening his corrupt Miniſters, in all Probability, ſtripped of Agents) his perſonal Impunity might well ſignify ſomewhat to himſelf, but nothing to the People.

A *Revenue* he had, for the Support of his State and Family, ample; for the ordinary Protection of his People, ſufficient; but for any Undertaking, defective; and for public Oppreſſion, ſo inconſiderable, that when Prerogative was moſt rampant, our greateſt Princes (and ſome, doubtleſs, we have had, the moſt renowned Warriors of their Ages) could never prudently aſpire to make themſelves ſole Legiſlators, nor preſumed to maintain *Red-coats* in Times of Peace. If any object (as ſome, concerned, are ready enough) That kingly Power could, here, no longer ſubſiſt, for Want of Revenue; it is eaſily anſwered, That a King of *France*, indeed, could not, and God forbid he ſhould; but a King of *England* might, and (for aught I ſee) ſtill may (the Sale of Crown-Lands, which exceeded not the Value of 100000 *l. per Annum*, being, methinks, no Matter of utter Ruin, but rather of eaſy Compenſation). For the public Revenue was proportioned to the Maintenance of Courts, not Camps and Fleets: A Gentleman of reaſonable Eſtate may live well on his Rents; but then, it is not convenient, he ſhould keep Wenches, or Hangers-on, nor build, nor ſtudy Chymiſtry *. In fine, the Revenue was very competent for ordinary Diſburſements; as for extraordinary, if he reſorted to Parliaments, the wiſer he, the ſafer and happier we.

I Deſire all our Projectors of Commonwealths, to contrive greater Freedom for their Citizens, than is provided by *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*; or ſhew us, that it is not much eaſier to violate, than to mend them: For, thereby our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates were, under Monarchy ſecured, and eſtabliſhed, I think, as well as any Thing, on this Side Heaven: It were no Soleciſm to ſay, the Subject had his Prerogative, as well as the King; and, ſure I am, he was in as good (if not better) Condition to maintain it, the Dependence being leſs on his Side: Liberty was no leſs ſacred than Majeſty; *Noli me tangere* was likewiſe its Motto; and, in Caſe of any, the leaſt Infringment (as Eſcapes in Government may happen even in the moſt perfect) it was reſented, as if the Nation had received a Box on the Ear: If it be, as they ſay, the Glory of a free State, to exalt; the Scandal of Tyranny, to embaſe our Spirits; doubtleſs, this was our only Commonwealth: For, ever ſince †, methinks, we have learned quietly to take the Baſtonade.

I wiſh we now could, or could ever hope, under our Commonwealth (whatever Promiſes may be made us) ſo perfectly to diſtinguiſh the Legiſlative from the Miniſterial Authority, as once we did; when the Houſe of Commons had not the Power of a *Court-Leet*, to give an Oath, nor of a Juſtice of the Peace, to make a *Mittimus*: Which Diſtinction, doubtleſs, is the moſt vital Part of Freedom, and far more conſiderable to poor Subjects, than the pretended Rotation; as, on the contrary, the Confuſion of them is an Accompliſhment of Servitude; for which the beſt Republicks, I fear, have more to anſwer, than any limited Prince can have. Certain it is, that as our King, in his perſonal Capacity, made no Laws, ſo neither did he, by himſelf, execute or interpret any. No Judge took Notice of his ſingle Command, to juſtify any Treſpaſs; no, not ſo much, as the Breaking of an Hedge; his Power limited by his Juſtice, he was (equally with the meaneſt of his Subjects) concerned in that honeſt Maxim, *We may do juſt ſo much and no more, than we have Right to do.* And it was moſt properly ſaid, *He could do no Wrong*; becauſe, if it were wrong, he did it not, he could not do it; it was void in the Act, puniſhable in his Agent. His Officers, as they were alike liable, ſo, perhaps, they were more obnoxious to Indictments and Suits, than any other, by how much their Treſpaſs ſeemed to be of a higher Nature, and gave greater Alarm: His private Will could not countermand his public; his Privy-ſeal, ever buckled to the great Seal, as being the Nation's, more than his; his Order ſuperſeded no Proceſs, and his Diſpleaſure threat-

* Alluding to the bewitching Study of finding out the Philoſophers Stone, which employed ſo many Brains, and drained ſo many Pockets in thoſe Days. † The Uſurpation of the Rump Parliament.

ened no Man with an Hour's Impriſonment, after the Return of *Habeas Corpus*. An Under-Sheriff was more terrible, a Conſtable more ſaucy, a Bailiff more troubleſome, than he: And yet, by his gentle Authority, this Scabbard of Prerogative (as ſome, in Deriſion, have called it) which (if it would) could ſcarce oppreſs an Orphan; Tumult was curbed, Faction moderated, Uſurpation foreſtalled, Intervals prevented, Perpetuities obviated, Equity adminiſtered, Clemency exalted, and the People made only nice and wanton with their Happineſs, as appears by their (now ſo impatient) Calling for that Manna *, which they ſo (cauſeleſly) loathed.

To conclude, what ſhall I add? The Act, enjoining the Keepers of the Great Seal, under Pain of High-Treaſon, to ſummon a Triennial Parliament, of courſe, by Virtue of the Act, without further Warrant; the Act, forbidding the Privy-Councel, under like Penalty, to intermeddle with *Meum & Tuum*; the Laws, aboliſhing the *Star-chamber*, *High-commiſſion*, *&c.* branding all paſt, and bridling all future Enormities; the Statutes, limiting the King's Claims, and relieving his Tenants from Exaction of Forfeitures; beſides many other principal Immunities, wherewith (by the ſpecial Favour of God, and Bounty of our Princes) we were bleſſed, far beyond any of our Neighbours; above all, our Aſſurance, that we might readily have obtained ſuch farther Addition and Perfection of Liberty (if, yet, any ſuch, there were) as would conſiſt with Modeſty, or Liberty itſelf, to aſk: Do they not, aloud, proclaim, that we were, *then*, the *Mirror of Governments*, *Envy of Monarchies*, and *Shame of Commonwealths*; who could not but bluſh, to ſee themſelves ſo eclipſed and ſilenced, in all their Pretences to Freedom? Do they not more than juſtify my Aſſertion, *That, with all the Ornaments of the nobleſt Kingdom, we had, likewiſe, all the Enjoyments of the freeſt State?*

* *Monarchy*, to be re-eſtabliſhed in the Perſon of King *Charles the Second.*

A LETTER written by the Emperor to the late King *James*, ſetting forth the true Occaſion of his Fall, and the Treachery and Cruelty of the *French*.

As the foregoing Tract gives us the great Advantages of Monarchical Government, when juſtly limited, and content with the juſt Bounds preſcribed to it by the Laws of the Land; ſo this Letter written by the Emperor of Germany *to King* James the Second, *after his Abdication, ſetting forth the Cauſes of his Majeſty's Deſertion by his Subjects, is a proper Caveat to ſuch Princes, always to preſerve their Subjects in their juſt Rights, both in Church and State, as the beſt Means to deſerve their Affection, and to ſecure the Throne to themſelves, and their Poſterity.*

LEOPOLD, *&c.*

'WE have received your Majeſty's Letters, dated from St. *Germains*, the Sixth of *February* laſt, by the Earl of *Carlingford*, your Envoy in Our Court: By them We have underſtood the Condition your Majeſty is reduced to; and that you, being deſerted after the Landing of the Prince of *Orange*, by your Army, and even by your Domeſtic Servants, and by thoſe you moſt confided in, and almoſt by all your Subjects, you have been forced, by a ſudden Flight, to provide for your own Safety, and to ſeek Shelter and Protection in *France*: Laſtly, that you deſire Aſſiſtance from us, for the recovering your Kingdoms. We do aſſure your Majeſty, that, as ſoon as We heard of this ſevere Turn of Affairs, We were moved at it, not only with the common Senſe of Humanity, but with much deeper Impreſſions, ſuitable

' ble to the ſincere Affection which we ' have always born to you. And we were heartily ſorry, that, at laſt, that was come to ' paſs, which (though we hoped for better ' Things) yet our own ſad Thoughts had ſuggeſted to us would enſue. If your Majeſty had rather given Credit to the friendly Remonſtrances that were made You, by Our late Envoy, the Count de *Kaunitz*, in Our Name, than the deceitful Inſinuations of the *French*, whoſe chief Aim was, by fomenting continual Diviſions between You and Your People, to gain thereby an Opportunity to inſult the more ſecurely over the reſt of Chriſtendom: And if Your Majeſty had put a Stop, by Your Force and Authority, to their many Infractions of the Peace, of which, by the Treaty of *Nimegen*, you are made the Guarantee, and to that End entered into Conſultations with Us, and ſuch Others, as have the like juſt Sentiments in this Matter; We are verily perſuaded, that, by this Means, you ſhould have, in a great Meaſure, quieted the Minds of Your People, which were ſo much already exaſperated through their Averſion to our Religion *, and the public Peace had been preſerved, as well in Your Kingdoms, as here, in the *Roman* Empire. But now we refer it even to Your Majeſty, to judge what Condition We can be in to afford you any Aſſiſtance, We being not only engaged in a War with the *Turks*, but finding Ourſelves at the ſame Time unjuſtly and barbarouſly attacked by the *French*, contrary to, and againſt the Faith of Treaties, they *then* reckoning themſelves ſecure of *England* †. And this ought not to be concealed; that the greateſt Injuries, which have been done to Our Religion ‡, have flowed from no Other, than the *French* themſelves; who not only eſteem it lawful for them, to make perfidious Leagues with ‖ the ſworn Enemies of the Holy Croſs ††, tending to the Deſtruction both of Us, and the whole Chriſtian World, in order to the Checking our Endeavours, which were undertaken for the Glory of God, and to ſtop thoſe Succeſſes, which it hath pleaſed Almighty God to give us hitherto; but further, have heaped one Treachery on another, even within the Empire itſelf §. The Cities of the Empire, which were ſurrendered upon Articles, ſigned by the *Dauphin* himſelf, have been exhauſted by exceſſive Impoſitions, and after their being exhauſted, have been plundered; and after Plundering, have been burned and erazed. The Palaces of Princes, which in all Times, and even the moſt deſtructive Wars, have been preſerved, are now burnt down to the Ground. The Churches are robbed, and ſuch, as ſubmitted themſelves to them, are, in a moſt barbarous Manner, carried away as Slaves. In ſhort, it is become a Diverſion to them, to commit all Manner of Inſolences and Cruelties in many Places, but chiefly in Catholic Countries, exceeding the Cruelties of the *Turks* themſelves: Which, having impoſed an abſolute Neceſſity upon us to ſecure Ourſelves, and the *Holy Roman* Empire, by the beſt Means We can think on, and that no leſs againſt them, than againſt the *Turks*; We promiſe Ourſelves, from Your Juſtice, ready Aſſent to this, that it ought not to be imputed to Us, if We endeavour to procure, by a juſt War, that Security to Ourſelves, which We could not hitherto obtain by ſo many Treaties; and that, in order to the Obtaining thereof, We take Meaſures for our mutual Defence and Preſervation, with all thoſe who are equally concerned in the ſame Deſign with Us. It remains, that We beg of God, that He would direct all Things to His Glory, and that He would grant Your Majeſty true and ſolid Comforts under this your great Calamity; We embrace You with the tender Affections of a Brother.

At Vienna, *the 9th of* April, 1689.

* Which made Uſe of ſo many unjuſt and cruel Means to gain its Eſtabliſhment. † Under a Prince, that, to accompliſh the Slavery of his Subjects, was making himſelf *Tributary* and *Vaſſal* of *France*. ‡ Popery. ‖ The *Turks*. †† *Viz.* All Chriſtians. § How juſtly does this repreſent the preſent and late Actions of the *French* in *Germany*.

The Speech of his Highneſs the Lord Protector, made to both Houſes of Parliament at their firſt Meeting, on *Thurſday*, the 27th of *January*, 1658.

The two following Tracts, which are the genuine Speech and Letter of Richard *the Son of* Oliver Cromwell, *the Protector, as they are very ſcarce, and the former ſerving to give us a perfect Idea of that* new *Protector; the Deſire he had to continue his Father's Uſurpation; the Contrivance of gaining the Affections of the People, by acknowledging the Excellency of a* mixt Government, *compoſed of a* Parliament *and* Chief Magiſtrate, *as you will find in his Speech, which, abſtract from the Cant of his Education and the fulſome Encomiums of his deceaſed Father, is a good one; I here endeavour to preſerve it as well as his* Letter *to the Parliament, when he found it reſolved to reſtore the Royal Family to the Throne of its Anceſtors; which ſhews how far he was degenerated from the vigorous Reſolutions of his Father, and how ſoon the greateſt Tyrants are reduced to a State of Submiſſion, when God pleaſes to releaſe his People from their Bondage.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Believe there are ſcarce any of you here, who expected ſome Months ſince to have ſeen this great Aſſembly at this Time, in this Place, in Peace; conſidering the great and unexpected Change, which it hath pleaſed the all-diſpoſing Hand of God to make in the Midſt of us: I can aſſure you, that if Things had been according to our own Fears, and the Hopes of our Enemies, it had not been thus with us: And, therefore, it will become both you and me, in the firſt Place, as to reverence and adore the great God, Poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth, in whoſe Hands our Breath is, and whoſe are all our Ways, becauſe of his Judgments; ſo to acknowledge him in his Goodneſs to theſe Lands, in that he hath not added Sorrow to Sorrow, and made the Period of his late Highneſs * his Life, and that of the Nation's Peace, to have been in one Day.

Peace was one of the Bleſſings of my Father's Government; a Mercy after ſo long a Civil War, and in the Midſt of ſo great Diviſion which that War bred, is not uſually afforded by God unto a People in ſo great a Meaſure.

The Cauſe of God, and theſe Nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the Parts of it, as you well know, with many Enemies and great Oppoſition; the Archers, privily and openly, ſorely grieved him, and ſhot at him, yet his Bow abode in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands were made ſtrong by the Hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

As to himſelf, he died full of Days, ſpent in great and ſore Travail; yet his Eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural Strength abated, as it was ſaid of *Moſes*, He was ſerviceable even to the laſt.

As to theſe Nations, He left them in great Honour Abroad, and in full Peace at Home: All *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* dwelling ſafely, every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, from *Dan* even to *Beerſheba* †.

* *Oliver Cromwell.*

† This Panegyric muſt be remembered to be made by his Son; for, though it is confeſſed, that *Oliver* was a *great Man*, in the common Acceptation of the Word, I intend to preſent the Public with a ſhort Political Diſcourſe, ſhewing that his Adminiſtration laid the Foundation of the Decay of Trade in this Nation.

He

He is gone to Reſt, and we are entered into his Labours*; and if the Lord hath ſtill a Bleſſing for theſe Lands (as I truſt he hath) as our Peace hath been lengthened out to this Day, ſo ſhall we go on to reap the Fruit, and gather the Harveſt of what his late Highneſs has ſown, and laid the Foundation of.

For my own Part, being by the Providence of God, and the Diſpoſition of the Law, my Father's Succeſſor, and bearing that Place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the *public* Good to call a *Parliament* of the Three Nations, now united, and conjoined together into one Commonwealth, under one Government.

It is agreeable not only to my *Truſt*, but to my *Principles*, to govern theſe Nations by the Advice of my *two Houſes of Parliament*; I find it aſſerted in the humble Petition and Advice (which is the Corner-ſtone of this Building, and That which I ſhall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the Chief Magiſtrate, in whoſe Advice both he and theſe Nations may be moſt ſafe and happy*. I can aſſure you I have that Eſteem of them: And as I have made it the firſt Act of my Government to call you together, ſo I ſhall further let you ſee the Value I have of you, by the Anſwers that I ſhall return to the Advice that ſhall be given me by you, for the Good of theſe Nations.

You are come up from your ſeveral Countries, as the Heads of your Tribes, and with Hearts (I perſuade myſelf) to conſult together their Good: I can ſay I meet you with the ſame Deſires, having nothing in my Deſign, but the Maintenance of the Peace, Laws, Liberties, both Civil and Chriſtian, of theſe Nations; which I ſhall always make the Meaſure and Rule of my Government, and be ready to ſpend my Life for †.

We have ſummoned you up at this Time to let you know the State of our Affairs, and to have your Advice in them; and, I believe, a Parliament was never ſummoned upon a more important Occaſion.

It is true, as I have told you, We are, through the Goodneſs of God, at this Time in Peace; but it is not thus with us, becauſe we have no Enemies: There are enough, both within us and without us, who would ſoon put an End to our Peace ‡, were it in their Powers, or ſhould it, at any Time, come into their Powers.

It will be becoming your Wiſdoms to conſider of the ſecuring of our Peace againſt thoſe who, we all know, are, and ever will be our implacable Enemies ‖; what the Means of doing this are, I ſhall refer unto you.

This I can aſſure you, That the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, are true and faithful to the Peace and good Intereſt of theſe Nations, and it will be found ſo, and that they are a conſiſting Body, and uſeful for any good Ends; and, if they were not the beſt Army in the World, you would have heard of Inconveniencies, by Reaſon of the great Arrear of Pay, which is now due unto them, whereby ſome of them are reduced to great Neceſſities: But you ſhall have a particular Account of their Arrears, and I doubt not but Conſideration will be had thereupon, in ſome ſpeedy and effectual Way. And, this being Matter of *Money*, I recommend it particularly to the *Houſe of Commons*.

You have, you know, a War with *Spain*, carried on by the Advice of Parliament; he is an old Enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be neceſſary, both for the Honour and Safety of theſe Nations, that That War be *vigorouſly* proſecuted.

Furthermore, the Conſtitution of Affairs in all our neighbour Countries, and round about us (as well Friends as Enemies) are very conſiderable, and calls upon us to be upon our Guard both at Land and Sea, and to be in a Poſture able to maintain and conſerve our own State and Intereſt.

Great and powerful Fleets are preparing to be ſet forth into theſe Seas, and conſiderable Armies of ſeveral Nations, and Kings are now diſputing for the Maſtery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent Iſlands and Countries; among which is the *Roman* § Emperor, with other Popiſh States; I need not tell you of what Conſequence theſe Things are to this State.

We have already interpoſed in theſe Affairs, in ſuch Manner as we found it neceſſary for the Intereſt of *England*; and Matters are yet in ſuch a Condition in thoſe Parts, that this

* The Protectorſhip. † See his following Letter to the Parliament. ‡ Meaning the *Royaliſts*, who would re-inſtate the Royal Family on the Throne. ‖ Becauſe of the Uſurpation then renewed in the Perſon of *Richard*. § Or *German*.

State

State may, with the Aſſiſtance of God, provide that their Differences may not prejudice us.

The other Things that are to be ſaid I ſhall refer to my Lord-Keeper *Fiennes*, and cloſe up what I have to ſay with only adding two or three Particulars to what I have already ſaid.

And, *firſt*, I recommend to your Care the People of God in theſe Nations, with their Concernments. The more they are divided among themſelves, the greater Prudence ſhould be uſed to cement them.

Secondly, The good and neceſſary Work of Reformation, both in Manners and in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that Profaneneſs may be diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed, and that Righteouſneſs and Juſtice may be executed in the Land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the Publick Cauſe Abroad, which ſeems, at this Time, to be in ſome Danger, having great and powerful Enemies, and very few Friends; and I hope and believe, that the old *Engliſh* Zeal to that Cauſe is ſtill among us.

Laſtly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, That you will in all your Debates maintain and conſerve Love and Unity among yourſelves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the Nation, who have ſent you up in Peace, and with their Prayers, that the Spirit of Wiſdom and Peace may be among you; and this ſhall alſo be my Prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmoſt Endeavours for the making this an *happy Parliament* *.

* As it proved by *reſtoring* Monarchical Government.

His late Highneſs's Letter to the Parliament of *England*; ſhewing his Willingneſs to ſubmit to this preſent Government *: Atteſted under his own Hand, and read in the Houſe on *Wedneſday* the 25th of *May*, 1659.

I Have peruſed the Reſolve and Declaration which you were pleaſed to deliver to me the other Night; and for your Information, touching what is mentioned in the ſaid Reſolve, I have cauſed a true State of my Debts to be tranſcribed, and annexed to this Paper, which will ſhew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that Part of the Reſolve whereby the Committee are to inform themſelves how far I do acquieſce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament; I truſt my paſt Carriage, hitherto, hath manifeſted my Acquieſcence in the Will and Diſpoſition of God, and that I love and value the Commonwealth much above my own Concernments; and I deſire, that by this a Meaſure of my future Deportment may be taken, which, thro' the Aſſiſtance of God, ſhall be ſuch as ſhall bear the ſame Witneſs, having, I hope, in ſome Degree, learned rather to reverence and ſubmit to the Hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out among us) however in reſpect of the particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of theſe Nations; yet, through the Goodneſs of God, I can freely acquieſce in its being made, and do hold myſelf obliged, as (with other Men) I expect *Protection* from the preſent Government, ſo to demean myſelf, with all Peaceableneſs under it, and to procure to the uttermoſt of my Power, that all, in whom I have any Intereſt, do the ſame.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

* Intended Monarchical Government under King *Charles* II, then to be recalled by the States of the Nation.

The

The Plots of Jeſuits, *(viz.* Of *Adam Contzen*, a *Moguntine*, *Thomas Campanella*, a *Spaniard*, and *Robert Parſons*, an *Engliſh*-man, *&c.)* how to bring *England* to the *Roman* Religion, without Tumult.

Theſe Jeſuitical *Politicks, which are taken out of the above mentioned Authors, were publiſhed by* Michael Spark, *Bookſeller, in the Year* 1653, *when there was not that public Proſpect of* Popery, *as there is now in this Nation; and, therefore, it is, I preſume, far from being unſeaſonable to be reprinted together with* the Proteſtant's Doom in Popiſh Times, *when the whole Nation is alarmed with the Apprehenſions of a* Popiſh *Invaſion, and the conſtant Endeavours of the* French *and* Spaniards, *to deprive us of our* Religion *and* Liberty, *by attempting to ſet a* Popiſh *Governor over a* Proteſtant *People. And how far theſe Politicks were copied by King* James II. *and his Counſel, I refer my Reader to the Hiſtory of thoſe Times.*

The firſt *of theſe Tracts, which immediately follows, contains the Directions of* Robert Parſons *the Jeſuit, that noted Traytor to Queen* Elizabeth; *and imployed by the Enemies of our Church and Nation, to foment Diviſion, to illegitimiſe and de-throne, as far as in his Power, her ſacred Majeſty, and to reduce the* Engliſh *State, under the* Papal *Juriſdiction: As alſo the ſubtile intreaguing Means of the Jeſuit* Adam Contzen, *and* Thomas Campanella, *a* Dominical *Friar, to engage the* Popiſh *States to concur in the Attempt to reinſtate Popery in this Land.*

The other Tract, is a moſt ſcarce, and ingenious Piece, and, as it is ſupported in every Sentence by the beſt Authorities, properly referred to, I need not enter any further into its Commendation; only I muſt do that Juſtice to the Memory of the Right Rev. and Dr. Bull, *to acquaint the Reader, that it was wrote by his learned and zealous Pen, to deter* Proteſtants *from* admitting, *or ſo much as* deſiring *a* Popiſh *King to rule over them.*

Contzen's Plot, to cheat a Church of the Religion eſtabliſhed therein, and to bring in *Popery*, without Noiſe or Tumult; taken out of the *ſecond Book of his Politicks*, Chap. 18, 19. Page 103, 104, *&c.*

IT is difficult to find out Truth, but it is more hard to perſuade him that erreth: Yet, it is the duty of a *Prince*, even in this to beſtir himſelf earneſtly, that wicked Opinions be taken away.

The firſt Means. What *Muſicians* obſerve, in tuning their Inſtruments, gently ſetting up the Strings, by little, and little; and, what in curing Diſeaſes, *Phyſicians* Practiſe, abating noxious Humours, by Degrees and Pauſes, the ſame muſt be done in a Commonwealth, labouring under the Malady of Errors. Although, I approve

prove not *lingering* bootleſs Proceedings, ſince they often beget a deſiſting from the Deſign. Whatever Means can be uſed, my Counſel is, that they be attempted; but in a ſoft, and ſure Pace, for Fear of a Precipice. Here mild Commands, and Admonitions do very much further the Work.

The ſecond this. It is no hard Matter, for any Prince in *Europe*, to call back Mens Minds to the ancient Rites of their Predeceſſors, if he liſt. A Matter heretofore held impoſſible to be effected; but now Men begin again to love the *old* Religion: Nor can they be ſo held in, by their *Miniſters*, but that many do every Year turn to the Catholic Unity; what they once moſt greedily deſired, they now caſt aſide with Diſdain. This *Levity* of the *Vulgar* to admire new Things, and contemn old, is fatal. Many Provinces in *Germany* have endured many Religions; now retain none, being intent on the *Will* of their *Governors*. One Cauſe of this is, as I ſaid but now, *Levity and Ignorance of the Truth*. Another, *the impoſſibility of holding People long ignorant of the Lewdneſs of Hereſies*; and that they find *Hereticks* to ſhift their Opinions *every* Year. It is as if you ſet a Company of blind Men to run a Race; ſooner will *all* miſs then *one* get to the Mark.

Thirdly, Arch-heretics are to be *baniſhed* the Commonwealth; *at once*, if it may ſafely be done; if not, then *by Degrees*. Boiſterous Winds being ſent packing, the Sea will become calm; and Error, which wanteth a Protector, will ſoon be ruined.

In Alterations, I have obſerved theſe twelve Things following, for the moſt Part out of the *Hiſtory of the Change of Religion in the Palatinate, the Acts of* Marpurg, *and the Edict of* Brandenburg. 1. They *concealed* their Purpoſe of altering Religion, and rooting out *Lutheraniſm*; not ſo that the wiſer Sort could not perceive it, but that the common People might not ſee it, and raiſe Tumults. 2. By the Art of the *Zuinglians* ſome were ſuborned, who ſhould *crave* the *Exerciſe* of the Reformed Religion, and that with many *ſugared humble* Words; That the Prince might not be thought, to be of his own Accord, inclined to odious Novelty, but only graciouſly *indulgent* to *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, and to love and cheriſh *that*. Facility in a Prince is commonly extolled; even, when he yieldeth to thoſe Things, which are fitter to be denied. 3. *One* Church or ſo (*and not above*) was petitioned for: That this Suit, might not ſeem harſh, to the Multitude, who in the mean Time, were to have many more, and were not very ſolicitous of any. 4. Notwithſtanding, the Jealouſy of the *Lutherans* did here oppoſe itſelf, ſeeing that *with the Church*, the Maintenance would be withdrawn; therefore, they think of a *Conference* and Pacification. They aſſemble in the *Court*, the Matter is debated before the Prince's Councel; a Notary and Witneſſes are denied them. [But this Courſe, is by no Means to be approved, for each Part ought to have Liberty. Otherwiſe, if Men be borne down with the Power of the ſtronger Side, the Victors ſhall ever be eſteemed to have had the worſt Cauſe. This was the Caſe of *Arminians* in *Holland:* Whereas, they who had the Advantage of the Prince's Favour, if they had indeed believed the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, ought to have entred the Liſts, upon equal Terms.] 5. An Edict was publiſhed, that none ſhould caſt Aſperſions upon another; but, by all Means cheriſh Peace and Concord. This proved an effectual Engine to further the Mutation: For hereby, none durſt contradict the *Calviniſts*, no, not ſo much as name them; and the Prince was not traduced as a *Patron of Hereſies*, but applauded as a *Lover of Peace*. 6. A *Diſputation* was appointed in the *Univerſity*. 7. All this While, there was no open Shew of making *Zuinglianiſm*, Heir to *Lutheraniſm*; but, only this, that Peace might be ſettled: For nothing was deſired, but that the *Lutherans* (retaining all their Dignities and Revenues) would vouchſafe to ſit in Conſiſtory with the reſt, and conſult as Brethren; which when they refuſed, they were accuſed as proud and diſobedient to Authority, and ſeemed to deſerve a Diſmiſſion. Hitherto Things were thus carried, that *Trial* might be made what the *People* would bear: For if any Tumult had aroſe, a fair Excuſe might have been made for all Things hitherto. 8. When the People of *Heidelberg* petitioned for the Continuance of their *Lutheran* Preachers, the Matter was paſſed over in Silence, without Anſwer; and Care taken, that thoſe Men who were petitioned for, ſhould be *traduced*, as too furious and heady. And the People were fed ſo long with *Hope*, till at length they laid aſide all Care of *Lutheraniſm* and *Hope* together. 9. When all Things now ſeemed ripe, the *Lutherans* were commanded to depart from their *Parochial* Charge, and *all* the Churches, beſtowed upon the *Calviniſts:* Nor durſt they complain, for if they did, they were baniſhed. But now betaking themſelves to domeſtic Care, they only ſued

fued for a *Penſion*, *Immunity from Taxes*, and the like: The *Calviniſts*, in the mean While, laughing, to ſee a Matter of ſuch Height and Conſequence, brought ſo low as to make ſuch humble and abject Petitions. 10. Whereas the young Scholars of the Univerſity were *Lutherans*, upon them alſo they practiſed with divers Arts. Stipendiaries, (ſuch as were maintained at the *Elector*'s Charge) were put to their Choice; whether they would be *Calviniſts*, or be expelled. And thus an exceeding great Alteration came on a ſudden, without any Tumult; for the Country Preachers followed the Motion of the ſuperior Wheels. 11. When the *Lutherans* (*Profeſſors* in the Univerſity, and *Country Preachers*) refuſed to yield up their Dignities, the Prince told them, He wondered at them, ſeeing he had never taken them into his Protection, nor given them any new Poſſeſſion of their Places. (For, in *that* Country, all Places and Offices become void, upon the Death of the Prince, and the Power of beſtowing them is in the Succeſſor.) 12. In *Haſſia*, they went on very ſlowly, and by little and little. Nor was *Calviniſm* offered them at once, but onely a ſmall Part of it. And the People come on much more willingly, if at the ſame Time they be whiſtled another Way, as to *Arminianiſm*, or ſome other Sect, which may ſeem more odious. *Laſtly*, Both Sides fell to Writing; but that Party, which was moſt favoured at Court, quickly prevailed. And the Wickedneſs of the *Lutherans* (which upon all Occaſions was made known) did much advance the Cauſe of their Adverſaries.

The fourth Means, which I have ſeen put in Execution heretofore, and ſtill kept on Foot, is this: *viz.* That ſuch, as are adverſe to the *Roman Catholic* Religion, be put by their Honours, Dignities, and public Offices. Nor is this unequal, That he, who hindereth the Welfare of the Commonwealth, ſhould be kept from the Honours and Commodities of it. Men guilty of great Crimes are thruſt from their Dignities; why then ſhould Blaſphemers and Contemners of Truth be admitted thereto?

A fifth Means. Let thoſe particular Tenents, which hear ill among the Vulgar, and at firſt Sight ſeem abſurd, be culled out, and Load laid upon them.

A Sixth. Make Profit of the Quarrels of erring Men.

A Seventh. Let all ſecret Conventicles and public Meetings be ſtrictly forbidden.

Eighthly, By the Severity of Laws and Puniſhments, compel the Obſtinate to Duty; but let the Rigour of Laws be ſlowly drawn out, unleſs where there is Danger of a Contagion. Let thoſe which be moſt dangerous be taken away, the reſt by the Authority of the Prince will ſoon be brought into Order. Within theſe few late Years, a hundred Thouſand have been converted to the *Roman* Religion in *France*; in *Germany* more. Not one of the *German* Princes, that hath aſſayed to draw his Subjects on to the Catholic Religion, hath ever met with any Power, reſiſting his Decrees in that Behalf, made and executed. Only the *Netherlanders* broke out into Rebellion: But the Cauſe thereof was not Religion alone, nor was that pretended; but their *Privileges* and *Liberty*. The Dominion of a foreign Nation over them (a Thing abhorred by ingenuous Men) and the Exaction of Tenths ſtirred up that People to Sedition.

It is I confeſs the Opinion of ſome Politicians, *That Men are not to be compelled.* But thoſe which ſo adviſe are in an Error, and give Counſel not againſt the Safety of Religion only, but even of the Commonwealth. For, by a wholeſome Law, Men may be over-ruled, that they ſhall not do Evil. And a good Law will ſoon reduce thoſe, who, being of tender Years, are either not at all, or very little tainted with Hereſy. And ſo, if a compulſory *Reformation* ſhould not do Good upon old Men, it may make the younger Catholic. And I know many Children have been a Means of converting their Parents. There are many Examples of this in *Bavaria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and the *Low Countries*.

Ninethly. Care is to be taken for Integrity of Manners, and Purity of Life. For the *filthy Lives* of *Roman* Clergy-men have made, augmented, and ſtill do uphold *Hereſies*. And oftentimes, in my Diſputes with Heretics, I have obſerved, that after very weak Arguments they fall to accuſing the ill Lives of our Clergy-men, and ſpeak of Things which can neither be denied nor defended. If the Biſhops be not able to amend this, God will ſend an Avenger, who will take away the wicked Men and their Wickedneſs both together. Thus have the *Turks* got Poſſeſſion of *Aſia*, *Ægypt*, *Greece*, &c. And Religion will be rooted out of *Europe*, unleſs the Manners of Men be anſwerable to the Sanctity of their Doctrine.

Other Helps there be, which Wiſdom may ſuggeſt, according to the Variety of Time and Place.

Place. The *Chineſes* are taken with the Mathematics; the *Japonians* with Ethicks; the *Americans* with Ceremonies and Muſick: All Ways are to be tried.

And firſt, Muſick. *Paulus Samoſatenus* turned certain Eccleſiaſtical Hymns into obſcene and enticing Rimes. Thus the *Arians* and *Pelagians* deſtroyed the Faith and Diſcipline of the Church. Why then ſhould not an Orthodox Prince make Uſe of that for Curing, which Impoſtors have found out to be a Means of deſtroying?

Secondly, Before the Banes of *Matrimony* be publickly asked, Let both the *Man* and *Woman* be ordered, and compelled to yield an *Account* of their *Faith*. Upon this Occaſion they may be inſtructed in the true [*Roman*] Religion: And ſo while they promiſe to continue in the Church, and ever to hold faſt the ancient Faith, they are by Degrees faſtened to the Truth, and cannot but love it.

Thirdly, To this of Marriage, other Things are to be adjoined. Let no Ceremonies, but thoſe of the Catholick Church, approach the *Font*. Let none have the Honour to be *God-fathers*, unleſs they have given good Teſtimony of their Sincerity in the Faith. Let no Man have the Honour of Chriſtian *Burial*, unleſs he hath been a Partaker of the Sacraments of the Church.

Fourthly. If it fall out, that wandering Souls muſt be leiſurely reclaimed, and by Art; and that the Propagators of perverſe Opinions cannot be put from the Places they once enjoyed; then, let an Orthodox Magiſtrate ſo bring it about, that the Inſtituting, Preſenting, Confirming, and Examining of ſuch Men be committed to him. For ſo he may chace away every one that is apt to do Miſchief. Some wrangling *Fellows* that regard not Controverſies between *Roman* Catholicks and *Proteſtants*, and ſtudy only to enrich themſelves, or to comply with the Prince, he may (ſafely, now and then) ſet over thoſe Churches. So ſhall he be able to abate the Rage of Hereſy, and yet not be troubled to remove the Unlearned: For, by that Means, Error will grow into Contempt. And, becauſe unſkilful Men are wont to err often, all Conſtancy in Errors will be taken away by this Means.

Fifthly, Likewiſe, let him nouriſh the Differences of Preachers which are in Error: And let him ſo work, that they may often confer and wrangle. For by this Means, when all ſhall underſtand that there is nothing ſettled and certain among them, they will join in Truth.

Sixthly, Many other Means there be, which prudent Care will dictate to a Prince of its own Accord. All thoſe Things, which draw Love and honourable Eſteem to the Prince, are of Uſe, to fetch over the People eaſily to embrace his Opinion in Matters of Religion. Of this Sort are, his Eaſing them of *Taxes*, *Exciſe*, ſpeedy *Supplies* to any Part of the Country ſpoiled by Fire, *Proviſion of Victuals*, and other *Neceſſaries*. Hereby it will come to paſs, that whatever they eſteem diſtaſteful to the *Prince*, they will hold in *Deteſtation*. If a Prince make Uſe of theſe Means, he may in a ſhort Time root out the *Proteſtant* Religion, although in the Beginning it ſeem too ſtrong for his Laws or Him.

CAMPANELLA's Plot.

Campanella in his Book *de Monarchia Hiſpanica* (printed in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) ſhewing the King of *Spain* how to bring *England* under his own Subjection, and to the *Roman* Religion, hath theſe Words, *c.* 22. *Inſtiget Primores Comitiorum aut Parliamenti ut Angliam in formam Reipublicæ reducant*; that is, Let the King of *Spain* inſtigate the Leading Men of the (*Engliſh*) Parliament, to bring *England* to the Form of a Commonwealth *. And, *Omnino id agat ut Anglorum vires infringat, ad quod efficiendum Naves Hollandiæ & Friſiæ ſufficerent; ſi nimirum Claſſi Anglicæ opponerentur; ut infra palam fiet, &c.* that is, By all Means let him make it his Buſineſs *to break the Strength of* England. To effect which, the Ships of *Holland* and *Friſia* will be enough, if they be ſet againſt the *Engliſh*.

His twenty-fifth Chapter beginneth thus, Quamvis Anglus, &c. Although the *Engliſh* doth of all Nations ſeem leaſt to affect an Univerſal Monarchy, yet they do much hinder *Spain*'s attaining it: Queen *Elizabeth* hath given us

* The ſame Advice that Cardinal *de Richelieu* gave the King of *France*, a little before his Death.

Examples;

Examples; for ſhe hath cheriſhed corrupted Humours, and helped *Proteſtants* with Advice and Supplies in the *Low Countries* againſt the Catholick King; and in *France* againſt the moſt Chriſtian Prince: For ſhe is Queen of an Iſland which aboundeth with Ships and Soldiers, and maketh a Prey of all that *Spain* hath in the North; and they ramble even to *America*, where, though they cannot erect a new Kingdom, yet they do the *Spaniard* very much Harm; for *Drake*, the *Engliſhman*, hath gone round the World more than once, though *Magalanes* did it before him. And it may come to paſs, that all the Kingdom of *Baccalaos* * (which is nearer the *Engliſh*, and more commodious to them, by reaſon of the Temperature of the Air) may ſome Time or other be put into their Poſſeſſion: Certain it is, and evident enough, that, if the King of *Spain* could conquer but *England* and the *Low Countries*, he would quickly become the Monarch of all *Europe*, and of the greateſt Part of the New-found World.

Campanella goes on, adviſing the *Spaniard* to erect ſome new Schools or Colleges in *Flanders*, and to uſher a new Religion into *England*; firſt, with a *new Philoſophy* (himſelf hath furniſhed us with one) *Anglorum Religio facile reſtingui non poteſt, niſi aperiantur Scholæ in Flandria; interventuque illarum ſpargantur ſemina Schiſmatum in ſcientiis naturalibus, Stoicis videlicet, Peripateticis, & Teleſianis, i. e.* The Religion of the *Engliſh* cannot be eaſily brought to nothing, unleſs Schools be opened in *Flanders*; and, by Help of them, the Seeds of Schiſms in Natural Sciences, and *Stoick*, *Peripatetic*, and *Teleſian* Philoſophy, be ſcattered abroad †.

The laſt Page of this twenty-fifth Chapter is as followeth: Cum Inſula hæc reducetur in formam Reipublicæ, quæ perpetuas inimicitias cum Scotia gerat, actioneſque ſuas non niſi lente perficiet, &c. When this Iſland ſhall become a Republick, it will be at perpetual Enmity with *Scotland*, and move very ſlowly, and ſo do the leſs Harm to *Spain*; whereupon, the King of *Spain*, as ſoon as the Throne is empty, may ſtep in, pretending to help the *Engliſh*: But let him be ſure to keep Correſpondency with ſome *Engliſh* Noblemen, who have Power over the adjacent Iſlands; and let every one of them have full and abſolute Dominion in his ſeveral Places, as we read it was in the Days of old. Then let him tamper with the Nobility of *Ireland*, that, when the Queen is dead, that Nation may be formed either into a *Commonwealth*, or (at leaſt) into a Kingdom diſtinct by itſelf; then let him promiſe Supplies to each of thoſe Noblemen a-part; and ſo much the more, becauſe in that Kingdom, or Iſland, *Catholicks* (eſpecially *Monks of the Order of* St. Francis) are very much beloved. Now the *Iriſh* agree better with the *Spaniards* than with the *Engliſh*, either becauſe their Manners or Climates are alike, or becauſe their Countries are near one another. And there are in *Ireland* many vagabond Perſons who cannot endure to be in Subjection, and yet they are good *Catholicks*, and able to do the King of *Spain* excellent Service in the Matter which we now ſpeak of.

Theſe and the like Things may eaſily be prepared, that, when Queen *Elizabeth* is dead, they may be put in Execution; for every one knoweth what bloody Civil Wars, what Alterations and Changes have been oftentimes in *England*. So that what I have propounded will not ſeem ſtrange or impoſſible.

To conclude: *The ſame* Campanella, *in his eighth Chapter of the ſame Book, lays down this Rule or Maxim*, That the Way to keep up, or increaſe the King of *Spain*'s Monarchy, is, *To keep his own Subjects in Peace, and his Neighbours in Contention.*

Tho. Campanella having thus given the King of *Spain* Directions how to get and keep the *Engliſh* Nation:

* *Newfound-land.*

† There is more to the ſame Purpoſe in the tenth Chapter, which he beginneth thus: *Omnes Magnates Monarchiam, &c.* All Great Men, when they have gone about to ſet up a Monarchy, have altered the *Sciences*, and ſometimes *Religion* itſelf, that they might be admired. In the ſame Chapter his ſeventh Direction is, *To ſhut up all Schools wherein the* Greek *and* Hebrew *are taught, becauſe they are* (ſays he) *the Cauſes of Hereſies, and ſo deſtroy Government.*

PARSONS's Plot.

Robert Parſons goes a Step further, and will help him to a Title to the Crown of *England*: For, in the Year 1593, he publiſhed a Book under the Name of *R. Doleman*, intituled, *A Conference about the next Succeſſion to the Crown of* England, *divided into two Parts.* The *firſt* Part was for chaſtiſing of Kings, and proceeding againſt them, *&c.* And was lately reprinted by *Robert Ibbitſon* * in *Smithfield*, and called, *Several Speeches made at a Conference.*

The *ſecond* Part was to prove, that the *Infanta* of *Spain* was the legal Heir to the Crown of *England*, the Penning whereof did much indear him to the King of *Spain*, the Pope and Cardinals, as *Roman* Prieſts relate.

Not to repeat any thing of *Parſons*'s *Memorial*; wherein he adviſeth † *to deſtroy the Common Law of* England, &c. and to have no Preachers but *Itinerary*: I ſhall only tranſcribe a few Lines, which you may read in an ordinary Book, intitled, *A Reply to Father* Parſons's *Libel*, written by *William Clark* a *Roman* Prieſt, where ‡ are theſe Words: 'Such as have read [Parſons's *Memorial for Reformation*] being 'Prieſts and Men of Credit, unto ſome of 'whom Father *Parſons* himſelf ſhewed the ſaid 'Book (as ſecretly as now it is kept) do report, 'That his Directions are, that the Municipal 'Laws of our Country [*England*] ſhall by no 'altered, that the Civil Laws muſt bear the 'Sway.' And a little after, 'For our Clergy 'alſo they ſay, That all Men ſhould be put to 'Penſions in the Beginning; and the Colleges 'both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, in the ſame 'Sort, *deprived* of their *Lands* and Revenues, 'and become Penſioners —— All Religious Or-'ders (except only one, *i. e.* Jeſuits) he ex-'cludeth out of *England* (as they affirm) for 'the firſt Seven Years and more; that Maſter-'Jeſuits, in the mean Time, may have the 'Sway of all, and enter into the Houſes, 'Livings, and Poſſeſſions of other religious 'Orders, *&c.*

* Concerning this Book (being condemned in Parliament, *Ann.* 35 *Eliz.* when it was enacted, *That whoever ſhould have it in his Houſe ſhould be guilty of High-Treaſon*, and the Printer was hanged, drawn, and quartered) ſee a Book intitled, *His Majeſty's Meſſage for Peace*, p. 125. Printed by *R. Royſton*, 1648. Or ſee Mr. *Prynne*'s Speech in the Houſe of Commons, *Dec.* 4, 1648. *p.* 109. where Mr. *Prynne* affirmeth, *That he himſelf, and others, complained of* this Book, *but that nothing was done to vindicate the Houſe from this groſs Imputation*; and it may be looked upon as one great Means of corrupting the Nation, ſeducing it from its Allegiance to the Crown, and bringing the King's Head to the Block.

† The ſame that *Gundamore* wiſhed a *Roman* Catholick to *expect*, and then (and not till then) a Toleration of the *Roman* Religion.

‡ Page 72.

The Proteſtants *Doom in* Popiſh *Times.*

A Prince putting himſelf, and his Dominions, under the Authority of the *Pope*, and admitting (as he muſt unavoidably) the Laws and Decrees of the *Romiſh* Church, all his *Proteſtant* Subjects being, by the Judgment and Sentence of that Church, *Hereticks*, do forthwith lie under the Penalty which thoſe Laws and Conſtitutions will have inflicted upon *Hereticks*; *Hereſy* being the higheſt Degree of *High-Treaſon*; called, therefore, by them, *Læſæ Crimen Majeſtatis Divinæ*: So the *Engliſh Proteſtant* muſt be a Traytor, and the worſt of Traytors, and expoſed to the Penalties of *High-Treaſon*.

The LAWS *and* DECREES *of the* Romiſh *Church againſt* Hereticks.

Hereſy is denounced *infamous*, and the *Heretick* muſt be dealt with as ſuch; which are many Penalties in one.

Firſt, Whereby they are deprived of all Nobility, Juriſdiction, and Dignity, and debarred from all Offices, and public Councils, *Parliaments* as others; being made uncapable of chooſing, and being choſen: So that it reacheth all Sorts of Clergy, Laity, Noble and Ignoble; which is extended to their Children alſo: For, they ſay, *The Iſſue of Traytors, Civil and Spiritual*,

rinal, loſe their Nobility. And all, that owe any Duty to ſuch infamous Perſons, are diſcharged and exempted therefrom; as Subjects from their *Prince*, Servants from their *Maſters*, Children from their *Parents*; whom they alſo may lawfully kill.

Whereby we may ſee a little, to what Condition the Admiſſion of a *Papal* Authority would reduce us, expelling both Nature and Humanity, and making the deareſt Relatives unnatural and barbarous to one another: It would leave no *Proteſtant* either Dignity or Authority, either Safety or Liberty; Nobles are ſentenced to Peaſants, and Peaſants to Slaves.

Secondly, Another Penalty, to which *Hereticks* are condemned by their Laws, is *Confiſcation* of Goods and Eſtate; and this they incur *Ipſo jure, & ipſo facto*; that is, immediately, as ſoon as they ſhew themſelves *Hereticks*, before any legal Sentence have paſſed: For which there is an expreſs Decree in the Canon-Law, *Bona Hæreticorum ipſo jure diſcernemus Confiſcata*; We decree the Goods of *Hereticks* to be confiſcated by Sentence of Law. The Effect of this *Confiſcation*, wherein they all agree, makes the Severity of the *Law* apparent, *viz. Firſt*, All the Profits made of the Eſtate, from the firſt Day of their Guilt, is to be refunded. *Secondly*, All Alienations by Gift, Sale, or otherwiſe, before Sentence, are null and void; and all Contracts, for that Purpoſe, reſcinded. *Thirdly*, Children, Heirs of *Hereticks*, are deprived of their Portions; yea, tho' they be *Papiſts*.

Whereby it appears, that, as ſoon as the *Papacy* is admitted, all Title and Property is loſt and extinct among us: And, therefore, we muſt not think that *Pope* acted extravagantly, who declared, *That all his Majeſty's Territories were his own, as forfeited to the Holy See for the Hereſy of Prince and People.* Not only Abbylands are in Danger, whoever poſſeſs them, but all Eſtates are forfeited to his *Exchequer*, and legally confiſcated: All is his own, which *Proteſtants*, in theſe three Nations, have, or ever had, if he can but meet with *a Prince ſo wiſe*, as to help him to catch it; whoſe Proceſs follows them beyond their Grave, and ruins their Children, and Children's Children after them. And, when they have ſtripped the *Heretic* of his All, they provide that no other ſhall relieve him, viz. *That none ſhall receive him into their Houſes, nor afford him any Help, nor ſhew him any Favour, nor give him any Counſel.* We are here, in *England*, zealous for Property; and all the Reaſon in the World we ſhould ſo be: But we muſt bid *Adieu* to this, when we once come under the *Pope's* Authority; for, as ſoon as this is admitted, *all the Proteſtants in theſe Nations are Beggars by Law, viz.* by the Laws of *that* Church; which will then of Neceſſity be ours, diveſting us of all Property and Title to whatever we count our own.

Thirdly, Another Penalty, which their Law inflicts on *Hereticks*, is *Death*, which is the Sentence of the Canon-Law; and which is ſo abſolute, that no Secular Judge can remit; and which is the Judgment of all the Doctors, *Ita docent omnes Doctores*: And from which Penalties, neither *Emperors* nor *Kings* themſelves are to be freed or exempt. And the *Death* they inflict is *Burning alive*: No *Death* more tolerable, or of leſs exquiſite Torture, will ſatisfy the Mercy of that Church. The Canon ſaith thus: *Decernimus ut vivi in conſpectu hominum comburantur*; We decree, That they ſhall be *burnt alive*, in the Sight of the World. So our laſt *Popiſh* Succeſſor, Queen *Mary*, practiſed upon near three-hundred Perſons, without Regard either to Age, Sex, or Quality. The *Scripture*, they urge for it, is *John* xv. 6. *If any one abide not in me, Men gather them, and caſt them into the Fire, and they are burnt.*

So that, as ſoon as the *Papal* Authority is admitted among us, all the *Proteſtants* in theſe Nations are dead Men in Law; being under a *Law*, that hath ſentenced us to be *burnt alive*; and under a Power that hath *declared* it neceſſary, that no one of us eſcape with Life.

Fourthly, Where legal Penalties cannot take Place, by Reaſon of oppoſite Strength, they hold *War* neceſſary, and lawful, to chaſtiſe *Hereticks*: For which we might give you divers Authorities; but let Cardinal *Allen*, our Country-man, ſuffice; who aſſerts, it is not only lawful, but neceſſary: His Words are theſe; *It is clear*, ſaith he, *what People or Perſons ſoever be declared to be oppoſite to* God's *Church, with what Obligation ſoever, either of Kindred, Friendſhip, Loyalty, or Subjection, I be bound unto them; I may, or rather muſt, take up Arms againſt them: And then muſt we take them for* Hereticks, *when our lawful* Popes *adjudge them ſo to be. And which* (ſaith Cardinal *Pool*) *is a War more holy, than that againſt the* Turks.

Fifthly, To deſtroy them, by *Maſſacres*, is ſometimes held more adviſeable, than to run the Hazard of *War*; and which, *they ſay*, is both lawful:

lawful and meritorious, for the rooting out a peſtilent *Hereſy*, and the promoting the *Romiſh* Intereſt. This ſet a-foot the *Iriſh Maſſacre*, that inhuman, bloody Butchery, not ſo much from the Savageneſs and Cruelty of their Natures, as the Doctrines and Principles which directed, and encouraged it: As alſo that of *Paris*, than which nothing was more grateful and acceptable to their *Popes*, as their Bulls make manifeſt, and the Picturing it in the *Pope's* Chamber; and for which, as a moſt glorious Action, Triumphs were made, and publick Thankſgivings were returned to *God*. So in *Savoy*, and elſewhere, both in former and later Times. And this was that which the late *Conſpirators* aimed at ſo fully, intending a *Maſſacre*. *Thoſe that eſcaped a Maſſacre*, ſaith *Dugdale**, *muſt be cut off by the Army*. And *Coleman* tells the *Internuncio*, in his Letter †, *That their Deſign proſpered ſo well, that he doubted not, in a little Time, their Buſineſs would be managed, to the utter Ruin of the* Proteſtant *Party: The Effecting of whereof was ſo deſirable and meritorious, that if he had a Sea of Blood, and an hundred Lives, he would loſe them all, to carry on the Deſign. And if, to effect this, it were neceſſary to deſtroy an hundred Heretical Kings, he would do it. Singleton*, the Prieſt, affirmed ‡, 'That he would make no more to ſtab *forty* 'Parliament-men, than to *eat his Dinner*.' *Gerard* and *Kelley*, to encourage *Prance* to kill Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, *told him*, 'It was no 'Murder, nor Sin; and that to kill twenty of 'them was nothing in that Caſe; which was 'both a charitable and meritorious Act.' *And* Grant, *one of the* maſſacring Gun-powder Traytors, *ſaid, upon his Execution, to one that urged him to repent of that wicked Enterprize*, 'That he was ſo far from counting it a Sin, 'that, on the contrary, he was confident, That 'that noble Deſign had ſo much of Merit in it, 'as would be abundantly enough to make Sa-'tisfaction for all the Sins of his whole Life.' *Sir* Everard Digby, *ſpeaking to the ſame Purpoſe alſo. The Provincial*, Garnet, *did teach the Conſpirators the ſame* Catholick *Doctrine*, 'viz. That the King, Nobility, Clergy, and 'whole Community of the Realm of *England*, '*(Papiſts excepted)* were Hereticks; *and*, That 'all Hereticks were accurſed and excommuni-'cated; *and*, That no Heretick could be a 'King; but that it was lawful and meritorious 'to kill him, and all other Hereticks, within 'this Realm of *England*, for the Advancement 'and Inlargement of the Authority and Juriſ-'diction of the *Pope*, and for the Reſtoring of 'the *Romiſh* Religion.' *This was that* Garnet, *whom the* Papiſts *here honoured as a* Pope, *and kiſſed his Feet, and reverenced his Judgment as an Oracle*; and, *ſince his Death, have given him the Honour of Saintſhip and Martyrdom*. Dugdale *depoſed* ‖, That, after they had 'diſpatched the King, a Maſſacre was to fol-'low.

But ſurely, it may be ſuppoſed, that the *Temper* of ſuch a Prince, or his Intereſt, would oblige him to forbid or reſtrain ſuch violent Executions in *England*: I, but what if his Temper be to comply with ſuch Courſes? Or if his Temper be better? What if it be over-ruled? What if he be perſuaded as all other Catholicks are, that he muſt *in Conſcience* proceed thus? What if he cannot do otherwiſe, without Hazard of his Crown and Life? For he is not to hold the Reins of Government alone, he will not be allowed to be much more than the *Pope's Poſtilion*; and muſt look to be diſmounted, if he act not according to Order. The Law § tells us, *That it is not in the Power of any Civil Magiſtrate, to remit the Penalty, or abate the Rigour of the Law*. Nay, if the Prince ſhould plight his Faith by Oath, that he would not ſuffer their *bloody Laws* to be executed upon his diſſenting Subjects, this would ſignify nothing; for they would ſoon tell him, 'That Contracts made againſt the Canon-'Law are invalid, though confirmed by Oath; '*And*, That he is not bound to ſtand to his 'Promiſe, though he had ſworn to it: *And*, 'That Faith is no more to be kept with He-'reticks, than the Council of *Conſtance* would 'have it.' So that *Proteſtants* are to be burnt, as *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague* were by that Council, though the Emperor had given them his ſafe Conduct in that ſolemn Manner, which could ſecure them only (as they ſaid) from the Civil, but not Church Proceſs, which was the greateſt. For it is their general Rule, *That Faith is either not to be given, or not to be kept with Hereticks*. Therefore, ſaith *Simanca*, 'That Faith 'engaged to Hereticks, though confirmed by 'Oath, is in no Wiſe to be performed; for, '*ſaith he*, If Faith is not to be kept with Ty-

* Five Jeſuits Tryal, Page 28. † *Colman's* Letter to the Pope's Nuncio. ‡ See *Prance's* Narrative, p. 4. ‖ See the Tryal of the five Jeſuits, p. 25. § *Viz.* The Law of the *Romiſh* Church, which begins, *Caput Officium*.

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'rants and Pirates, and others who kill the 'Body, much leſs with Hereticks who kill the 'Souls;' And that the Oath, in Favour of them, is but *Vinculum Iniquitatis*, a Bond of Iniquity. Though Popiſh Princes the better to promote their Intereſts, and to inſnare their *Proteſtant Subjects*, to get Advantage upon them, to their Ruin, have made large Promiſes, and plighted their Faiths to them, when they did not intend to keep it; as the Emperor to *John Huſs* and *Jerom*; *Charles* the Ninth of *France* to his *Proteſtant Subjects* before the Maſſacre; the Duke of *Savoy* to his *Proteſtant Subjects*, before their deſigned Ruin; and Queen *Mary*, before her Burning of them. But if there were neither Law nor Conſcience to hinder, yet in Point of Intereſt he muſt not ſhew Favour to Hereticks, without apparent Hazard, both of Crown and Life, for he forfeits both if he doth. The Pope every Year doth not only curſe *Hereticks*, but every Favourer of them, from which none but himſelf can abſolve. *Becanus* very elegantly tells us, 'If a Prince be a dull Cur, and fly not up-'on Hereticks, he is to be beaten out, and a 'keener Dog muſt be got in his Stead.' *Henry the Third*, and *Henry the Fourth**, were both aſſaſſinated upon this Account, and becauſe they were ſuſpected to favour *Hereticks*. And are we not told by the Diſcoverers of the *Popiſh Plot* †, That, after they had diſpatched the King, they would depoſe his Brother alſo, that was to ſucceed him, if he did not anſwer their Expectations, for rooting out the *Proteſtant Religion*.

But may not Parliaments ſecure us by Laws and Proviſions, reſtraining the Power which endangers us? Not poſſible, if once they ſecure and ſettle the Throne for Popery: For,

Firſt, They can avoid Parliaments as long as they pleaſe, and a Government, that is more arbitrary and violent, is more agreeable to their Deſigns and Principles: It being apparent, that the *Engliſh* Papiſts have loſt the Spirit of their Anceſtors, who ſo well aſſerted the *Engliſh* Liberties, being ſo generally now fixed for the *Pope*'s Univerſal Monarchy, ſacrificing all to that *Roman Moloch*; being much more his Subjects than the King's; and, though Natives by Birth, yet are Foreigners as to Government, Principle, Intereſt, Affection, and Deſign; and therefore no Friends to Parliaments, as our Experience hath told us.

But, *Secondly*, If their Neceſſity ſhould require a Parliament, there is no Queſtion but they may get ſuch a one as will ſerve their Turns. For ſo have every of our former Princes in all the Changes of Religion, that have been amongſt us: As *Henry* VIII, when he was both for and againſt Popery; *Edward* VI, when he was wholly Proteſtant; Queen *Mary*, when ſhe was for Burning alive; and Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe ran ſo counter to her Siſter. And the Reaſon is clear, that he, who has the Making of publick Officers and the Keys of Preferment and Profit, influenceth and ſwayeth Elections and Votes as he pleaſeth. And, by how much the Throne comes to be fixed in Popery, the Proteſtants muſt expect to be excluded from both Houſes, as they have excluded the Papiſts: For, as Hereticks and Traytors, they, as ignominious Perſons, *&c.* you have heard forfeit all Right, either to chuſe or be choſen in any publick Councils; and then all Laws, which have been made for the Proteſtants, and againſt the Popiſh Religion, will be null and void, as being enacted by an incompetent Authority, as being the Acts of Hereticks, Kings, Lords, and Commons, who had forfeited all their Rights and Privileges.

But, *Thirdly*, Suppoſe our Laws were valid, as enacted by competent Authority, and ſuch good and wholeſome Proviſions, as were thoſe Statutes made by our Popiſh Anceſtors, in thoſe Statutes of *Proviſoes* in *Edward the Firſt*'s and *Edward the Third*'s Time; and that of *Premunire* in *Richard the Second*'s and *Henry the Fourth*'s, for Relief againſt Papal Incroachments and Oppreſſions; yet being againſt the Laws and Canons of Holy Church, the ſovereign Authority, they will be all ſuperſeded; for ſo they determine, 'That when the Canon and the 'Civil Laws claſh, one requiring what the o-'ther allows not, the Church-Law muſt have 'the Obſervance, and that of the State neglect-'ed: And Conſtitutions, *ſay they*, made againſt 'the Canons and Decrees of the *Roman* Biſhops, 'are of no Moment: Their beſt Authors are 'poſitive in it.' And our own Experience and Hiſtories teſtify the Truth thereof; for how were thoſe good Laws before-mentioned defeated by the Pope's Authority, ſo that there was no effectual Execution thereof till *Henry the Eighth*'s Time, as Dr. *Burnet* tells us? And how have the good Laws, to ſuppreſs and prevent Popery, been very much obſtructed in their Execution, by *Popiſh* Influence ‡?

* Kings of *France*. † See *Oat*'s Nar. p. 4, *&c.*

‡ In the Reing of King *Charles* II, who was too often influenced by his Popiſh Brother.

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The Preſent CASE of *ENGLAND*, and the *Proteſtant* Intereſt.

SINCE the preſent Condition of the Kingdom *, and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt by the Conjunction of *France* and *Spain* Abroad, and a more horrid Combination of ſeveral at Home, muſt needs affect with the moſt melancholy Reflexions all true *Engliſh* Hearts, all ſuch as have any real Love or Zeal for their Religion, or their native Country: I cannot think it amiſs to preſent a ſhort and impartial View to ſuch as have not conſidered the ſame.

In the Beginning of the laſt † Age, the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, in *Europe*, was more than a Match for the *Roman Catholick*; the Kingdom of *Bohemia* was almoſt all Proteſtant; near half the Subjects of *Hungaria*, of *Auſtria*, and *Moravia*, were Proteſtant (and did many Times defend themſelves, by Force, againſt the Emperor himſelf, when oppreſſed by him for the Sake of their Religion.) That, in *Germany*, the Houſes of *Newburgh* were Proteſtant, the *Palatinates* for the moſt Part of them Proteſtant, of the ſtricteſt Sort; the *Saxons* intirely Proteſtant, and, being hearty, unanimous, and ſeated in the Midſt of *Germany*, were a Bulwark and Defence to the Proteſtants of many other leſſer States, as often as they were oppreſſed for their Religion, by their own or their neighbouring Princes: That many of the Subjects of *Bavaria*, *Bamburgh*, *Cologn*, *Wurtzburgh*, and *Worms* were Proteſtants. Beſides theſe, that the Proteſtants of *France* were ſo powerful, as to maintain eight or nine Civil Wars in Defence of their Religion, and always came off with Advantage. The *Vaudois* in *Italy* were all of them Proteſtant, and great Numbers of the Inhabitants of the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries ‡ were of the Reformed Religion. Beſides *England* and *Holland*, and the Northern Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and the Dutchy of *Brandenburgh*, were intirely Proteſtant. But now, inſtead of this, Is not the Proteſtant Power deſtroyed almoſt over *Europe*? The whole Kingdom of *Bohemia* intirely Popiſh? Are not the Proteſtants of *Poland*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, utterly deſtroyed? Is not their Deſtruction now carrying on, and almoſt finiſhed in *Hungary*? In *Germany* the *Newburghers* of Proteſtants are become fierce Enemies of the Proteſtant Religion. The Proteſtants of *Bavaria*, *Bamburgh*, *Cologn*, *Wurtzburgh*, and *Worms* are all deſtroyed. In *France*, the *Spaniſh* Low Countries, *Savoy*, and *Vaudois*, after long and mighty Struggles, the Religion is utterly extinguiſhed. Againſt the poor *Palatines* the Perſecution is now carrying on with its uſual Barbarity, and their Neighbours, the *Saxons*, are ſo far from being able to help them, that they are under the fearful Apprehenſion of ſuffering the like from their own Prince ‖ (lately turned *Roman Catholick* to obtain the Kingdom of *Poland*) ſo ſoon as his Wars with *Sweden*, and other Troubles, created him by his *Poliſh* and *Lithuanian* Subjects, will give him Leave. Beſides this, two Northern Princes have given great Cauſe to ſuſpect their Converſion to the *Romiſh* Religion: That *Sweden*, by its Separation from the reſt of *Europe* by the *Baltick*, is unable to give Aſſiſtance to the Proteſtants in any Part of *Europe*, without the Conſent of the *German* Princes bordering on the *Baltick*, which will never be granted by Papiſts in Favour of the Proteſtants.

Thus the Proteſtant Religion, which had ſpread itſelf over almoſt all *Europe*, which had gained the intire Poſſeſſions of ſome Countries, the greater Part of others, and mighty Intereſt in moſt, has, through the reſtleſs Malice and Endeavours of its Enemies, been ſubverted and deſtroyed in Country after Country, till it is at laſt reduced to a little Corner of what it once § poſſeſſed (*England* and *Holland*). And do we

* In the Year 1690.

† Or Sixteenth.

‡ Now divided between *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

‖ Father to the preſent Elector of *Saxony* and King of *Poland*.

§ In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

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think our Enemies will not accompliſh (what they have thus proſperouſly carried on ſo far) our utter Deſtruction? Is it not high Time then to think ourſelves in Danger, to look about us to enquire what it is hath thus weakened us, brought us ſo near our Ruin, what Meaſures will certainly accompliſh it, and what we muſt take for the Prevention of it.

The *Romiſh* Methods of converting the Proteſtants have been in all Countries the ſame, *viz.* Confiſcation of their Eſtates, Goals and Impriſonments, Fire and Sword, Dragooning and Maſſacring, and inflicting the moſt inhuman Torments, that Rage and Fury could invent upon ſuch, whoſe Reſolution and Zeal for their Religion could not be moved by the former Means *.

If this be the true Caſe of *England*, and the *Proteſtant Religion*, then what is wanting to give the finiſhing Stroke to our Deſtruction; but only an Ability in the King of *France*, to break the Powers of *England* and *Holland*? And when we conſider, how, in the Year 1672, the King of *France* marched his Army through the Midſt of *Flanders*, fell directly upon *Holland*, then unprovided, entered their ſtrongeſt Towns like open Villages; ſome without Defence, or almoſt Denial, moſt of them without any Blows at all, and all of them with very few, and made himſelf Maſter of three Parts of *Holland* in two Months Time; for which Sir *William Temple*, King *Charles* the Second's Ambaſſador (then in *Holland*) tells us the Reaſon was, 'That the 'Dutch, then not ſuſpecting ſuch a Thing, had 'no *Field Army*, ſufficient to encounter their 'Enemies, or ſuccour any Town; that *walled* 'Towns will not defend the Men within, unleſs 'the *Hearts* of the Men will defend their Walls; 'that *no Garriſon* will make any reſolute De'fence, without the Proſpect or Hopes at leaſt 'of *Relief*.' It is true, that the *French* King, having then all *Flanders* on his Back, garriſoned with *Spaniſh* Troops (then his implacable Enemies) a powerful Army of the *German* Princes marching upon him down the *Rhine*; *Spain* and *England* (alarmed by his Succeſſes) preparing to attack him on all Quarters, was glad to vomit up all again, and return Home with as much Precipitancy as he had invaded them, leſt the Proviſions and Retreat of his Army through *Flanders* ſhould be cut off. But now the Caſe is otherwiſe, he has poſſeſſed himſelf of *Flanders*, extended his Dominion to the very Frontiers of *Holland*; Spain *is all united to him*; *ſome* German *Princes (then his Enemies) are now become his Friends*; *others entered into Conditions of Neutrality with him*: And ſhould he now, by a fatal Battle (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) break the *Dutch* Army, which they have, with infinite Charge and matchleſs Vigour, gathered up from *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and other remote Countries of *Germany*, might he not enter the Heart of their Country? And whence then can their ſtrong Cities and Towns depend upon Relief? May he not, as formerly, poſſeſs himſelf of their whole Country in leſs than one Campaign? It was the Opinion of that great Stateſman, Sir *William Temple*, 'That *Holland* 'would make a ſtout Reſiſtance in any Quar'rel remote from their own Doors; but that 'which enables them (their Wealth) to carry 'on a foreign War with Vigour, would in 'a War at Home render them defenceleſs; 'rich and populous Towns are not fit for Sieges, 'or were ever known to make any long and re'ſolute Defence.' If this be our Caſe, if the *whole Power* of the *Proteſtant Religion* reſts now in a Manner, in *England* and *Holland*; if the Deſtruction of *England*, as well as of our holy Religion, muſt inevitably follow the Loſs of *Holland*: If *Holland* by one unfortunate Battle might happen to be loſt in one Campaign or leſs, are we not in a moſt ſad and deplorable Condition? And, if ſome Men are without their Fears, have we not the greater Reaſon to fear for ourſelves, our Religion, and our Country? What ſhould we judge of thoſe who tell us, it is too early yet for *England* to declare? The Enemy has raiſed his Armies, furniſhed his Magazines; and it is too early for us to think of raiſing a Man. The Enemy is before our Outworks, and it is too ſoon for us to prepare ourſelves to be on our Guard: Will not thoſe Men tell us, when *Holland* is loſt, it will then be too late? To what Purpoſe (will they ſay) now do you think of raiſing Forces? Is not the *French* King Maſter of *Holland*? Poſſeſſed of all their Ports? Where will you land them? To what Uſe will you put them? Does not ſuch Language as this plainly ſhew the Intention of the Authors? Is it not plainly to deliver us blindfold, bound Hand and Foot, into the Enemies Hand? Is not their Deſign now ſo viſible as not to be diſguiſed? Do not ſome of the Party

* See this particularly deſcribed on Page 28, &c.

begin to throw off the Maſk, and tell us, It will not be well with us till our *old Maſter* * returns, till the Government returns to its natural Channel †. And are not thoſe that were the very Tools and Inſtruments of *Popery* and *arbitrary* Power in former Reigns, and that owe their Lives to Acts of Indemnity in this, induſtriouſly repreſented by ſome as the Patriots of their Country; and by a ſtrange Kind of Paradox thoſe that have been always hearty for the Church, and were for defending of it when others were for pulling it down; that were hearty for the King's ‡ Acceſſion to the Throne, and to his Perſon and Government ever ſince, are repreſented as Betrayers of us, as having ſold us to *France*: Would it not be a Piece of rare refined Policy, if *France* could hang up her greateſt Enemies, under the Notion of her deareſt Friends, and give Encouragement to her antient Friends under the Notion of being her Enemies?

Let us, therefore, while it is yet in our Power (as we tender our Religion and our Country) uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, by all legal Ways to aſſiſt his Majeſty and his Government, againſt all *his* and *our* Enemies both at *Home* and *Abroad*.

* *Viz.* King *James*.

† Is not this the Language of the Diſaffected to a Proteſtant Succeſſion to this Day? who are always plotting to diſturb the Quiet of that happy Government under which we all enjoy our *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*; and combine with the *Enemies* of our *Church* and *State* to reduce them to *Popery* and *Slavery*, by Force of Arms; which has been no leſs than *Five* Times threatened or attempted by *France*, ſince the Publication of this Pamphlet in the Year 1690.

‡ King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament. By *James Howell*, Eſq; Printed at *London*, in 1677.

I Am a free-born *Subject* of the Realm of *England*; whereby I claim, as my native Inheritance, an undoubted Right, Propriety, and Portion in the Laws of the Land; and this diſtinguiſheth me from a *Slave*. I claim alſo an Intereſt and common Right in the High National Court of *Parliament*, and in the Power, the Privileges, and Juriſdiction thereof, which I put in equal Balance with the *Laws*, in regard it is the *Fountain whence they ſpring*; and this I hold alſo to be a principal Part of my Birth-right: Which great Council I honour, reſpect, value, and love, in as high a Degree as can be; as being the *Bulwark of our Liberties*, *the main Boundary and Bank which keeps us from Slavery*, *from the Inundations of tyrannical Rule*, *and unbounded Will-government*. And I hold myſelf obliged, in a Tye of indiſpenſable Obedience, to conform and ſubmit myſelf to whatſoever ſhall be tranſacted, concluded, and conſtituted, by its Authority, in *Church* or *State*; whether it be by making, enlarging, altering, diminiſhing, diſannulling, repealing, or reviving of any Law, Statute, Act, or Ordinance whatſoever, either touching Matters Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, Common, Capital, Criminal, Martial, Maritime, Municipal, or any other; of all which, the tranſcendent and uncontroulable Juriſdiction of that Court is capable to take Cognizance.

Amongſt the three Things which the *Athenian* Captain thanked the Gods for, one was, That he was born a *Grecian*, and not a *Barbarian*. For ſuch was the Vanity of the *Greeks*, and after them, of the *Romans*, in the Flouriſh of their Monarchy, to arrogate all Civility to themſelves, and to term all the World beſides, *Barbarians*: So I may ſay, to have Cauſe to rejoice, that I was born a Vaſſal to the Crown of *England*; that I was born under ſo well moulded and tempered a Government, which endows the Subject with ſuch Liberties and Infranchiſements, that bear up his natural Courage, and keep him ſtill in Heart; ſuch Liberties, that fence and ſecure him eternally from the Gripes and Tallons of *Tyranny*: And all this may be imputed to the Authority and Wiſdom of this High Court of *Parliament*, wherein there is ſuch

ſuch a rare Co-ordination of Power (though the Sovereignty remain ſtill intire, and untransferable in the Perſon of the Prince) there is, I ſay, ſuch a wholeſome Mixture betwixt *Monarchy*, *Optimacy*, and *Democracy*; betwixt Prince, Peers, and Commonalty, during the Time of Conſultation, that of ſo many diſtinct Parts, by a rare Co-operation and Unanimity, they make but one *Body Politick* (like that Sheaf of Arrows in the Emblem) one intire concentrical Piece; and the Reſults of their Deliberations, but as ſo many harmonious Diapaſons ariſing from different Strings. And what greater Immunity and Happineſs can there be to a People, than to be liable to no Laws, but what they make themſelves? To be ſubject to no Contribution, Aſſeſſment, or any pecuniar Levy whatſoever, but what they vote, and voluntarily yield unto themſelves? For, in this compacted *Politick Body*, there be all Degrees of People repreſented; both the Mechanick, Tradeſman, Merchant, and Yeoman, have their incluſive Vote, as well as the Gentry, in the Perſons of their Truſtees, their Knights and Burgeſſes, in paſſing of all Things. Nor is this Sovereign Superintendent Council an Epitome of this Kingdom only; but it may be ſaid to have a Repreſentation of the whole Univerſe; as I heard a fluent well-worded *Knight* deliver in the laſt Parliament, who compared the beautiful Compoſure of that High Court, to the great Work of God, the World itſelf: The King is as the Sun, the Nobles the fixed Stars, the Itinerant Judges, and other Officers (that go upon Meſſages betwixt both Houſes) to the Planets; the Clergy to the Element of Fire; the Commons, to the ſolid *Body* of the Earth, and the reſt of the Elements. And to purſue this Compariſon a little farther; as the heavenly Bodies, when three of them meet in *Conjunction*, do uſe to produce ſome admirable Effects in the elementary World: So when theſe *three States* convene and aſſemble in one ſolemn great *Junta*, ſome notable and extraordinary Things are brought forth, tending to the Welfare of the whole Kingdom, our *Microcoſm*.

He, that is never ſo little verſed in the Annals of this Iſle, will find, that it hath been her Fate to be four Times *conquered*. I exclude the *Scot*; for the Situation of his Country, and the Quality of the Clime, hath been ſuch an Advantage and Security to him, that neither the *Roman Eagles* would fly thither for fear of freezing their Wings, nor any other Nation attempt the Work.

Theſe ſo many Conqueſts muſt needs bring with them many Tumblings and Toſſings, many Diſturbances and Changes in Government; yet, I have obſerved, that, notwithſtanding theſe Tumblings, it retained ſtill the Form of a *Monarchy*, and ſomething there was always, that had Analogy with the great Aſſembly, the *Parliament*.

The firſt Conqueſt, I find, was made by *Claudius Cæſar*; at which Time (as ſome well obſerve) the *Roman Enſigns*, and the *Standard of Chriſt*, came in together. It is well known what Laws the *Roman* had; he had his *Comitia*, which bore a Reſemblance with our Convention in *Parliament*; the Place of their Meeting was called *Prætorium* *, and the Laws which they enacted, *Plebiſcita* †.

The *Saxon* Conqueſt ſucceeded next, which were the *Engliſh*, there being no Name in *Welch* or *Iriſh* for an *Engliſhman*, but *Saxon*, to this Day. They governed by *Parliament*, tho' it were under other Names, as *Michel Sinoth*, *Michel Gemote*, and *Witenage Mote*.

There are Records above a thouſand Years old, of theſe *Parliaments*, in the Reigns of King *Ina*, *Offa*, *Ethelbert*, and the reſt of the ſeven Kings, during the *Heptarchy*. The *Britiſh* Kings alſo, who retained a great While ſome Part of the Iſle unconquered, governed and made Laws by a Kind of *Parliamentary* Way; witneſs the famous Laws of Prince *Howel*, called *Howel Dha* (the good Prince *Howel*) whereof there are yet extant ſome *Welch* Records. *Parliaments* were alſo uſed after the *Heptarchy*, by King *Kenulphus*, *Alphred*, and others; witneſs that renowned *Parliament* held at *Grately*, by King *Athelſton*.

The third Conqueſt was by the *Danes*, and they governed alſo by *ſuch general Aſſemblies* (as they do to this Day) witneſs that great and ſo much celebrated *Parliament*, held by that mighty Monarch *Canutus*, who was King of *England*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and other Regions, 150 Years before the compiling of *Magna Charta*; and this the Learned in the Laws do hold to be one of the ſpecialeſt, and moſt authen-

* The Senate or Parliament Houſe. † *i. e.* The voluntary Acts or Laws made by the Repreſentatives of the People.

tick Pieces of Antiquity we have extant. *Edward the Confeſſor* made all his Laws thus, (and he was a great *Legiſlator*) which the *Norman* Conqueror did ratify and eſtabliſh, and digeſted them into one intire methodical Syſtem, which, being violated by *Rufus* * (who came to ſuch a diſaſterous End, as to be ſhot to Death in Lieu of a *Buck*, for his Sacrileges) were reſtored by *Henry the Firſt*, and ſo they continued in Force till King *John*, whoſe Reign is renowned for firſt confirming *Magna Charta*, the Foundation of our Liberties ever ſince: Which may be compared to divers *Outlandiſh Grafts ſet upon our* Engliſh *Stock*; *or to a Poſy of ſundry fragrant Flowers*; for, the choiceſt of the *Britiſh*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, and *Norman* Laws, being culled and picked out, and gathered, as it were, into one Bundle; out of them the foreſaid *Grand Charter* was extracted: And the Eſtabliſhment of this great Charter was the Work of a *Parliament*.

Nor are the Laws of *this Iſland* only, and the Freedom of the Subject, conſerved by *Parliament*; but all the beſt policed Countries of *Europe* have the like. The *Germans* have their *Diets*, the *Danes* and *Swedes* their *Riicks Dachs*; the *Spaniard* calls his *Parliament*, *Las Cortes*; and the *French* have (or ſhould have, at leaſt) their *Aſſembly of three States*, though it be grown now in a Manner obſolete, becauſe the Authority thereof was (by Accident) devolved to the *King*. And very remarkable it is, how this happened; for when the *Engliſh* had taken ſuch large Footing in moſt Parts of *France*, having advanced as far as *Orleans*, and driven their then King *Charles the Seventh* to *Bourges* in *Berry*, the *Aſſembly of the three States*, in theſe Preſſures, being not able to meet after the uſual Manner, in full *Parliament*; becauſe the Country was unpaſſable, the Enemy having made ſuch firm Invaſions up and down through the very Bowels of the Kingdom; that Power, which formerly was inherent in the *Parliamentary Aſſembly*, of making Laws, of aſſeſſing the Subject with Taxes, ſubſidiary Levies, and other Impoſitions, was tranſmitted to the *King*, during the War; which, continuing many Years, that intruſted Power, by Length of Time, grew, as it were, habitual in him, and could never after be re-aſſumed, and taken from him; ſo that, ever ſince, his *Edicts* countervail *Acts of Parliament*: And that which made the Buſineſs more feaſible was, that the Burthen fell moſt upon the Commonalty (the Clergy and Nobility not feeling the Weight of it) who were willing to ſee the *Peaſant* pulled down a little; becauſe, not many Years before, in that notable Rebellion, called *La Jaquerie de Beauvoſin*, which was ſuppreſſed by *Charles the Wiſe*; the common People put themſelves boldly in Arms againſt the Nobility and Gentry, to leſſen their Power. Add hereunto, as an Advantage to the Work, that the next ſucceeding King, *Lewis the Eleventh*, was a cloſe, cunning Prince, and could well tell how to play his Game, and draw Water to his own Mill; for, amongſt all the reſt, he was ſaid to be the firſt that put the Kings of *France*, *hors de page*, out of their Minority, or from being *Pages* † any more, tho', thereby, he brought the poor *Peaſants* to be worſe than *Lacquies*.

With the Fall, or, at leaſt, the Diſcountenance of that uſual *Parliamentary Aſſembly* of the *three States*, the Liberty of the *French* Nation utterly fell; the poor *Roturier* and Vineyard-man, with the reſt of the Yeomanry, being reduced ever ſince to ſuch an abject *aſinine* Condition, that *they ſerve but as Sponges for the King to ſqueeſe when he liſt*. Nevertheleſs, as that *King* hath an Advantage hereby one Way, to *monarchiſe* more abſolutely, and never to want Money, but to *ballaſt his Purſe* when he will: So there is another mighty Inconvenience ariſeth to him and his whole Kingdom another Way; for this illegal Peeling of the poor *Peaſant* hath ſo dejected him, and cowed his native Courage ſo much, by the Senſe of Poverty *(which brings along with it a Narrowneſs of Soul)* that he is little uſeful for the War: Which puts the *French* King to make other Nations mercenary to him, to fill up his *Infantry*; inſomuch, that the Kingdom of *France* may be not unfitly compared to a Body that hath all its Blood drawn up into the Arms, Breaſt, and Back, and ſcarce any left from the Girdle downwards, to cheriſh and bear up the lower Parts, and keep them from ſtarving.

All this ſeriouſly conſidered, there cannot be a more proper and pregnant Example, than this of our *next Neighbours*, to prove how infinitely neceſſary the *Parliament* is, to aſſert, to prop up, and preſerve the public Liberty, and national Rights of the People, with the Incolumity and Welfare of a Country.

* *William the Second*, Son and Succeſſor to the *Conqueror*. † Minors.

Nor

Nor doth the *Subject* only reap Benefit thus by *Parliament*, but the *Prince* (if it be well conſidered) hath equal Advantage thereby; it rendereth him a King of *free* and *able* Men, which is far more glorious than to be a King of *Slaves*, *Beggars*, and *Bankrupts*; Men, that by their Freedom, and Competency of Wealth, are kept ſtill in Heart to do him Service againſt any foreign Force. And it is a true Maxim in all States, that it is leſs Danger and Diſhonour for the Prince to be poor, than his People: Rich Subjects can make their King rich, when they pleaſe; *if he gain their* Hearts, *he will quickly get their* Purſes. *Parliament* increaſeth Love and good Intelligence betwixt him and his People; it acquaints him with the Reality of Things, and with the true State and Diſeaſes of his Kingdom; it brings him to the Knowledge of his better Sort of Subjects, and of their Abilities, which he may employ accordingly upon all Occaſions; it provides for his Royal Iſſue, pays his Debts, finds Means to fill his Coffers: And it is no ill Obſervation, The *Parliamentary-monies* (the *great Aid*) have proſpered beſt with the Kings of *England*; it exceedingly raiſeth his Repute Abroad, and enableth him to keep his *Foes in Fear*, *his Subjects in Awe*, *his Neighbours and Confederates in Security*; the three main Things which go to aggrandiſe a Prince, and render him glorious. In Sum, it is the *Parliament* that ſupports and bears up the Honour of his Crown, and ſettles his Throne in Safety, which is the chief End of all their Conſultations: For whoſoever is entruſted to be a Member of this High Court, carrieth with him a double Capacity; he ſits there as a *Patriot*, and as a *Subject*: As he is the one, the Country is his Object, his Duty being to vindicate the Publick Liberty, to make wholeſome Laws, to put his Hand to the Pump, and ſtop the Leaks of the great Veſſel of the State; to pry into, and puniſh Corruption and Oppreſſion; to improve and advance Trade; to have the Grievances of the Place he ſerves for redreſſed, and caſt about how to find ſomething that may tend to the Advantage of it.

But he muſt not forget, that he ſits there alſo as a *Subject*, and according to that Capacity, he muſt apply himſelf to do his *Sovereign*'s Buſineſs, to provide not only for his *publick*, but his *perſonal* Wants; to bear up the Luſtre and Glory of his *Court*; to conſider what Occaſions of extraordinary Expences he may have, by Increaſe of *Royal Iſſue*, or Maintenance of any of them Abroad; to enable him to vindicate any Affront or Indignity, that might be offered to his Perſon, Crown, or Dignity, by any *Foreign* State or Kingdom; to conſult what may inlarge his *Honour*, *Contentment*, and *Pleaſure*. And as the *French Tacitus (Comines)* hath it, The *Engliſh* Nation was uſed to be more forward and zealous in this Particular than any other; according to that ancient eloquent Speech of a great *Lawyer*, *Domus Regis vigilia defendit omnium, otium illius labor omnium, deliciæ illius induſtria omnium, vacatio illius occupatio omnium, ſalus illius periculum omnium, honor illius objectum omnium.* i. e. Every one ſhould ſtand Centinel, to defend the King's Houſes; his *Safety* ſhould be the *Danger* of all, his *Pleaſures* the *Induſtry* of all, his *Eaſe* ſhould be the *Labour* of all, his *Honour* the *Object* of all.

Out of theſe Premiſſes this Concluſion may be eaſily deduced, that, *The principal Fountain, whence the King derives his Happineſs and Safety, is his Parliament:* It is that great Conduit-Pipe which conveighs unto him his People's Bounty and Gratitude; the trueſt Looking-glaſs, wherein he diſcerns their Loves; now the *Subjects Love hath been always accounted the prime Cittadel of a Prince.* In his *Parliament* he appears as the Sun in the Meridian, in the Altitude of his Glory, *in his higheſt State Royal*, as the Law tells us.

Therefore whoſoever is averſe or diſaffected to this Sovereign Law-making Court, cannot have his Heart well planted within him: He can be neither good *Subject*, nor good *Patriot*; and therefore unworthy to breathe *Engliſh* Air, or have any Benefit, Advantage, or Protection from the Laws.

The Miſchiefs and Unreaſonableneſs of Endeavouring to deprive his Majeſty of the Affections of his Subjects, by miſrepreſenting him and his Miniſters.

Cum hominum animi vanis timoribus & ſuſpicionibus implentur, calumniæ & maledicta in Principes ſine ullo veri falſive diſcrimine avidè accipiuntur, avidè communicantur. *Fam. Strada de bello Belg.*

This Loyal Tract, containing the true Senſe of every good Subject, was originally publiſhed to deter the Subjects of Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *from fomenting that Diſcontent againſt* Kingly Government, *which brought theſe Nations into that horrid Rebellion, that began in the Year* 1641, *and deſerves to be recorded, ſo long as* Monarchy *ſways theſe Kingdoms; and always neceſſary to be read, ſo long as that beſt of Governments is ſtruck at by deſigning Men; or ignorantly traverſed in the Converſation of the cauſeleſly diſcontented Subject.*

I have only taken the Liberty to ſtrike out ſome Expreſſions that were temporary, *in order to render it the more* general *and* uſeful *at* all *Times.*

IT is the common Unhappineſs of *all States*, that ſome Perſons every where are proud of being thought wiſe *at ſuſpecting*, and of an extraordinary Reach in *foreſeeing* Evils, which, perhaps, never come to paſs. The Vanity of appearing more acute and ſagacious than their Neighbours does ſo poſſeſs them, that they make it their Buſineſs and Employment, to *diſcover* or to *invent* approaching Miſchiefs. And, if we look into thoſe Hiſtories which give us an Account of the grand Tranſactions and Revolutions of Kingdoms; which do not barely tell Things as Tales, and ſay, only ſuch and ſuch Things happened, but do ſearch into the real Cauſes of, and acquaint us what occaſioned them: We ſhall find, that *this Humour* has frequently been of greateſt Conſequence, and that none have contributed more to the Unhappineſs and Deſtruction of a Nation, than the *over-politick* and notable Men; who by Shew of Concern for the Public, and great Inſight into Intrigues and Cabals, have laboured to bring the Government into Suſpicion, and to alienate the Hearts of the People from their Prince. But we need not appeal to foreign Occurrences, or elder Times. The Miſeries, which theſe three Kingdoms for ſeveral Years groaned under, do ſufficiently atteſt it; and they who underſtand any Thing of *England*'s Troubles *, in the grand Rebellion, are not ignorant that the grave Men of Fears and Jealouſies, who diſcovered what no Man could ever find out ſince; and the ſeditious Preachers, who endeavoured to gain the People's Hearts by aſperſing their *King*, and ſhewing them *Dangers* and *Enemies* round about them, where none meant to hurt them; who with Scripture Phraſes, and ſacred Railing, and profane Abuſe of God's Word to baſe and malicious Purpoſes, demonſtrated their *Governors* to be the *Deſigners of their Ruin*, were not the leaſt Promoters of all our ſhameful Confuſions.

But either we are ſo unwilling to reflect upon what then followed, or ſo inclinable to gratify our own little Humour that Way, that we too generally tread in the Steps of the Fomenters of thoſe Diſturbances, without the leaſt Miſgivings of what it may end in. We are as politick and as ſharp-ſighted, and as diſingenuous as they were in 1641. We do, indeed, enjoy our *Liberties* and *Properties*, and the free Exerciſe of our *Religion*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*, *Juſtice* equally diſtributed to all, are governed by *known Laws*, and *no* Man is oppreſſed, and yet we have Grievances to complain of; Dangers we foreſee do threaten us; we groan, and ſigh, and cry out at the Badneſs of the Times, are apprehenſive of ſtrange Deſigns on Foot, and cannot afford our Governors one good Word. Indeed, they among us who have a great Reach, and would be thought Politicians of the firſt Rate, do give only notable Hints, emphatical Nods, intimate ſomewhat of our Fears, but darkly; ſpeak dubiouſly of what may happen, wiſh the King better adviſed, whiſ-

* *Vid.* The View of the late Troubles in *England*, p. 96. *& alibi.*

per

per ſomewhat about evil Counſellors, and the like. But the vulgar Part of us are more raſh, and blunder it out more plainly, and propheſy of arbitrary Government; cry out that we are ſold and betrayed, and not far from being enſlaved.

Some Men have ſo ſtrange fond Conceits of themſelves, that they are too ready to fancy their own *petty Intereſts* and *abſurd Deſires* ſo twiſted and interwoven with the *publick* Happineſs of the Nation, that, from any little Diſappointment of their *ill*-laid Projects, they will take Occaſion to predict ſome ſignal Miſchiefs, if not Ruin to the Commonwealth. For they look on themſelves as Perſons no leſs in Favour with God, nor leſs wiſe in their Deſigns than others; and how can publick Miſchiefs be brought on us, but by the ill Adminiſtration of thoſe who are concerned in the Government? And when this prophetical Foundation is once laid, then every Accident which happens ſhall miniſter ſome Jealouſies and Suſpicions, every Suſpicion ſhall beget another; and can a Man think much, and ſay Nothing of ſuch Matters?

Beſides, ſome Men ſtrangely *affect* the Favour and good Word of the *common People*, and what readier Way to obtain it, than by perſuading them that they are not ſo well governed as they ought to be? Some Things will happen amiſs, let Men do what they can, and the common People who ſee the immediate and obvious Effects of ſome Inconveniencies, to which all Sorts of Governments are ſubject, have not the Judgment to diſcern the ſecret Lets and Difficulties, which in publick Proceedings are innumerable and inevitable. And does not the Reproving the ſuppoſed Diſorders of State ſhew the Perſons, who do ſo, to be principal Friends to the common Intereſt, and honeſt Men of ſingular Freedom of Mind? And what can be more popular and plauſible?

Once more. When every private and ordinary Perſon turns Stateſman, and with a judicious Gravity canvaſſes and determines the particular Intereſts and Deſigns of Kings and Princes; when he, perhaps, who has hardly Wit enough to govern his own little Family, takes upon him to ſettle the Affairs of Chriſtendom, and fancies himſelf able to give this or the other Prince Advice how to govern his Subjects, and enlarge his Dominions: In fine, when Men ſpend that Time, they ſhould employ in their ſeveral Callings to gain their Livelihood, in running about after News, and make themſelves poor by Idleneſs and Negligence; what can we expect among theſe People but perverſe Cenſures and ſilly Concluſions, ſeditious Repinings and Diſcontents?

But, certainly, no wiſe Man can think the worſe of any Government, becauſe *unthinking* People ſpeak ill of it, nor will he, who is but a little above the Multitude, think himſelf in Danger, and bound to vex and to be diſcontented; becauſe they are not pleaſed!

Indeed, we have been ſo long uſed to concern ourſelves in Matters that do not belong to us, to arraign, and, at our Pleaſure, to condemn the Government, that either our Governors muſt publiſh to the World all their Deſigns and Conſultations, and inform the People of all their Motives to ſuch or ſuch Reſolutions (which would be the moſt abſurd Thing in the World, and the greateſt Contradiction to all the Uſes and Ends of Government) or elſe they muſt expect to have evil Cenſures paſſed on them for all they do, to be complained of as Enemies to their Country, and Betrayers of their Truſt. A Humour fit for the ſenſeleſs Rabble, but below any one of Parts and Ingenuity.

But now let us think a little what will be the End of all theſe Things? The moſt experienced and ableſt Diſturbers have always firſt ſtruck at the Reputation of the Government, and frequently with great Succeſs. *For can there be Obedience, where there is not ſo much as Reſpect?* Will their Knees bow, whilſt their Hearts inſult, and their Actions ſubmit, whilſt their Apprehenſions and Tongues do rebel?

And when the People are thus prepared with Jealouſies and Diſcontents, and ſome Accidents happen, which offer an Opportunity, then out Steps ſome bold *hypocritical Rebel*, and heads the diſcontented Party, puts forth Remonſtrances of Grievances and Miſdemeanors in the Government, and engages to remedy them; and the Devil, who is never wanting to Men, that are ſet upon Miſchief, ſets forward the Work, till it improve into an open and deteſtable *Civil War*. All Hiſtories are full of Examples, and we are not ſo happy as not to know, and to be one.

Away, therefore, with our Murmuring and Querulouſneſs, we do but aſſiſt evil Men, and vex and trouble ourſelves by them. Let us do our Duty, every one in his Place, and leave the great Buſineſs of all to God, and to the King, whom he has given us. Let not our Curioſity, or what is worſe, make us over-careful and ſolicitous, about many Things, which belong not to us, but rather, take the Advice given us in Scripture, *Study to be quiet, and do our own Buſineſs, and wait with Patience and Modeſty.* The Reports, which

which we hear, concerning our Governor's Determinations, are very uncertain, and often falſe, and ſet about by ſeditious and unquiet Men, who perhaps underhand work for that Deſign, which they ſeem to the World to be moſt violently ſet againſt. And as to thoſe, which are true, we, who know not the Circumſtances of them, muſt be very arrogant and preſumptuous, if we take upon us to judge of their Convenience or Inconveniency. But this we may be aſſured of, that all our *Malicious* and *Seditious* Diſcourſes will very little promote the *Safety* of ourſelves, or of our Governors, and that there are thoſe, who have better Information, and greater Abilities than we, who will be as much concerned for their Lives, their Liberties, and their Religion, as any of us can pretend to be. Let us aſſiſt them with our Prayers, and the Reformation of our Lives, which are the moſt effectual Means to ſecure our other Intereſts.

To inforce this yet farther. It is by God that Kings reign, and from Him alone, can they receive their Authority; and ſince he has ſufficiently declared that he would have us be ſubmiſſive and reſpectful, patient and obedient; if we murmur againſt them, we murmur at God's Management of the World; we arraign Providence, and ſhew, that, let us talk as much as we will of it, we are not for it, but when it is for us.

Let us queſtion, as a good Man among the *Jews* did; *Whoſe Ox has* our King *taken, or whoſe Aſs has he taken? or whom has he defrauded? Whom has he oppreſſed? or of whoſe Hands has he received any Bribes, to blind his Eyes therewith?*

We talk of *Arbitrary Government*; What Man has loſt his Life or Eſtate under *this Government*, but by due Form, and Procedure of Law? We talk of *Tyranny*; Can any Man charge this Prince, with the leaſt Act of Cruelty? Did he ever ſhew any Thing of a bloody revengeful Spirit? Or can we read of a more merciful, and condeſcending, and obliging King, that ever ruled in *Europe*? And all the Returns that we make to ſo much Juſtice, and Sweetneſs, and Goodneſs, are unkind, and rude, and undutiful Reflexions. We moſt ungratefully endeavour to render him as odious in the Eyes of the World as we can; and, not only ſo, but ſettle a Way of putting a moſt invidious Interpretation on all his future Actions. But, ſhould we endeavour to ruin the Reputation of one of the meaneſt of our Neighbours, would it not be a great Sin in the Eyes of God, and a great Injury and Wrong to him; and, would not we eſteem it ſo, in our own Caſe, if we were ſo dealt with by others; and, do we not think it a Sin of much greater Magnitude, to ſpeak evil of Dignities, to revile God's Vice-Gerent, and to lay his Honour in the Duſt? Certainly we muſt be very partial to ourſelves, if we judge otherwiſe. And indeed, this is a Crime of ſo extenſive a bad Influence, and ſo much Miſchief, that they, who conſider the Injury the Public receives by it, admire that no ſeverer Puniſhments are appointed by the Laws, for thoſe who are guilty of it; and they, who conſider the Heinouſneſs of the Sin, do not leſs wonder, that our Divines do not more frequently lay open the Guilt of it to the People.

To make an End. Could all our Complaints and Unquietneſs take away the pretended Occaſions of them; could our fancying ourſelves in an ill Condition deliver us out of it; could our perſuading ourſelves, that our Liberty and Religion is in Danger, make both ſecure; and, our wilful Fears and jealous Surmiſes prevent real Evils: It were unkind to diſſuade you from murmuring, and he would prove your Enemy, who would make you ſo yourſelves. Could groundleſs Fears and imaginary Dangers eſtabliſh Peace on a laſting Foundation; could falſe Alarms and mutinous Diſcourſes contribute any thing to the Plenty and Quiet of the Kingdom: Could our ſuſpecting our Governors render our Fellow-ſubjects more obedient, and our aſperſing thoſe, who are concerned in the Management of higheſt Affairs, ſtrengthen your Hands, and inſpire their Reſolutions, then we could have ſome Pretence for our Reſtleſneſs and Clamorouſneſs.

But ſince it ſtands upon Record in the Hiſtories of all Ages, ſince we have had late and diſmal Effects of ſuch Practices, and have too frequently found that Jealouſies and Suſpicions, Out-cries and Complaints, vain Fears and imaginary Grievances, have produced real Miſchief, and brought on us thoſe Misfortunes, which they ſeemed only to foretel: Since they are the moſt effectual Incouragements to ſeditious Perſons, and aſpiring Diſturbers need no greater than to have their Pretences abetted by ſober, grave Men, and their Cauſe voted up by the common Cry of the whole People; it cannot be thought indiſcreet, or uſeleſs, or pragmatical in any one to intreat you to live at Eaſe, and to enjoy yourſelves, the bleſſed Serenity of an undiſturbed Mind; to baniſh out of your Hearts and Mouths ſuch hurtful Follies; and to perſuade you to let Peace and Proſperity continue among You, whilſt they ſeem to court you, and to beg only your Conſent.

Dublin, May, 24. 1681.

A WORD

A Word Without-Doors, concerning the Bill for Succeſſion.

The Occaſion of Writing this Pamphlet, was the great Diſpute concerning the Excluſion *of the Duke of* York *from the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, upon the Death of King* Charles II, *his Brother, on Account of his Religion, having profeſſed himſelf a* Papiſt, *and openly declared himſelf a zealous Protector of all ſuch as were ſo affected.*

The Argument is founded upon the Divine Inſtitution and proper End of Government; the Laws of the Land; the Reaſons that may warrant ſuch an Excluſion; Examples of the like Proceedings and the Impoſſibility that a Popiſh *King can ever prove a* true Defender *of the* Proteſtant Chriſtian Faith; *all which equally ſerves to juſtify the Revolution in* 1688, *and the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment of the Crown in the* Proteſtant *Houſe of* Hanover, *and the Neceſſity of preſerving the ſaid Eſtabliſhment, as to perpetuate a Memorial of that noble Stand againſt* Popery, *and the utmoſt Effort of that Parliament here mentioned, to ſecure our Religion and Laws; even at the Hazard of their own Diſſolution, which the Duke was able to obtain.*

SIR,

I Am very ſenſible of the great Honour you were pleaſed to do me in your laſt, which I received immediately after our late unhappy Diſſolution; but could have wiſhed you would have laid your Commands on ſome more able Perſon, to have given you Satisfaction in the Matter you there propoſe relating to the Duke *, who, you ſeem to inſinuate, was like (if the Parliament had continued) to have received hard Meaſure †. I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs to you, I was not long ſince perfectly of your Opinion, and thought it the higheſt Injuſtice imaginable, for any Prince to be debarred of his *native* Right of Succeſſion upon *any* Pretence whatſoever. But, upon a more mature Deliberation and Enquiry, I found my Error proceeded principally from the falſe Notions I had took up of Government itſelf, and from my Ignorance of the Practices of all Communities of Men in all Ages, whenever Self-preſervation and the Neceſſity of their Affairs obliged them to declare their Opinion in Caſes of the like Nature: To the Knowledge of all which, the following Accident, I ſhall relate to you, did very much contribute.

My Occaſions obliging me one Day to attend the Coming of a Friend in a Coffee houſe near *Charing-croſs*, there happened to ſit at the ſame Table with me two ingenious Gentlemen, who, according to the Frankneſs of Converſation now uſed in the Town, began a Diſcourſe on the ſame Subject ‡ you deſire to be more particularly informed in; and having extolled the late Houſe of Commons, as the beſt Number of Men that had ever ſat within thoſe Walls ‖; and that no Houſe had ever more vigorouſly maintained and aſſerted *Engliſh* Liberty and Proteſtant Religion than they had done, as far as the Nature of the Things that came before them, and the Circumſtances of Time would admit (to all which I very readily and heartily aſſented:) They then added, That the great Wiſdom and [illegible] of that Houſe had appeared in nothing more, than in ordering a Bill to be brought in for *Debarring the Duke of* York *from Inheriting the Crown*. A Law they affirmed to be the moſt juſt and reaſonable in the World, and the only proper Remedy to eſtabliſh this Nation on a true and ſolid Intereſt, both in Relation to the preſent and future Times §.

* Of *York*, afterwards King *James* II.

† *i. e.* To have been excluded from Succeeding to the Crown of *England*, upon the Demiſe of his Brother, King *Charles* II, who ſaid that he had no lawful Iſſue.

‡ Of the Succeſſion to the Crown.

‖ Becauſe they without Reſpect to Perſons would have excluded the Enemies of our holy Religion from the Throne, and eſtabliſhed a true Proteſtant Succeſſion, under which only it is poſſible for us to be happy.

§ As it has been long ſince manifeſted, both in King *James* II's Male Adminiſtration, and the Happineſs we now enjoy under a *Proteſtant* King.

To which I could not but reply, That I begged their Pardon, if I differed from them in Opinion; and did believe, That, how honeſtly ſoever the Houſe of Commons might intend in that Matter, yet that the Point of *Succeſſion* was ſo ſacred a Thing, and of ſo high a Nature, that it was *not* ſubjected to their Cognizance: That *Monarchy* was of *Divine Right:* That Princes ſucceeded by Nature and Generation *only*, and not by Authority, Admiſſion, or Approbation of the People; and conſequently, That neither the *Merit* or *Demerit* of their Perſons, nor the different Influences from thence upon the People, were to be reſpected or had in Conſideration; but the Commonwealth ought to obey and ſubmit to the *next* Heir, without any further Inquiſition; and, if he proved a worthy, virtuous, and juſt Prince, it was a great Happineſs; if unjuſt, barbarous, and tyrannical, there was no other Remedy, but Prayer, Patience, and an intire Submiſſion to ſo difficult a Diſpenſation of God's Providence.

I had no ſooner ended my Diſcourſe, but one of the Gentlemen (that was the moſt ſerious in the Company) ſeeing me a young Man, gravely replied, That he could not but be extremely concerned to hear, that ſuch pernicious Notions againſt all lawful Government had been taught in the World: That he believed, they were in me purely the Effects of an Univerſity-Education; and, That it had been my Misfortune, to have had a very high Churchman * for my Tutor, who had endeavoured (as it was their conſtant Practice to all young Gentlemen under their Care) to debauch me with ſuch Principles as would enſlave my Mind to their *Hierarchy* and the *Monarchical* Part of the Government, without any Regard at all to the *Ariſtocratical* and *Popular*; and that fat Parſonages, Prebendſhips, Deanries, and Epiſcopal Sees, were the certain and conſtant Rewards of ſuch Services †: That the Place we were in, was a little too publick for Diſcourſes of this Nature; but, if I would accept of a Bottle of Wine at the next Tavern, he would undertake to give me juſter Meaſures; adding, It was Pity ſo hopeful a Gentleman ſhould be tainted with bad Principles. My Friend, coming in at the ſame Time, proved to be one of their particular Acquaintance; and both he and I readily complied with ſo generous a Motion.

We had no ſooner drank a Glaſs round, but the old Gentleman was pleaſed to renew his Diſcourſe, and ſaid, It was undoubtedly true, that the Inclination of Mankind to live in Company (from whence the Towns, Cities, and Commonwealths) did proceed of Nature, and conſequently of God, the Author of Nature. So likewiſe Government, and the Juriſdiction of Magiſtrates in general (which does neceſſarily flow from the living together in Society) is alſo of Nature, and ordained by God for the common Good of Mankind; but that the *particular* Species and Forms of this or that Government, in this or that Manner, to have *many*, *few*, or *one* Governor; or that they ſhould have *this* or *that* Authority, more or leſs, for a longer or a ſhorter Time; or whether ordinarily by *Succeſſion* or by *Election*, all theſe Things (he ſaid) are ordained and diverſified by the *particular Laws* of *every* Country, and are not eſtabliſhed either by Law Natural or Divine, but left by God unto every Nation and Country, to pitch upon what Form of Government they ſhall think moſt proper to promote the common Good of the Whole, and beſt adapted to the Natures, Conſtitutions, and other Circumſtances of the People; which accordingly, for the ſame Reaſons, may be altered or amended in any of its Parts, by the mutual Conſent of the Governors and Governed, whenever they ſhall ſee reaſonable Cauſe ſo to do; all which appears plainly, both from the Diverſity of Governments extant in the World, and by the ſame Nations living ſometimes under one Sort of Government, and ſometimes under another. So we ſee God himſelf permitted his peculiar People, the *Jews*, to live under *divers* Forms of Government; as, firſt, under *Patriarchs*; then under *Captains*; then under *Judges*; then under *High-prieſts*; next under *Kings*; and then under *Captains* and *High-prieſts* again, until they were conquered by the *Romans*, who themſelves alſo firſt lived under *Kings* and then *Conſuls*, whoſe Authority they afterwards *limited* by a *Senate*, by adding *Tribunes* of the People; and, in extraordinary Emergencies of the Commonwealth, they were governed by *Dictators*, and

* Which, in thoſe Days, ſignified one that was ready to turn Papiſt as ſoon as the Prince ſhould countenance that Superſtition.

† This deſcribes the Way to Preferment in the Church, when the Duke of *York* influenced his Brother's Counſels, and diſpoſed of his Places in Church and State.

laſt

laſt of all by *Emperors*. So that it is plain, no Magiſtrate has his particular Government, or an Intereſt of Succeſſion in it, by any *Inſtitution of Nature*, but only by the particular *Conſtitution of the Commonwealth* within itſelf. And as the Kinds of Government are different, ſo alſo are the Meaſures of Power and Authority in the ſame Kind, in different Countries.

I ſhall begin (ſaid he) with that of the *Roman* Empire, which, though it be the firſt in Dignity amongſt Chriſtian Princes, yet it is ſo reſtrained and limited by the particular Laws of the Empire, that he can do much leſs in his State, than other Kings in theirs. He can neither make War, nor exact any Contribution of Men or Money, but by the Conſent of all the States of the *German* Diet: And as for his Children and Relations, they have no Intereſt or Pretence to ſucceed, but only by Election, if they ſhall be thought worthy. Nay, the chiefeſt Article the Emperor ſwears to keep, at his Admiſſion to that Honour, is, That he ſhall *never* endeavour to make the Dignity of the Empire *Hereditary* to his Family.

In *Spain* and in *France* the Privileges of Kings are much more eminent, both in Power and Succeſſion; their Authority is more abſolute; every Order of theirs having the Validity of a Law, and their next of Blood does ordinarily inherit, though in a different Manner. In *Spain* the next Heir cannot ſucceed, but by the Approbation of the Nobility, Biſhops, and and States of the Realm. In *France* the Women are not admitted to ſucceed, let them be never ſo lineally deſcended. In *England* our Kings are much more limited and confined in their Power, than either of the two former; for here no Law can be made, but by Conſent and Authority of Parliament; and as to the Point of Succeſſion, the *next of Kin* is admitted, unleſs in *extraordinary Caſes*, and when *important Reaſons* of State require an *Alteration:* And then the Parliaments of *England* (according to the antient Laws and Statutes of the Realm) have frequently directed and appointed the Succeſſion of the Crown in other Manner than in Courſe it would have gone; of which I ſhall give you ſome Examples in Order.

But firſt let us look Abroad, and ſee how Things have been carried, as to this Point, in other Countries.

Amongſt the *Jews*, the Laws of Succeſſion did ordinarily hold; and accordingly *Rehoboam*, the lawful Son and Heir of *Solomon*, after his Father's Deceaſe, went to *Sichem*, to be crowned and admitted by the People; and the whole Body of the People of *Iſrael*, being there gathered together, did (before they would admit him their lawful King) make unto him certain Propoſitions for taking away ſome heavy Taxes that had been impoſed on them by his Father *Solomon*; which he refuſing to gratify them in, and following the Advice of young Men, ten of the twelve Tribes immediately choſe *Jeroboam*, a Servant of *Rehoboam*'s, a meer Stranger, and of mean Parentage, and made him their King; and God approved thereof, as the Scriptures in expreſs Words do teſtify: For, when *Rehoboam* had raiſed an Army of One-hundred and Four-ſcore Thouſand Men, intending by Force of Arms to have juſtified his Claim, God appeared unto *Semajah*, and commanded him to go to *Rehoboam*, and to the Houſe of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, ſaying, *Return every Man to his Houſe, for this Thing is of me, ſaith the Lord.* So that, ſince God did permit and allow this in his *own Commonwealth*, which was to be the Pattern for all others, no Doubt he will approve the ſame in other Kingdoms, whenever *his Service* and *Glory*, or the *Happineſs of the Weal-Publick* ſhall require it.

The next Inſtance, I ſhall give you, ſhall be in *Spain*, where *Don Alonſo de la Cerda*, having been admitted Prince of *Spain*, in his Father's Life-Time (according to the Cuſtom of that Realm) married *Blancha*, Daughter of *Lewis* the Firſt, King of *France*, and had by her two Sons, named *Alonſo* and *Hernando de la Cerda*; but their Father (who was only Prince) dying before *Alonſo* the Ninth, then King, he recommended them to the Realm as lawful Heirs apparent to the Crown; but Don *Sancho*, their Father's younger Brother, who was a great Warrior, and ſirnamed *El Bravo* *, was admitted Prince, and they put by, in their Grand-father's Life-Time, by his and the States Conſent; and this was done at a Parliament † held at *Segovia*, in the Year 1276; and in the Year 1284 (*Alonſo* the Ninth being dead) Don *Sancho* was acknowledged King, and the two Princes impriſoned; but at the Mediation of *Philip* the Third, King of *France*, their Uncle, they were

* The Valiant.

† Or *Cortes*, *i. e.* The general Meeting of the States.

ſet free, and endowed with conſiderable Revenues in Land; and from them do deſcend the Dukes *De Medina Celi* at this Day; and the preſent King of *Spain* that is in Poſſeſſion * deſcendeth from Don *Sancho*.

In *France*, *Lewis* the Fourth had two Sons, *Lotharin*, who ſucceeded him, and *Charles*, whom he made Duke of *Lorrain*. *Lotharin* dying, left an only Son, named *Lewis*, who dying without Iſſue, after he had reigned two Years, the Crown was to have deſcended on his Uncle *Charles*, Duke of *Lorrain*. But the States of *France* did exclude him, and choſe *Hugo Capetus*, Earl of *Paris*, for their King; and, in an Oration made by their Ambaſſador to *Charles* of *Lorrain*, did give an Account of their Reaſons for ſo Doing, as it is related by *Belforeſt*, a *French* Hiſtorian, in theſe very Words:

"Every Man knoweth (Lord *Charles*) that "the Succeſſion of the Crown and Kingdom of "*France*, according to the ordinary Rights and "Laws of the ſame, belongeth unto you, and "not unto *Hugh Capet* now our King: But "yet the ſame Laws, which do give unto you "ſuch Right of Succeſſion, do judge you alſo "unworthy of the ſame; for that you have "not endeavoured, hitherto, to frame your Life "according to the Preſcript of thoſe Laws, "nor according to the Uſe and Cuſtom of the "Kingdom of *France*; but rather have allied "yourſelves with the *Germans*, our old Ene-"mies, and have accuſtomed yourſelf to "their vile and baſe Manners. Wherefore, "ſince you have abandoned and forſaken the "antient Virtue, Amity, and Sweetneſs of your "Country, your Country has abandoned and "forſaken you; for we have choſen *Hugh* "*Capet* for our King, and have put you by, "and this without any Scruple in our Con-"ſciences at all; eſteeming it far better, and "more juſt, to live under *Hugh Capet*, the Poſ-"ſeſſor of the Crown, with enjoying the an-"tient Uſe of our Laws, Cuſtoms, Privileges, "and Liberties, than under you, the next Heir, "by Blood, in Oppreſſion, ſtrange Cuſtoms, "and Cruelty. For as they, who are to make "a Voyage in a Ship on a dangerous Sea, do "not ſo much reſpect, whether the Pilot claims "Title to the Ship or no, but rather whether "he be ſkilful, valiant, and like to bring them "in Safety to their Way's End; even ſo our "principal Care is to have a good Prince to "lead and guide us happily in this Way of "Civil and Politick Life; which is the End "for which Princes are appointed."

And with this Meſſage ended his Succeſſion and Life, he dying not long after in Priſon.

And now I ſhall come Home, and give you an Inſtance or two in *England* ſince the Conqueſt, and ſo conclude.

William Rufus, ſecond Son of *William the Conqueror*, by the Aſſiſtance of *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had a great Opinion of his Virtue and Probity, was admitted King by the Conſent of the Realm, his elder Brother *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* being then in the War at *Jeruſalem*. *William* dying, his younger Brother *Henry*, by his Ingenuity and fair Carriage, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, who had greateſt Intereſt in the Nobility; and *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, a Leading-man amongſt the Clergy, obtained alſo the Crown. And *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* was a ſecond time excluded. And though this King *Henry* could pretend no other Title to the Crown, than the *Election* and *Omiſſion of the Realm*; yet he defended it ſo well, and God proſpered him with ſuch Succeſs, that, when his elder Brother *Robert* came to claim the Kingdom by Force of Arms, he beat him in a pitched Battle, took him Priſoner, and ſo he died miſerably in Bonds.

King *Henry* had one only Daughter named *Maud*, or *Matilda*, who was married to the Emperor; and he dying without Iſſue, ſhe was afterwards married to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, in *France*, by whom ſhe had a Son named *Henry*, whom his Grandfather declared Heir-apparent to the Crown in his Life-time; yet, after his Death, *Henry* was excluded, and *Stephen*, Earl of *Bulloine*, Son of *Adela*, Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, was, by the States, thought more fit to govern than Prince *Henry*, who was then but a Child. And this was done by the Perſuaſion of *Henry*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and at the Sollicitation of the Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and others, who thought they might do the ſame *lawfully*, and with a *good Conſcience*, for the *publick Good of the Realm*.

But the Event did not prove ſo well as they intended; for this occaſioned great Factions and Diviſions in the Kingdom; for the Quieting of

* *Anno* 1678.

which,

which, there was a Parliament held at *Wallingford*, which paſſed a Law, 'That *Stephen* 'ſhould be King only during his Life, and that 'Prince *Henry* and his Off-ſpring ſhould ſuc-'ceed him;' and by the ſame Law debarred *William*, Son of King *Stephen*, from inheriting the Crown, and only made him Earl of *Norfolk*.

Thus did the Parliament diſpoſe of the Crown in thoſe Days, which was in the Year 1153, which ſufficiently proves what I have aſſerted:

The Sum of all I have ſaid, amounts to this: That Government in general is by the Law of Nature, and conſequently the Ordinance of God; but that the different Forms of Government, whether to reſide in one, few, or many; or whether it ſhall be continued by Succeſſion or by Election, together with the different Meaſures and Limitations of Power and Authority in Governors of the ſame Kind in ſeveral Countries: All theſe Things, I ſay, are ordained by, and purely depend upon poſitive and human Laws. From whence it will neceſſarily follow, That the ſame human Authority (reſiding in King, Lords, and Commons, here in *England*) which gave Being to thoſe Laws for the Good of the Community, is ſuperintendent over them, and both may and ought to make any Addition to, or Alteration of them, when the publick Good and Welfare of the Nation ſhall require it; unleſs you will admit, That an human Authority, eſtabliſhing any Thing intentionally for the common Good of the Society, which in Tract of Time, by Reaſon of unforeſeen Circumſtances and Emergencies, proves deſtructive of it, has by that Act concluded itſelf, and made that accidental Evil, Moral and Unchangeable; which to affirm, is ſenſeleſs and repugnant.

And now, Sir, I hope, by this Time (ſaid the old Gentleman) you begin to think that the Bill for diſabling the Duke was not ſo unjuſt and unreaſonable as was pretended; and that the *Courſe of Succeſſion* (being founded upon the ſame Bottom with *other Civil Conſtitutions*) might likewiſe as juſtly have been altered by the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, as any other Law or Cuſtom whatever.

And here I might conclude; but becauſe, a late *Penſionary* Pen has publickly arraigned the Wiſdom, Loyalty, and Juſtice of the honourable Houſe of Commons, on the Account of this Bill, I will, *ex abundanti*, add a Word or two more to that Particular.

Whereupon he plucked a Paper out of his Pocket, intituled: *Great and weighty Conſiderations relating to the Duke, and Succeſſor of the Crown*, &c. Which, as ſoon as he had read unto us, You ſee here, *ſaid he*, the true Temper of thoſe Men, of whom I firſt gave you Caution. There never was an Endeavour (though in a *Legal* and *Parliamentary* Way) after any Reformation either in Church or State, but the Promoters of it were ſure to be branded by them with the odious Imputations of *Fanaticiſm* and *Faction*: Nay, if the *Country-Electors* of *Parliament-Men* will not pitch upon ſuch Rake-hells of the Nation as are uſually propoſed by them, but, on the Contrary, make Uſe of their Freedom and Conſciences in chuſing able, upright, and deſerving Perſons; and if good Men, thus choſen, do but (according to their Duty in the Houſe) enquire into *publick Grievances*, purſue in a *legal Courſe* notorious Offenders, and conſult and adviſe the Security of the *Government* and *Proteſtant Religion*, the Time-ſerver immediately ſwells, and, in a Paſſion, tells you, That all this proceeds from the old Phanatick Leven, not yet worn out amongſt the People; That we are going back again to *Forty-One* *; and acting over afreſh the Sins of our Forefathers.

Thus ignorantly do they compliment the Times and Perſons they endeavour to expoſe, by appropriating to them ſuch Virtues as were common to good Men in all Ages. But enough of this.

In the next Place, pray obſerve how hypocritically the *Conſiderer* puts this Queſtion, *viz.*

Whether Proteſtant Religion was not ſettled in this Nation by the ſame mighty Hand of God that eſtabliſhed Jeroboam *in the Kingdom of* Iſrael? [And then adds] *Whether we (like that wicked King) ſhould ſo far deſpair of God's Providence in preſerving the Work of his own Hands, as never to think it ſafe, unleſs it be eſtabliſhed on the Quick-ſands of our own wicked Inventions?* [*viz.* The Bill againſt the Duke.]

And, throughout his whole Diſcourſe, he frequently calls all Care of preſerving our Religion, a Miſtruſt of God's Providence; and on that Score calls out to the Nation, *O ye of little Faith*,

* *Viz.* To grow ſeditious.

&c.

&c. Now I will allow him, That the *leaſt* Evil is not to be done, that the *greateſt* and *moſt important* Good may enſue: But that the Bill for Diſabling the Duke is highly juſtifiable both by the Laws of God, and Conſtitution of our Government, I think by my former Diſcourſe I have left no Room to doubt; and, the *Conſiderer* having ſcarce attempted to prove the Contrary, it is prepoſterouſly done of him, to give us his Uſe of Reproof, before he has cleared his Doctrine.

However, I owe him many Thanks for putting me in Mind how *Proteſtant* Religion was firſt eſtabliſhed here in *England*; it was, indeed, by the mighty Hand of God influencing the Publick Councils of the Nation, ſo that all imaginable Care was taken both by Prince and People, to reſcue themſelves from under the *Romiſh* Yoke; and, accordingly, moſt excellent Laws were made againſt the Uſurpation and Tyranny of that Man of Sin *. Our Noble Anceſtors, in thoſe Days, did not palliate a Want of Zeal for their Religion, with a lazy Pretence, of truſting in God's Providence; but, together with their Prayers to, and Affiance in Heaven, they joined the Acts of their own Duty, without which (they very well knew) they had no Reaſon to expect a Bleſſing from it.

But now be pleaſed to take Notice of the Candor of this worthy *Conſiderer*; nothing leſs will ſerve his Turn, than the proving all the Voters for the Bill guilty of the higheſt Perjury: *For* (ſays he) *they have all ſworn in the Oath of Allegiance, to bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors: But the Duke is Heir*, Ergo, *&c.* A very hopeful Argument, indeed! But what if it ſhould happen (as it is neither impoſſible, nor very improbable to imagine it) that the next Heir to the Crown ſhould commit Treaſon, and conſpire the Death of the preſent Poſſeſſor †, and for this Treaſon ſhould not only be attainted by Parliament, but executed too; pray, Mr. *Conſiderer*, would the Parliament, in this Caſe, be guilty of *Murder* and *Perjury?* I am confident, you will not ſay it. If, therefore, the next Heir become obnoxious to the Government in a *lower Degree*, why may not the ſame Authority proportion the Puniſhment, and leave him his Life, but *debar* him of the Succeſſion? This, I ſay, only to ſhew the Abſurdity of his Argument.

My Anſwer is this: No Man can bear Allegiance to two Perſons at the ſame Time; nor can Allegiance be ever due to a Subject, and, therefore, my Obligation by the Word [*Heir*] in the Oath, does not commence till ſuch Heir has a *preſent Right* ‡ to, or *actual Poſſeſſion* of the Crown; which, if he never attains, either by Reaſon of Death, or any other Act that incapacitates and bars him, then can my Obligation to him by the Word *Heir* in the Oath never have a Beginning.

But, beſides all this, it cannot be denied but that Mr. *Conſiderer*'s Doctrine does bring great Inconveniencies on Succeſſion; for the *next Heir* (by his Way of arguing) is let looſe from all the Reſtrictions and Penalties of Human Laws; and has no other Ties upon him not to ſnatch the Crown out of the Hands of the Poſſeſſor, than purely thoſe of his own Conſcience; which is worthy Mr. *Conſiderer*'s higheſt Conſideration.

I ſhall only take Notice of one Objection more, and then conclude (fearing I have too much treſpaſſed on your Patience already.)

It is very hard (ſays he) *that a Man ſhould loſe his Inheritance, becauſe he is of this or that Perſuaſion in Matters of Religion.*

And, truly Gentlemen, were the Caſe only ſo, I ſhould be intirely of his Mind. But, alas! *Popery* (whatever Mr. *Conſiderer* is pleaſed to inſinuate) is not an harmleſs innocent Perſuaſion of a Number of Men differing in Matters relating to Chriſtian Religion; but is really and truly a *different Religion* from *Chriſtianity* itſelf. Nor is the Inheritance, he there mentions, an Inheritance only of *Black Acre* and *White Acre*, without any Office annexed, which requires him to be *par Officio:* But the Government and Protection of ſeveral Nations, the Making of War and Peace for them; the Preſervation of their Religion; the Diſpoſal of publick Places and Revenues; the Execution of all Laws; together with many other Things of the greateſt Importance, are, in this Caſe, claimed by the Word *Inheritance*; which, if

* The Pope. † This was laid to the Charge of the Duke of *York*. ‡ Alluding to the Poſſibility that King *Charles the Second* might have a legitimate Child before he died.

you

you conſider, and at the ſame Time reflect upon the enſlaving and bloody Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, more particularly the helliſh and damnable Conſpiracy thoſe of that Communion are now carrying on againſt our Lives, our Religion, and our Government; I am confident, you will think it as proper for a *Wolf* to be a *Shepherd*, as it is for a *Papiſt* to be the *Defender of our Faith*, &c.

The old Gentleman had no ſooner ended his Diſcourſe, but I returned him my hearty Thanks, for the Trouble he had been pleaſed to give himſelf on this Occaſion; and I could not but acknowledge, he had given me great Satisfaction in that Affair; what it will give thee, *Charles*, I know not: I am ſure, I parted from him very melancholy, for having been a Fool ſo long. *Adieu.*

I am thy Affectionate,

J. D.

Robin Conſcience: Or, *Conſcionable Robin*: His Progreſs through Court, City, and Country; with his bad Entertainment at each ſeveral Place, &c. *Edinburgh*, Printed in the Year 1683.

I Have been quite through *England* wide,
With many a faint and weary Stride,
To ſee what People there abide,
That loves me.
Poor *Robin Conſcience* is my Name,
Sore vexed with Reproach and Blame:
For all, wherever yet I came,
reprove me.
Few now endure my Preſence here:
I ſhall be baniſh'd quite I fear;
I am deſpiſed every where,
and ſcorned.
Yet is my Fortune now and then
To meet ſome good Woman or Man,
Who have (when they my Woes did ſcan)
ſore mourned,
To think that *Conſcience* is deſpiſed,
Which ought to be moſt highly prized:
This Trick the Devil hath deviſed,
to blind Men.
'Cauſe *Conſcience* tells them of their Ways,
Which are ſo wicked now-a-days,
They ſtop their Ears to what he ſays,
unkind Men.
I firſt of all went to the Court,
Where Lords and Ladies did reſort,
My Entertainment there was ſhort,
cold Welcome.
As ſoon as e'er my Name they heard,
They ran away full ſore afraid,
And thought ſome Goblin had appear'd,
from Hell come.
Conſcience, quoth one, be gone with Speed,
The Court few of thy Name doth breed,
We of thy Preſence have no Need,
be walking.
Thou tell'ſt us of our Pride and Luſt,
Which ſpight of thee we follow muſt,
So out of Court was *Conſcience* thruſt;
no Talking.
Thus baniſh'd, from the Court I went
To *Weſtminſter* incontinent,
Where I, alas! was ſorely ſhent
for Coming.
The Lawyers did againſt me plead:
'Twas no great Matter, ſome there ſaid,
If *Conſcience* quite were knock'd in th' Head.
Then running
From them I fled with winged Haſte,
They did ſo threaten me to baſte,
Thought, it was vain my Breath to waſte
in Counſel.
For Lawyers cannot me abide,
Becauſe for Falſhood I them chide,
And he, that holds not on their Side,
muſt down ſtill.
Unto the City hied I then,
To try what Welcome there Trades-men
Would give poor *Robin Conſcience*, when
I cannot there.
The Shop-keepers, that uſe Deceit;
Did come about me and did threat,
Unleſs I would be gone, to beat
me lame there.

And

And every one, both high and low,
Held *Conſcience* as a mortal Foe,
Becauſe he doth ill Vices ſhow
each Minute.
Therefore the City in Uproar
Againſt me roſe, and me ſo tore,
That I'm reſolved, I'll never more
come in it.
On *Friday* I to *Smithfield* went,
Where being come incontinent,
The Horſe-courſers, with one Conſent,
did chide me.
They ſaid, that I was not myſelf,
And ſaid, I was a pinching Elf,
And they could get more Store of Pelf
beſide me.
I told them of a cheating Trick,
Which makes the Horſes run and kick,
By putting in an Eel that's quick,
i'th Belly.
Another which they uſe full oft,
To bear their lame Jades Heads aloft,
And beat their Buttocks till they're ſoft,
as Jelly.
I told them that their Wealth would rot,
That they by cheating Men thus got,
But they for this ſame Tale would not
abide me.
And charg'd me quickly to be gone:
Quoth they of *Conſcience* we uſe none.
Thoſe, whom I follow with my Mone,
out-ride me.
From thence I ſtepp'd into *Long-lane*,
Where many Brokers did remain,
To try how they would entertain
poor *Conſcience*.
But my Name when I to them told,
The Women did begin to ſcold,
The Men ſaid, they that Word did hold
but Nonſenſe.
For *Conſcience* is ſo hard a Word,
That ſcarce the Broker can afford
To read it, for his Mouth is ſtor'd
with Lying.
He knows not what this *Conſcience* means,
That is no Cauſe unto his Gains;
Thus I was ſcorned for my Pains,
all crying;
Away with *Conſcience* from this Lane,
For we his Preſence do diſdain.
They ſaid, if I come there again
among them,
They ſaid, they'd bind me Back and Side.
Being menaced, away I hie'd;
Thus Worldlings think that, when I chide,
I wrong them.
Among the Butchers then went I,
As ſoon as e'er they did me ſpy,
They threaten'd me moſt ſpightfully,
to kill me.
Quoth one, if *Conſcience* here ſhould dwell,
We were not able to live well,
Nor could we gain, by'th Meat we ſell,
nor will we
Be bound to follow *Conſcience* nice,
Which would confine us to a Price:
Robin be rul'd by my Advice,
quoth he then,
And get thee to ſome other Place,
We hate to look thee in the Face.
I, hearing this, from thence a-pace
did fly them.
To *New-gate* Market went I then,
Where Country-women, Maids, and Men
Were ſelling needful Things; and when
they ſaw me;
At me the Butter-woman rails,
Whoſe Butter weigh'd not down the Scales;
Another comes, and with her Nails
did claw me.
The Bakers, which ſtood in a Row,
Began to brawl at me alſo,
And charged me away to go,
becauſe I
Told them they did make leſſer Bread;
Did not the Law put them in Dread;
There's ſome of them would wiſh them dead,
might Laws die.
Thus chid of them, my Way I took,
Unto *Pye-corner*, where a Cook
Glanc'd at me as the Devil did look,
o'er *Lincoln*.
Conſcience, quoth he, thou ſhew'ſt not Wit,
In coming to this Place unfit:
I'll run thee thorow with a Spit;
then think on
Thoſe Words to thee which I have ſaid,
I cannot well live by my Trade,
If I ſhould ſtill require thy Aid
in Selling;
Sometimes one Joint I muſt roaſt thrice,
'Ere I can ſell it at my Price,
Then here's for thee (who art ſo nice)
no Dwelling.

Perforce he drave me backward ſtill,
Until I came unto *Snow-hill*,
The Sale-men there with Voices ſhrill fell on me.
I was ſo irkſome in their Sight
That they conjured me to Flight,
Or elſe they ſwore (ſuch was their Spight) they'd ſtone me.
At *Turn-again Lane*, the Fiſh-wives there,
And Wenches did ſo rail and ſwear,
Quoth they, no *Conſcience* ſhall come here, we hate him:
Their Bodges, which for Half-pecks go,
They vowed at my Head to throw:
No *Conſcience* they were bred to know, but Prating.
Away thus frighted by thoſe Scolds,
To *Fleet-ſtreet* ſtraight my Love it holds,
Where Men, whoſe Tongues were made in Moulds of Flattery,
Did cry, what lack you Country-men?
But ſeeing me away they ran,
As though the Enemy had began his Battery;
One ſaid to others, Sir, ill News,
Here *Conſcience* comes us to abuſe,
Let us his Preſence all refuſe together,
And boldly ſtand againſt him all,
We ne'er had Uſe of him, nor ſhall
He live with us, what Chance did call him hither?
The Haberdaſhers, that ſell Hats,
Hit *Robin Conſcience* many Pats,
And, like a Company of Cats, they ſcratch'd him:
Quoth they, why com'ſt thou unto us
We love not *Conſcience*, rufaing thus,
They gave him Words opprobrious, and match'd him.
The Mercers and Silk-men alſo,
That live in *Pater-noſter Row*,
Their Hate againſt poor *Conſcience* ſhow: and, when I
Came to that Place, they all did ſet
On me, 'Cauſe I their Gain would let,
Who will both ſwear and lye to get one Penny.
From thence unto *Cheapſide* I paſt,
Where Words in vain I long did waſte,
Out of the Place I ſoon was chac'd.
Quoth one Man,
Conſcience, for thy Preſumption baſe,
Intruding to this golden Place,
Thou Death deſerv'ſt, therefore a-pace, begone, Man:
Think'ſt thou that we have ſo much Gold,
Before our Eyes ſtill to behold,
Will this by *Conſcience* be controll'd, and curbed!
Oh, no poor Fellow, haſte away,
For, if long in this Place thou ſtay,
Thou ſhalt be (I'll be bold to ſay) diſturbed.
From thence I turned down *Bread-ſtreet*,
A Cheeſe-monger I there did meet,
He hied away with winged Feet to ſhun me.
How now, quoth I, why run ye ſo?
Quoth he, becauſe I well do know,
That thou art *Conſcience* my old Foe, thou'ſt done me
Great Wrong; while I made Uſe of thee,
And dealt with all Men honeſtly,
A rich Man I could never be: but ſince then,
I baniſh'd have thy Company,
And us'd Deceit with thoſe that buy,
I thrive, and therefore *Robin* hie thee hence then.
I left him with his bad Intent,
And into *Fiſh-ſtreet* ſtraight I went,
Among thoſe Lads, who wiſh that *Lent* were all Year:
As ſoon as e'er they me eſpy'd,
They all at once upon me cry'd,
And ſwore that *Conſcience* ſhould not guide a Stall there.
I ſeeing Things thus ſeeming ſtrange,
That all Men did from Goodneſs range,
Did hie me ſtraight to the *Exchange:* A Merchant
Was ſo affrighted when I came,
But preſently he bluſh'd for Shame,
His Countenance did ſhew the ſame in ſearchant.
Quoth he, Friend *Robin*, what doſt thou,
Here among us Merchants now,
Our Buſineſs will not allow to uſe thee:
For we have Traffick without thee:
And thrive beſt, if thou abſent be,
I for my Part will utterly refuſe thee.

I, being thus abus'd below,
Did walk up Stairs, where on a Row,
Brave Shops of Ware did make a Show
moſt ſumptuous.
But, when the Shop folk me did ſpy,
They drew their dark Light inſtantly,
And ſaid, in Coming there was I
preſumptuous.
The gallant Girls, that there ſold Knacks,
Which Ladies and brave Women lacks,
When they did ſee me they did wax
in Choler.
Quoth they, we ne'er knew *Conſcience* yet,
And, if he comes our Gains to let,
We'll baniſh him, he'll here not get
one Scholar.
I, being jeered thus and ſcorn'd,
Went down the Stairs, and ſorely mourn'd,
To think that I ſhould thus be turned
a Begging.
To *Gracechurch-ſtreet* I went along,
Where dwell a great ungracious Throng,
That will deceive both Old and Young
with Cogging:
As Drapers, Poulterers, and ſuch,
Who think they never get too much:
The Word *Conſcience* to them is *Dutch*,
or *Spaniſh*.
And harder too, for Speech they'll learn,
With all their Heart to ſerve their Turn,
But *Conſcience*, when they him diſcern,
they baniſh.
I ſeeing all the City given
To uſe Deceit in Spight of Heaven,
To leave their Company, I was driven
perforce then.
So over *London-bridge* in Haſte,
I hiſs'd and ſcoff'd of all Men paſt,
Then I to *Southwark* took, at laſt,
my Courſe then.
When I came there, I hop'd to find
Welcome according to my Mind,
But they were rather more unkind
than *London:*
All Sorts of Men and Women, there,
Aſk'd how I durſt to them appear,
And ſwore my Preſence they would clear
abandon.
I being ſore a-thirſt did go,
Unto an Ale-houſe in the Row,
Meaning a Penny to beſtow
on ſtrong Beer.
But, 'cauſe I for a Quart did call,
My Hoſteſs ſwore ſhe'd bring me Small,
Or elſe I ſhould have none at all,
thus wrong'd there.
I bade her on her Licence look;
Oh, Sir, quoth ſhe, ye are miſtook,
I have my Leſſon without Book,
moſt perfect.
If I my Licence ſhould obſerve,
And not in any Point to ſwerve,
Both I and mine, alas! ſhould ſtarve,
not ſurfeit:
Inſtead of Quart-pot of Pewter,
I fill ſmall Jugs, and need no Tutor:
I Quartridge give to the Geometer
moſt duly.
And he will ſee, and yet be blind,
A Knave made much of will be kind,
If you be one, Sir, tell your Mind,
no truly.
No, no, quoth I, I am no Knave,
No Fellowſhip with ſuch I have:
My Name is *Robin Conſcience* brave,
that wander
From Place to Place, in Hope that ſome
Will as a Servant give me Room:
But all abuſe me where I come
with Slander.
Now, when my Hoſteſs heard me tell
My Name, ſhe ſwore I ſhould not dwell
With her, for I would make her ſell
full Meaſure.
She did conjure me to depart:
Hang *Conſcience*, quoth ſhe, give me Art,
I have not got, by a Penny a Quart,
my Treaſure.
So out of Doors I went with Speed:
And glad ſhe was to be thus freed
Of *Conſcience*, that ſhe might ſpeed
in Frothing.
To the *King*'s *Bench* I needs would go,
The Jailor did me backward throw:
Quoth he, for *Conſcience* here ye know
is nothing.
Through *Blackman-ſtreet* I went, where Whores
Stood gazing, there is many Doors,
There two or three Bawds againſt me roars
moſt loudly:
And bade me get hence a-pace,
Or elſe they'd claw me by the Face:
They ſwore they ſcorn'd me and all Grace,
moſt proudly.

I walk'd

I walk'd into St *George*'s Field,
Where rooking Raſcals I beheld,
That all the Year their Hopes did build
on Cheating:
They were cloſe playing at nine Pins,
I came and told them of their Sins:
Then one among the reſt begins
intreating,
That I would not torment them ſo;
I told them that I would not go:
Why then, quoth he, I'll let thee know,
we care not:
And yet we'll baniſh thee perforce:
Then he began to ſwear and curſe,
And ſaid, prate on till thou art hoarſe,
and ſpare not.
I left them in their Wickedneſs,
And went along in great Diſtreſs,
Bewailing of my bad Succeſs,
and Speed.
A Wind-mill ſtanding there hard by,
Towards the ſame then paſſed I,
But when the Miller did me ſpy,
he cryed,
Away with *Conſcience* I'll none ſuch,
That ſmell with Honeſty ſo much,
I ſhall not quickly fill my Hutch
by due Toll;
I muſt, for every Buſhel of Meal,
A Peck if not three Gallons ſteal,
Therefore with thee I will not deal,
thou true Soul.
Then leaving Cities, Skirts and all,
Where my Welcome it was but ſmall,
I went to try what would befal
i' th' Country.
There thought I to be entertain'd:
But I was likewiſe there diſdain'd
A long Time bootleſs I complain'd
to th' Gentry.
And yet no Service could I have,
Yet, if I would have play'd the Knave,
I might have had Maintenance brave
among them.
Becauſe that I was *Conſcience* poor,
Alas! they thruſt me out of Door,
For *Conſcience*, many of them ſwore,
did wrong them.
Then went I to the Yeomenry,
And Farmers all of the Country,
Deſiring them moſt heartily
to take me;
I told them I would ſell their Corn
Unto the Poor; but then did turn
Me out of Doors, and with great Scorn
forſake me;
One ſaid, he had no Uſe of me,
To ſell his Corn, for, I quoth he,
Muſt not be only rul'd by thee,
in Selling.
If I ſhall *Conſcience* entertain,
He'd make me live in groſſing Gain,
Here is for thee, I tell thee plain,
no Dwelling.
Thus, from the rich Men of the World,
Poor *Conſcience* up and down is hurl'd,
Like angry Curs at me they ſnarl'd,
and check'd me.
Alas! what ſhall I do thought I,
Poor *Robin*, muſt I ſtarve and die?
I, that I muſt, if no body
reſpect me.
At laſt I to myſelf bethought,
Where I muſt go; and Heaven brought
Me to a Place where poor Folks wrought
moſt ſorely,
And there they entertain'd me well
With whom I ever mean to dwell,
With them to ſtay, it thus befel
though poorly.
Thus People, that do labour hard,
Have *Robin Conſcience* in Regard;
For which they ſhall have their Reward
in Heaven.
For all their Sorrows here on Earth,
They ſhall be filled with true Mirth,
Crowns ſhall to them at ſecond Birth
be given.
And all thoſe Caitiffs that deny'd,
To entertain him for their Guide,
When they by *Conſcience* ſhall be try'd
and judged.
Then will they wiſh that they had us'd
Poor *Conſcience* whom they have refus'd,
Whoſe Company they have abus'd,
and grudged.
Thus *Robin Conſcience* that hath had,
Amongſt moſt Men, but Welcome bad,
He now hath found, to make him glad,
Abiding.
'Mong honeſt Folks that hath no Lands,
But got their Living with their Hands,
Theſe are the Friends that to him ſtands,
and's Guiding.

These still keep *Conscience* from grim Death,
And ne'er gainsay whate'er he saith:
These lead their Lives so here beneath,
that dying,
They may ascend from Poverty,
To Glory and great Dignity,
Where they shall live and never die:
While frying
In Hell the Wicked lie, who would
Not use true *Conscience* as they should:
This is but for a Moral told
you in it.

He that observes may somewhat spy,
That savours of Divinity,
For Conscionable Folks do I
begin it.
And so I'll bring all to an End,
It can no honest Man offend,
For those, that *Conscience* do defend,
it praises.
And if that any gall'd Jade kick,
The Author hath devis'd a Trick,
To turn him loose i'th Fields to pick
up Daisies.

An ADDRESS agreed upon at the Committee for the *French* War, and read in the House of Commons, *April* the 19th, 1689.

WE Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *England* in Parliament Assembled, have taken into our most serious Consideration the Condition and State of this Nation, in respect of *France*, and Foreign Alliances; in Order to which, we have examined the Mischiefs brought upon Christendom in late Years by the *French* King, who, without any Respect to Justice, has, by Fraud and Force, endeavoured to subject it to an *Arbitrary* and *Universal Monarchy*.

In Prosecution of this Design, so pernicious to the Repose and Safety of *Europe*, he has neglected none of those Means, how indirect soever, which his *Ambition* or *Avarice* could suggest to him. The *Faith of Treaties* among all Princes, especially Christian Princes, ever held most inviolable, has never been able to restrain him, nor the *solemnest Oaths* to bind him, when any Occasion presented itself for *Extending* the Limits of his Kingdom, or *Oppressing* those, whom his Interest inclined him to qualify by the Name of his Enemies. Witness his haughty and groundless *Declaration of War* against the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, in the Year 1672, in which he assigned *no other Reason* for disturbing that profound Peace, which, thro' God's Mercy, all *Europe* enjoyed at that Time; but *his own Glory*, and *his Resolution* to punish the *Dutch*, for some imaginary Slights and Disrespects, which he would have had the World believe, they had put upon him: Whereas the *true* Occasion of that War was nothing else but a formed Design, laid down and agreed upon by that King and his Accomplices, for the Subversion of the *Liberties* of *Europe*, and for Abolishing the *Commonwealth* of *Holland*, as being too dangerous an Example of Liberty to the Subjects of neighbouring Monarchs. The Zeal for *Catholick Religion*, which was pretended by him in this and the following Wars, did afterwards sufficiently appear to the World, to be no other than a Cloak for his unmeasurable Ambition; for, at the same Time when the Persecution grew hottest against the Protestants of *France*, Letters were intercepted (and published) from him to Count *Teckely*, to give him the greatest Encouragement, and promise him the utmost Assistance in the War, which, in Conjunction with the *Turk*, he then managed against * the first and greatest of all the *Roman* Catholick Princes.

Witness also the many *open* Infractions of the Treaties, both of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Nimenguen* (whereof Your Majesty † is the strongest Guaranty) upon the most frivolous Pretences imaginable, of which the most usual was that of *Dependencies*; an Invention set on Foot on Purpose to serve for a Pretext of Rupture with all his

* The King of *Hungary*, &c.

† As King of *England*. See the Emperor's Letter to King *James the Second*, Page 13.

Neighbours, unleſs they choſe rather to ſatisfy his endleſs Demands, by abandoning one Place after another, to his inſatiable Appetite of Empire, and for maintaining whereof, the two Chambers of *Metz* and *Briſſach* were erected to find out and *forge Titles*, and to *invent Equivocal* Conſtructions for eluding the *plain Meaning* of Treaties concluded and ſworn with the greateſt Solemnity, and than which nothing can be more ſacred among Mankind.

From hence it was alſo, that *Straſburg* was ſo infamouſly ſurpriſed by the *French* King in a Time of *full Peace*, and though great Conditions were agreed and promiſed to the Inhabitants of that City; yet no ſooner was he in Poſſeſſion of it, but all Stipulations were forgotten, and *that* ancient *free* City doth now groan under the ſame Yoke with the reſt of that * King's Subjects.

The building the Fort of *Hunninghen*, contrary to ſo many ſolemn Aſſurances given to the *Swiſs*, and the Affair of *Luxemburgh*, are too well known, to need a particular Deduction. In a Word, the whole Series of the *French* King's Actions, *for many Years laſt paſt*, has been ſo ordered, as if it were his Intention, not only to render his own People extremely miſerable, by intolerable Impoſition of Taxes, to be employed in maintaining an incredible Number of Dragoons, and other Soldiers, to be the Inſtruments of his Cruelty upon ſuch of them as refuſe in all Things to comply with his unjuſt Commands, but likewiſe to hold all the neighbouring Powers in perpetual Alarm and Expence, for the maintaining Armies and Fleets, that they may be in a Poſture to defend themſelves againſt the Invador of their common Safety and Liberties.

Examples of this Sort might be innumerable; but his Invaſion of *Flanders* and *Holland*, ſince the laſt Truce of 1684, and the Outrages committed upon the Empire, by attacking the Fort of *Philipſburg*, without any Declaration of War, at the ſame Time that his Imperial Majeſty was employing all his Forces againſt † the Common Enemy of the Chriſtian Faith, and his waſting the *Palatinate* with Fire and Sword, and murdering an infinite Number of innocent Perſons, for no other Reaſons, as himſelf has publickly declared, but becauſe he thought the *Elector Palatine* faithful to the Intereſt of the Empire, and an Obſtacle to the compaſſing his ambitious Deſigns, are ſufficient Inſtances of this.

To theſe we cannot, but with a particular Reſentment, add the Injuries done to your Majeſty, in the moſt unjuſt and violent Seizing of your Principality of *Orange*, and the utmoſt Inſolencies committed on the Perſons of your Majeſty's Subjects there; and how, to facilitate his Conqueſts upon his Neighbour Princes, he engaged the *Turks* in a War againſt Chriſtendom at the ſame Time.

And, as if violating of Treaties, and ravaging the Countries of his Neighbours States, were not ſufficient Means of advancing his exorbitant Power and Greatneſs, he has conſtantly had Recourſe to the vileſt and meaneſt Arts, for the Ruin of thoſe whom he had taken upon him to ſubdue to his Will and Power, inſinuating himſelf, by his Emiſſaries, under the ſacred Name and Character of *Publick Miniſters*, into thoſe who were intruſted in the Government of Kingdoms and States, ſuborning them by Gifts and Penſions, to the ſelling their Maſters, and betraying their Truſts, and deſcending even to Intrigues by Women, who were ſent or married into the Countries of diverſe potent Princes, to lie as Snakes in their Boſoms, to eat out their Bowels, or to inſtil that Poiſon into them, which might prove the Deſtruction of them and their Countries, of which *Poland*, *Savoy*, and *Spain*, to mention no more at preſent, can give but too ample Teſtimonies.

The inſolent Uſe he has made of his ill-gotten Greatneſs has been as extravagant as the Means of procuring it, for this the ſingle Inſtance of *Genoa* may ſuffice; which without the leaſt Notice or any Ground of a Quarrel whatſoever was bombarded by the *French* Fleet, and the Doge, and four principal Senators of that Free-ſtate, conſtrained in Perſon to humble themſelves at that Monarch's Feet; which in the Style of *France* was called *Chaſtiſing Sovereigns for caſting Umbrage upon his Greatneſs*.

His Practices againſt *England* have been of the ſame Nature, and by corrupt Means he has conſtantly, and with too much Succeſs, endeavoured to get ſuch Power in the Court of *England*, in the Time of King *Charles* the Second, and the late King *James*, as might by Degrees undermine the Government, and true Intereſt of this flouriſhing Kingdom ‡.

* *French*. † The *Turk*. ‡ See the Emperor's Letter in Page 18.

Another Art which he has uſed to weaken *England*, and ſubject it to his aſpiring Deſigns, was never to admit an *equal Balance* of *Trade*, nor conſent to any *juſt Treaty* or Settlement of *Commerce*, by which he promoted our Ruin at our own Charge.

When, from a juſt Apprehenſion of this formidable growing Power of *France*, the Nation became zealous to right themſelves; and the Houſe of Commons, in the Year 1677, being aſſured they ſhould have an actual War againſt *France*, cheerfully raiſed a great Sum of Money, and an Army as readily appeared to carry on the War; *that* Intereſt of *France* had ſtill Power enough to render all this ineffectual, and to fruſtrate the *Nation* of all their Hopes and Expectations.

Nor did *France* only render this deſired War ineffectual, but had Power enough to make us practiſe their Injuſtice and Irregularities (ſome Years before) by turning our Force againſt our next Neighbours *, by aſſaulting their *Smyrna* Fleet.

Nor were they more induſtrious, by corrupt Means, to obtain this Power, than careful, by the ſame Ways to ſupport it; and knowing that from Parliaments *only* could probably proceed an Obſtruction to their ſecret Practices, they attempted to make a Bargain †, That they ſhould not meet in ſuch a Time; in which they might hope to perfect their Deſigns, of enſlaving the Nation.

In the ſame Confidence of this Power they violently ſeized upon Part of *Hudſon's Bay*; and, when the Matter was complained of by the Company, and the Injury offered to be proved, the beſt Expedient *France* could find, to cover their Injuſtice, and prevent Satisfaction, was to make Uſe of their great Intereſt in the Court of *England* to keep it from ever coming to be heard.

The *French King*, in Purſuance of his uſual Methods, of laying hold of any Opportunity that might increaſe his Power, and give Diſturbance to others, has now ‡ carried on an actual War in *Ireland*, ſending thither a great Number of Officers with Money, Arms and Ammunition, and, under the Pretence of aſſiſting the late King *James*, he has taken the Government of Affairs into his Hands, by putting all Officers into Commands, and managing the whole Buſineſs by his Miniſters, and has already begun to uſe the ſame Cruelties and Violences upon your Majeſty's Subjects, as he has lately practiſed in his own Dominions, and in all other Places, where he has got Power enough to deſtroy.

Laſtly, The *French King's* Declaration of War againſt the Crown of *Spain*, is wholly grounded upon its Friendſhip to your Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and no other Cauſe of denouncing War againſt it is therein alledged, than the Reſolution taken in that Court, to favour your Majeſty, whom he moſt injuriouſly terms, *the Uſurper of* England, an Inſolence never-enough to be reſented and deteſted by your Majeſty's Subjects.

After our humble Repreſentation of all theſe Particulars to your Majeſty, if your Majeſty ſhall think fit to enter into a War againſt *France*, We humbly aſſure your Majeſty, That we will give you ſuch Aſſiſtance in *a Parliamentary Way*, as ſhall enable your Majeſty to ſupport and go through the ſame; and we ſhall not doubt, but by the Bleſſing of God, upon your Majeſty's prudent Conduct, a Stop may be put to that growing Greatneſs of the *French* King, which threatens all *Chriſtendom* with no leſs than *abſolute Slavery*; the incredible Quantity of innocent Blood ſhed may be revenged; his oppreſſed Neighbours reſtored to their juſt Rights and Poſſeſſions; your Majeſty's Alliances, and the Treaty of *Nimenguen* ‖ ſupported to that Degree, that all *Europe* in General, and this Nation in Particular may for ever have Occaſion to celebrate your Majeſty as the great Maintainer of Juſtice and Liberty, and the Oppoſer and Overthrower of all Violence, Cruelty, and Arbitrary Power.

* The *Dutch*. † With the King and Miniſtry. ‡ In the Year 1689. ‖ By which proper Caution was taken to curb the haughty Deſigns of *France*, to maintain the Balance of *Europe*, and to ſecure the Proſperity of the Proteſtant States.

MACHIAVEL's Vindication of Himſelf and his Writings, againſt the Imputation of Impiety, Atheiſm, and other high Crimes; extracted from his Letter to his Friend *Zenobius*.

In this Apologetical Letter, Machiavel *endeavours to clear himſelf of three Accuſations*: 1. *Of his favouring* Democracy. 2. *Of his vilifying the Church, as Author of all the Miſgovernment in the World; and, by ſuch Contempts, making Way for Profaneneſs and Atheiſm.* 3. *Of teaching Monarchs, in his Book of the Prince, all the execrable Villanies that can be invented, and inſtructing them how to break Faith, and ſo to oppreſs and enſlave their Subjects; which Particulars, are generally laid to his Charge.*

I. *To the Firſt, he anſwers, That being born and brought up in a Commonwealth*, viz. Florence, *and having had his Share in the managing Affairs, ſometimes in the Quality of Secretary of that City, and ſometimes employed in Embaſſages Abroad; to quit himſelf of his Duty, he began to read the Hiſtories of ancient and modern Times, and thereupon made ſome Obſervations on* Livy, *wherein he carefully avoided all Dogmaticalneſs, and never concluded, from the Excellency of the* Roman *Counſels and Atchievements, that they naturally proceeded from their Government, and were a plain Effect and Conſequence of the Perfection of their Commonwealth*: But, *ſays he*, if Readers will thus judge, how can I in Reaſon be accuſed for that?

Then he gives you a Deſcription of Rebellion, *which he extends, not only to a Riſing in Arms againſt any Government we live under, but to all clandeſtine Conſpiracies too, and believes it to be the greateſt Crime that can be committed amongſt Men*; and yet a Sin, which will be committed, while the World laſts, as often as Princes tyranniſe over their Subjects; for, let the Horror and Guilt be never ſo great, it is impoſſible that Human Nature, which conſiſts of Paſſion, as well as Virtue, can ſupport, with Patience and Submiſſion, the greateſt Cruelty and Injuſtice, whenever either the Weakneſs of their Princes, the Unanimity of the People, or any other favourable Accident ſhall give them reaſonable Hopes to mend their Condition, and provide better for their own Intereſt by Inſurrection.

But as to thoſe who take up Arms to maintain the Politick Conſtitution or Government of their Country, in the Condition it then is, and to defend it from being changed or invaded by the Craft or Force of any Man, though it were the Prince, or chief Magiſtrate himſelf; if ſuch Taking up of Arms be commanded or authoriſed by thoſe who are, by the Orders of that Government, legally intruſted with the Cuſtody of the Liberty of the People, and Foundation of the Government: *Our Author* is ſo far from accounting it a Rebellion, that he believes it laudable, and the Duty of every Member of ſuch Commonwealth.——If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any *mixt Monarchies* in the World.

II. *As*

II. *As to the Accuſation of* Impiety, Machiavel *denies, that his laying the Blame upon the Church of* Rome, *not only for all the Miſgovernment of Chriſtendom, but even for the Depravation, and almoſt total Deſtruction of the Chriſtian Religion in* Italy ; *he denies, I ſay, that ſuch a Blame ſhould make Way for Atheiſm. In order to a further Clearing of himſelf, he makes a moſt pure Profeſſion of Faith, and then goes on to prove, that the Popes have corrupted the Chriſtianiſm :* Nay, *adds he,* we have ſomething more to ſay againſt thoſe ſacrilegious Pretenders to God's Power ; for whereas all other falſe Worſhips have been ſet up by ſome politick Legiſlators, for the Support and Preſervation of Government ; this falſe, this ſpurious Religion, brought in upon the Ruins of Chriſtianity, by the Popes, has deformed the Face of the Government in *Europe*, deſtroying all the good Principles and Morality left us by the Heathens themſelves ; and introduced, inſtead thereof, ſordid, cowardly, and impolitick Notions, whereby they have ſubjected Mankind, and even great Princes and States to their Empire ; and never ſuffered any Orders or Maxims to take Place (where they had Power) that might make a Nation wiſe, honeſt, great, and wealthy. This I have ſet down ſo plainly, in thoſe Paſſages of my Book, which are complained of, *&c. And, indeed, I remember to have read many Things to that Purpoſe, in his Obſervations on* Livy. *True, it is, that he does not there expreſs his Mind ſo fully, but what may be written in a Letter to particular Friends, may not be allowed in a Book, eſpecially under the Tyranny of the Inquiſition, to which he was ſubject.*

Afterwards he purſues to enumerate the Prevarications of the Church of Rome, *and ſhews; That the Popes are ſo far from being the Succeſſors of St.* Peter, *and the Vicars of Chriſt, that they are rather the* Antichriſt, and Man of Sin. *He briefly confutes the Worſhip of Images, the Invocation of Saints, the Perſecution of Hereticks, the Indulgences and Purgatory, the Immunities of the Clergy and Monks,* &c. *There he ſays ſomething, by the Way, worthy our Obſervation, namely,* That the very ſame Year in which *Luther* began to thunder againſt the Pope's Indulgences, *our Author* propheſies, that the Scourge of the Church was not far off. *What Kind of Prophecies thoſe of* Machiavel *might be, I leave Politicians to judge. However, this undeniably proves, that this Letter is genuine. I might add, that thoſe, who are excellently learned in that Science, have ſomething Divine in them ; and, becauſe of the great Chain of Conſequences they foreſee, may foretel ſeveral Things ſome Ages before the Event. The Prophecy of our Author, concerning the Reformation, and the Reviving of Popery, may be an Inſtance of it.*

III. Concerning *the laſt Accuſation, That he teaches Princes how to* enſlave *and* oppreſs *their Subjects : He anſwers, That his Treatiſe is both a Satyre againſt Tyrants, and a true Character of them ; and that he only deſigned to draw ſuch Monſters to the Life, that People might the better know and avoid them. Juſt as a Phyſician deſcribes a foul Diſeaſe, to the end Men may be deterred, and ſhun the Infection of it, or may diſcern and cure it, if it comes upon them. And as to what he affirmed in another Book, That in what Way ſoever Men defended their Country, whether by breaking or keeping their Faith,* It was ever well defended ; *he ſays, he meaned it not in a ſtrict moral Senſe, or Point of Honour ; but would only ſignify, that the Infamy of the Breach of Word would quickly be forgotten and pardoned by the World ; which is ſo true, that even good Succeſs, a far leſs Conſideration than Piety to our Country, commonly cancels the Blame*

of

of ſuch a Perfidy. As we ſee Cæſar *(though not a Whit better than* Cataline*) not only not deteſted by Poſterity, but even crowned with Renown and immortal Fame.*

THE Diſcourſe we had lately (dear *Zenobio*) and the preſſing Importunity of *Guilio Salviati*, that I would uſe ſome Means to wipe off the many Aſperſions caſt upon my Writings, gives you the preſent Trouble of reading this Letter, and me the Pleaſure of writing it.—

I have yielded, you ſee, to the Intreaty of *Guilio*, and the reſt of that Company, for that I eſteem it a Duty to clear that excellent Society, from the Scandal of having ſo dangerous and pernicious a Perſon to be a Member of their Converſation: For by Reaſon of my Age, and ſince the Loſs of my Liberty, and my Sufferings under that Monſter of Luſt and Cruelty, *Alexander de Medici*, ſet over us by the Divine Vengeance for our Sins, I can be capable of no other Deſign or Enjoyment, than to delight and be delighted in the Company of ſo many choice and virtuous Perſons, who now aſſemble themſelves with all Security, under the happy and hopeful Reign of our new Prince *Coſimo*; and, we may ſay, that, though our Commonwealth be not reſtored, our Slavery is at an End, and, that *he, coming in by our own Choice*, may prove, if I have as good Skill in Propheſying, as I have had formerly, Anceſtor to many renowned Princes, who will govern this State in great Quietneſs, and with great Clemency; ſo that our Poſterity is like to enjoy Eaſe and Security, though not that Greatneſs, Wealth and Glory, by which our City hath for ſome Years paſt, even in the moſt factious and tumultuous Times of our Democracy, given Law to *Italy*, and bridled the Ambition of Foreign Princes. But, that I may avoid the Loquacity incident to old Men, I will come to the Buſineſs; if I remember well, the Exceptions, that are taken to theſe poor Things I have publiſhed, are reducible to three.

Firſt, *That in all my Writings I inſinuate my great Affection to the* Democratical Government, *even ſo much as to undervalue that of* Monarchy *in reſpect of it; which laſt I do not obſcurely in many Paſſages teach, and, as it were, perſuade the People to throw off.*

Next, *That in ſome Places I vent very great Impieties, ſlighting and vilifying the* Church *as Author of all the Miſgovernment in the World, and by ſuch Contempt make Way for* Atheiſm *and* Profaneneſs.

And laſtly, *That*, in my *Book of the* Prince, *I teach* Monarchs *all the execrable Villanies that can be invented, and inſtruct them how to break Faith, and to oppreſs and to enſlave their Subjects.*

I ſhall anſwer ſomething to every one of theſe; and, that I may obſerve a right Method, will begin with the firſt.——

I ſhall ſpeak to that which is indeed fit to be wiped off, and which, if it were true, would not only juſtly expoſe me to the Hatred and Vengeance of God, and all good Men, but even deſtroy the Deſign and Purpoſe of all my Writings; which is to treat in ſome Sort, as well as one of my ſmall Parts can hope to do, of the *Politicks*: And how can any Man pretend to write concerning Policy, who deſtroys the moſt eſſential Part of it, which is Obedience to all Governments? It will be very eaſy then for *Guilio Salviati*, or any other Member of our Society, to believe the Proteſtation I make, That *the Animating of private Men*, either directly or indirectly *to diſobey, much leſs to ſhake off any* Government, *how deſpotical ſoever, was never in my Thoughts or Writings*; thoſe, who are unwilling to give Credit to this, may take the Pains to aſſign, in any of my Books, the Paſſages they imagine to tend that Way (for I can think of none myſelf) that ſo I may give ſuch Perſon more particular Satisfaction.

I muſt confeſs I have a Diſcourſe in one of my Books to encourage the *Italian* Nation, to aſſume their ancient Valour, and to expel the *Barbarians*, meaning, as the ancient *Romans* uſe the Word, all Strangers from among us; but that was before the Kings of *Spain* had quiet Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, or the Emperor of the Dutchy of *Milan*; ſo that I could not be interpreted to mean that the People of thoſe two Dominions ſhould be ſtirred up to ſhake off their Princes, becauſe they were Foreigners; ſince at that Time *Lodovic Sforza* was in Poſſeſſion of the one, and King *Frederick* reſtored to the other, both Natives of *Italy*. But my Deſign was to exhort our Country-men not to ſuffer this Province to be the Scene of the Arms and Ambition of *Charles* VIII. or King *Lewis* his Succeſſor, who, when they had a Mind to renew the old Title of the Houſe of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, came with ſuch Force into *Italy*, that not only our Goods were plundered, and our Lands waſted; but even the Li-

berty of our Cities and Government endangered; but to unite and oppose them, and to keep this Province in the Hands of Princes of our own Nation; this my Intention is so visible in the Chapter itself, that I need but refer you to it. Yet, that I may not answer this Imputation barely by denying, *I shall assert in this Place what my Principles are in that which the World calls* Rebellion; which I believe to be, not only *a Rising in Arms* against any Government we live under, but to acknowledge that Word to extend to all *clandestine Conspiracies* too, by which the Peace and Quiet of any Country may be interrupted, and, by Consequence, the Lives and Estates of innocent Persons endangered; *Rebellion*, then, so described, *I hold to be the greatest Crime that can be committed among Men*, both against *Policy*, *Morality*, and *in foro Conscientiæ*; but, notwithstanding all this, *it is an Offence, which will be committed whilst the World lasts, as often as* Princes *tyrannise*, and, by enslaving and oppressing their Subjects, make Magistracy, which was intended for the Benefit of Mankind, prove a Plague and Destruction to it; for, let the Terror and the Guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human Nature, which consists of Passion, as well as Virtue, can support, with Patience and Submission, the greatest Cruelty and Injustice, whenever either the Weakness of their Princes, the Unanimity of the People, or any other favourable Accident, shall give them reasonable Hopes to mend their Condition, and provide better for their own Interest by Insurrection. So that Princes and States, ought, in the Conduct of their Affairs, not only to consider what their People are bound to submit to, if they were inspired from Heaven, or were all moral Philosophers: But to weigh likewise what is probable, *de facto*, to fall out in this corrupt Age of the World, and to reflect upon those dangerous Tumults which have happened frequently, not only upon Oppression, but even by reason of Malversation, and how some *Monarchies* have been wholly subverted, and changed into *Democracies*, by the *Tyranny* of their *Princes*; as we see, to say nothing of *Rome*, the powerful Cantons of *Switzerland*, brought, by that Means, a little before the last Age, to a considerable Commonwealth, courted and fought to by all the Potentates in Christendom. If Princes will seriously consider this Matter, I make no Question, but they will rule with Clemency and Moderation, and return to that excellent Maxim of the Ancients, almost exploded in this Age, That *the Interest of Kings and of their People is the same:* Which Truth, it hath been the whole Design of my Writings, to convince them of.

Now, having gone thus far in the Description of *Rebellion*, *I think myself obliged to tell you, what I conceive not to be* Rebellion. *Whosoever then takes Arms to maintain the Politick Constitution or Government of his Country in the Condition it then is*, I mean, to defend it from being changed or invaded by the Craft or Force of any Man *(although it be the* Prince, *or chief Magistrate himself)* provided, that such Taking up of Arms, be commanded or authorised by those, who are, by the Order of that Government, legally entrusted with the Custody of the Liberty of the People, and Foundation of the Government; this I hold to be so far from *Rebellion*, that I believe it laudable; nay, the Duty of every Member of such Commonwealth; for that he *who fights to support and defend the Government he was born and lives under, cannot deserve the odious Name of* Rebel, *but he who endeavours to destroy it*; if this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixt Government in the World: Yet such is, at this Day, the happy Form, under which almost all *Europe* lives, as the People of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, &c. wherein the Prince hath his Share, and the People theirs: Which last, if they had no Means of recovering their Right, if taken away from them, or defending them, if invaded, would be in the same Estate, as if they had no Title to them, but lived under the Empire of *Turky* or *Muscovy*; and since they have no other Remedy but by Arms, and that it would be of ill Consequence to make every private Man judge when the Rights of the People are invaded (to which they have as lawful a Claim as a Prince to his) which would be apt to produce frequent, and sometimes causeless Tumults; therefore, it hath been the great Wisdom of the Founders of such *Monarchies*, to appoint *Guardians* to their *Liberty*, which, if it be not otherwise expressed, is, and ought to be understood, to reside in the Estates of the Country; which for that Reason (as also to exercise their Shares in the Sovereignty, as making Laws, levying Money) are to be frequently assembled in all the Regions of *Europe*, before-mentioned: These are to assert and maintain the Orders of the Government and the Laws established, and (if it cannot be done otherwise) to arm the People to defend and repel the Force that is upon them:

Nay,

Nay, the Government of *Arragon* goes farther, and, becauſe, in the Intervals of the Eſtates or Courts, many Accidents may intervene to the Prejudice of their Rights, or *Juros*, as they call them, they having, during the Intermiſſion, appointed a Magiſtrate called *El Juſticia*, who is, by the Law and Conſtitution of that Kingdom, to aſſemble the whole People to his Banner, when ever ſuch Rights are incroached upon; who are not only juſtified by the Laws, for ſuch Coming together, but are ſeverely puniſhable in Caſe of Refuſal; ſo that there is no Queſtion, but that if the Kings of *Arragon*, at this Day, very powerful by the Addition of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of *Sicily*, and the Union with *Caſtile*, ſhould in Time to come invade their Kingdom of *Arragon*, with the Forces of their new Dominions, and endeavour to take from them the Rights and Privileges, they enjoy lawfully, by their Conſtitution, there is no Queſtion, I ſay, but they may *(tho' their King be there in Perſon againſt them)* aſſemble under *Juſticia*, and defend their Liberties with as much Juſtice, as if they were invaded by the *French*, or by the *Turk*: *For it were abſurd to think, ſince the People may be legally aſſembled to apprehend Robbers; nay, to deliver Poſſeſſion forcibly detained againſt the Sentence of ſome inferior Court, that they may, and ought not to beſtir themſelves, to keep in being, and preſerve that Government which maintains them in Poſſeſſion of their Liberties and Properties, and defends their Lives too, from being arbitrarily taken away.* But I know, this clear Truth receives Oppoſition in this unreaſonable and corrupt Age, when Men are more prone to flatter the Luſt of Princes than formerly, and the Favourites are more impatient to bear the Impartiality of Laws, than the Sons of *Brutus* were, who complained *Leges eſſe ſurdas*; that is, though they were fine Gentlemen, in Favour with the Ladies, and Miniſters of Kings Pleaſure, yet they could not oppreſs, drink, whore, nor kill the Officers of Juſtice, in the Streets, returning from their Night-Revels; but the Execution of the Laws would reach them, as well as others, who in the Time of *Tarquin*, it ſeems, found the Prince more elozable. Nay, *the* Divines* *themſelves help with their Fallacies to oppugn this Doctrine, by making us believe*, as I ſaid before, *that it is God's Will, all Princes ſhould be abſolute; and are ſo far in Conſpiracy againſt all Mankind*, that *they aſſert*, that in the *Text*, *this ſhall be the Manner of your Kings, God was giving that People the* Jus Divinum *of Government*, when in Truth he was threatening them with the Plagues of *Tyrants*: But, I ſpare the *Divines* here, ſince I ſhall have Occaſion, in diſcourſing of my next Accuſation, to ſhew how that Sort of People have dealt with God's Truth, and with the Intereſt of Men; and to be as good as my Word, I ſhall preſently fall upon that Point, having been tedious already in the former.

I am charged then, in the ſecond Place, with Impiety, in vilifying the Church †, *and ſo to make Way for* Atheiſm. I do not deny, but I have very frequently in my Writings laid the Blame upon the Church of *Rome*, not only for all the Miſgovernment of Chriſtendom, but even for the Depravation, and almoſt total Deſtruction of Chriſtian Religion itſelf, in this Province ‡; but that this Diſcourſe of mine doth or can tend to teach Men Impiety, or to make Way for *Atheiſm*, I peremptorily deny: And, although, for Proof of my Innocence herein, I need but refer you and all others to my Papers themſelves, as they are now publiſhed, where you will find all my Reaſons drawn from Experience and frequent Example cited, which is ever my Way of arguing; yet, ſince I am put upon it, I ſhall, in a few Lines, make that Matter poſſibly a little clearer, and ſhall firſt make Proteſtation, *That, as I do undoubtedly hope by the Merits of* Chriſt *and by Faith in him to attain eternal Salvation, ſo I do firmly believe the Chriſtian Profeſſion, to be the only true Religion now in the World. Next, I am fully perſuaded that all divine Virtues, which God then deſigned to teach the World, are contained in the Books of the Holy Scripture, as they are now extant and received among us. From them I underſtand, that God created Man in Purity and Innocence, and that the firſt of that Species, by their Frailty, loſt at once their Integrity and their Paradiſe, and entailed Sin and Miſery upon their Poſterity: That Almighty God, to repair this Loſs, did out of his infinite Mercy, and with unparallelled Grace and Goodneſs, ſend his only begotten Son into the World to teach us new Truths, to be a perfect Example of Virtue, Goodneſs, and Obedience to reſtore true Religion, degenerated among the* Jews *into Superſtition, Formality, and Hypocriſy,*

* Of the Church of *Rome*, and ſuch as would make their Court to an arbitrary Prince. † Of *Rome*.
‡ Viz. *Italy* or wherever *Popery* ſways the People.

to die for the Salvation of Mankind, and, in fine, to give to us the holy Spirit to regenerate our Hearts, ſupport our Faith, and lead us into all Truth.

Now, if it ſhall appear, that as the Luſt of our firſt Parents did, at that Time, diſappoint the good Intention of God in making a pure World, and brought in by their Diſobedience the Corruptions that are now in it; ſo that ſince likewiſe the Biſhops of *Rome*, by their unſatiable Ambition and Avarice, have deſignedly, as much as in them lies, fruſtrated the merciful Purpoſe, he had in the happy Reſtoration he intended the World by his Son, and in the Renewing and Reforming of human Nature, and have wholly defaced and ſpoiled Chriſtian Religion, and made it a Worldly and Heathenish Thing, and altogether uncapable, as it is practiſed among them, either of directing the Ways of its Profeſſors to Virtue and good Life, or of ſaving their Souls hereafter; if, I ſay, this do appear, I know no Reaſon why I, for detecting thus much, and for giving Warning to the World to take Heed of their Ways, ſhould be accuſed of *Impiety* or *Atheiſm*; *or why his* Holineſs *ſhould be ſo inraged againſt the poor Inhabitants of the* Vallies in Savoy, *and againſt the* Albigenſes *for calling him* Antichriſt. But to find that this is an undoubted Truth, I mean, that the Popes have corrupted Chriſtian Religion, we need but read the New Teſtament, acknowledged by themſelves to be of infallible Truth, and there we ſhall ſee that the Faith and Religion preached by Chriſt, and ſettled afterwards by his Apoſtles, and cultivated by their ſacred Epiſtles, is ſo different a Thing from the Chriſtianity that is now profeſſed and taught at *Rome*, that we ſhould be convinced, that, if thoſe holy Men ſhould be ſent by God again into the World, they would take more Pains to confute this *Gallimaufry*, than ever they did to preach down the Tradition of the *Phariſees*, or the Fables and Idolatry of the *Gentiles*, and would, in Probability, ſuffer a new Martyrdom in that City under the Vicar of Chriſt, for the ſame Doctrine which once animated the *Heathen Tyrants* againſt them: Nay, *we have ſomething more to ſay againſt theſe* Sacrilegious Pretenders *to God's Power*; for, whereas all other falſe Worſhips have been ſet up by ſome politick Legiſlators, for the Support and Preſervation of Government, this falſe, this ſpurious Religion brought in upon the Ruins of Chriſtianity by the Popes, hath deformed the Face of Government in *Europe*, deſtroying all the good Principles and Morality left us by the Heathens themſelves, and introduced, inſtead thereof, ſordid, cowardly, impolitick Notions, whereby they have ſubjected Mankind, and even great Princes and States to their own Empire, and *never ſuffered any Orders or Maxims to take Place, where they have Power, that might make a Nation wiſe, honeſt, great, or wealthy*; this I have ſet down ſo plainly in thoſe Paſſages of my Book which are complained of, that I ſhall ſay nothing at all for the Proof of it in this Place, but refer you thither; and come to ſpeak a little more particularly of my firſt Aſſertion, That the Pope and his Clergy have depraved Chriſtian Religion: Upon this Subject I could infinitely wiſh, now Letters begin to revive again, that ſome learned Pen would employ itſelf, and that ſome Perſon, verſed in the Chronology of the Church, as they call it, would deduce, out of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, the Time and Manner how theſe Abuſes crept in *, and by what Art and Steps this *Babel*, that reaches at Heaven, was built by theſe Sons of the Earth; but this Matter, as unſuitable to the Brevity of a Letter, and, indeed, more to my ſmall Parts and Learning, I ſhall not pretend to, being one who never hitherto ſtudied or writ of Theology, further than it did naturally concern the Politicks; therefore I ſhall not deal by the New Teſtament, as I have done formerly by *Titus Livius*, that is, make Obſervations or Reflexions upon it, and leave you, and Mr. *Guilio*, and the reſt of our Society, to make their Judgment, not citing, like Preachers, the Chapter or Verſe, becauſe the Reading the holy Scripture is little uſed, and, indeed, hardly permitted among us †.

To begin at the Top, I would have any reaſonable Man tell me, whence this unmeaſurable Power, long claimed, and now poſſeſſed by the Biſhop of *Rome*, is derived, *firſt*, of being Chriſt's Vicar, and by that, as I may ſo ſay, pretending to a *Monopoly of the holy Spirit*, which was promiſed and given to the whole Church, that is, to the Elect or Saints, as is plain by a Clauſe in St. *Peter's* Sermon, made the very ſame Time that the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit of God were firſt given to the Apoſtles, who ſays to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, *Repent and be baptiſed every one of you, in the*

* This ſhall be done in the Courſe of this Collection.

† *Roman Catholicks* in *Popiſh* States.

Name

Name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sins, and you shall receive the Gift of the holy Ghost; for this Promise is to you and to your Children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.

Next to judge infallibly of divine Truth and to forgive Sins as Christ did, then to be the Head of all Ecclesiastical Persons and Causes in the World, to be so far above Kings and Princes, as to judge, depose, and deprive them, and to have an absolute Jurisdiction over all the Affairs in Christendom, *in Ordine ad Spiritualia*; yet all this the Canonists allow him, and he makes no Scruple to assume, whilst it is plain, that, in the whole *New Testament*, there is no Description made of such an Officer to be at any Time in the Church, except it be in the Prophecy of the *Apocalypse*, or in one of St. *Paul*'s Epistles, where he says, *who it is that shall sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.* Christ tells us his Kingdom is not of this World, and if any will be the greatest among his Disciples, that he must be Servant to the rest; which shews that his Followers were to be great in Sanctity and Humility, and not in worldly Power.

The Apostle *Paul*, writing to the Christians of those Times, almost in every Epistle commands them, to be obedient to the higher Powers or Magistrates set over them: And St. *Peter* himself (from whom this extravagant Empire is pretended to be derived) in his first Epistle bids us *submit ourselves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's Sake, whether it be to the Kings, or*, &c. And this is enjoined, although it is plain, that they who governed the World, in those Days, were both *Heathens*, *Tyrants*, and *Usurpers*; and in this Submission there is no Exception or Proviso for *Ecclesiastical Immunity*. The Practice as well as Precepts of these holy Men shews plainly that they had no Intention to leave Successors, who should deprive *Hereditary Princes*, from their Right of Reigning, for differing in Religion *, who, without all Doubt, are by the Appointment of the Apostle, and by the Principles of Christianity, to be obeyed and submitted to in Things wherein the fundamental Laws of the Government give them the Power, tho' they were *Jews* or *Gentiles*. If I should tell you by what Texts in Scripture the Popes claim the Powers before-mentioned, it would stir up your Laughter, and prove too light for so serious a Matter; yet, because possibly you may never have heard so much of this Subject before, I shall instance in a few; they tell you, therefore, that the Jurisdiction they pretend over the Church, and the Power of pardoning Sins comes from Christ, to St. *Peter*, and from him to them. *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church; I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatever thou shalt loose on Earth*, &c. From these two *Texts*, ridiculously applied, comes this great Tree, which hath, with its Branches, overspread the whole Earth, and killed all the good and wholesome Plants growing upon it: The first *Text* will never by any Man of Sense be understood to say more than that the *Preachings*, *Sufferings*, *and Ministry of* Peter *was like to be a great Foundation and Pillar of the Doctrine of Christ*? The other *Text*, as also another spoken by our *Saviour* and his *Apostles*, *Whose Sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose Sins ye retain they are retained*, are, by all primitive Fathers, interpreted in this Manner, *Wheresoever you shall effectually preach the Gospel, you shall carry with you Grace and Remission of Sins to them which shall follow your Instructions: But the People, who shall not have these joyful Tidings communicated by you to them, shall remain in Darkness and in their Sins.* But if any will contest, that, by some of these last *Texts*, that *Evangelical Excommunication*, which was afterwards brought into the *Church* by the *Apostles*, was here presignified by *our great Master*, How unlike were those *Censures*, to those now thundered out, as he calls it, by the *Pope*; these were for Edification and not Destruction, to afflict the Flesh for the Salvation of the Soul; that *Apostolical Ordinance* was pronounced for some notorious *Scandal* or *Apostasy* from the Faith, and first decreed by the *Church*, that is, the *whole Congregation* present, and then denounced by the *Pastor*, and reached only to debar such Person from partaking of the *Communion* of Fellowship of that *Church*, till Repentance should re-admit him, but was followed by no other Prosecution or Chastisement, as is now practised †: But suppose all these *Texts* had been as they would have them, how does this make for the Successors of St. *Peter*, or

* Alluding to *Doleman*, or Father *Parsons*'s Book against Queen *Elizabeth*: And to the *Popish* Doctrine of Deposing Kings for their Religion. See Page 28.

† In the Church of *Rome*.

the

the reſt? Or, how can this prove the *Biſhops* of *Rome* to have Right to ſuch Succeſſion? But I make Haſte from this Subject, and ſhall urge but one Text more; which is, *The ſpiritual Man judgeth all Men, but is himſelf judged of none*; from whence it is inferred by the *Canoniſts*, that, firſt, the *Pope is the ſpiritual Man*; and then, that *he is to be Judge of all the World*; and laſt, that *he is never to be liable to any Judgment himſelf*; whereas it is obvious to the meaneſt Underſtanding, that St. *Paul*, in this Text, means to diſtinguiſh between a Perſon inſpired with the Spirit of God, and one remaining in the State of Nature; which latter he ſays cannot judge of thoſe heavenly Gifts and Graces, as he explains himſelf, when he ſays, *The natural Man cannot diſcern the Things of the Spirit, becauſe they are Fooliſhneſs unto him.*

To take my Leave of this Matter wholly out of the Way of my Studies, I beg of you *Zenobio*, and of *Guilio*, and the reſt of our Society, to read over, carefully, the *New Teſtament*, and then to ſee what Ground there is for *Purgatory*, by which all the Wealth and Greatneſs hath accrued to theſe Men; what Colour for their *idolatrous Worſhip of Saints* and their *Images*, and particularly for ſpeaking in their *Hymns* and *Prayers* to a Piece of Wood, *the Croſs* I mean, *Salve Lignum*, &c. And then *ſac nos dignos beneficiorum Chriſti*, as you may may read in that Office *; what Colour or rather what Excuſe for that horrid, unchriſtian, and barbarous Engine, called the *Inquiſition*, brought in by the Command and Authority of the Pope, the Inventor of which *Peter*, a *Dominican* Friar, having been ſlain among the *Albigenſes*, as he well deſerved, is now canoniſed for a Saint, and ſtiled *San Pietro Martine?*

In the dreadful Priſons of this Inquiſition, many faithful and pious Chriſtians, to ſay nothing of honeſt moral *Moors* or *Mahometans*, are tormented and famiſhed, or, if they outlive their Sufferings, burnt publickly to Death, and that only for differing in Religion from the Pope, without having any Crime or the leaſt Miſdemeanor proved or alledged againſt them; and this is inflicted upon theſe poor Creatures, by thoſe who profeſs to believe the Scripture; which tells us, that *Faith is the Gift of God*, without whoſe ſpecial Illumination no Man can obtain it; and therefore is not in Reaſon or Humanity to be puniſhed for wanting it? And Chriſt himſelf hath ſo clearly decided that Point in bidding us let the *Tares and the Wheat grow together till the Harveſt, that I ſhall never make any Difficulty to call him* Antichriſt, *who ſhall uſe the leaſt Perſecution whatſoever, againſt any differing in Matters of Faith from himſelf, whether the Perſon, ſo diſſenting, be* Heretick, Jew, Gentile, *or* Mahometan.

Next, I beſeech you to obſerve in reading *that holy Book*, though *Chriſtian Faſts* are doubtleſs of Divine Right, *what Ground there is for enjoining Fiſh to be eaten, at leaſt Fleſh to be abſtained from for one third Part of the Year*, by which they put the Poor to great Hardſhip, who, not having Purſes to buy wholſome Fiſh, are ſubjected to all the Miſeries and Diſeaſes incident to a bad and unhealthful Diet; whilſt the Rich, and chiefly themſelves and their *Cardinals*, exceed *Lucullus* in their Luxury of *Oyſters*, *Turbats*, tender *Crabs*, and *Carps*, brought ſome Hundreds of Miles to feed their Gluttony, upon theſe penitential Days of Abſtinence from *Beef* and *Pork*: It may be it will lie in the Way of thoſe who obſerve this, to enquire what St. *Paul* means, when he ſays, That *in the latter Days ſome ſhall depart from the Faith, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from Meats, which God hath created to be received with Thankſgiving*; but all theſe Things, and many other Abuſes brought in by theſe *Perverters of Chriſtianity*, will, I hope, e're long be enquired into by ſome of the Diſciples of that *bold Friar* †, who, the very ſame Year ‡ in which I propheſied that the *Scourge* of the *Church* was not far off, began to thunder againſt their Indulgences; and ſince, hath queſtioned many Tenets long received and impoſed upon the World. I ſhall conclude this Diſcourſe, after I have ſaid a Word of the *moſt Helliſh of all the Innovations brought in by the* Popes; *which is, the* Clergy; theſe are *a Sort of Men*, under Pretence of Miniſtring to the People in holy Things, ſet a-part and *ſeparated from the reſt of Mankind, from whom they have a very diſtinct and a very oppoſite Intereſt by a human Ceremony, called by a divine Name*, viz. Ordination; *theſe*, wherever they are found, with the whole Body of the Monks and Friars, who are called the Regular Clergy, *make a Band which may be called*

* The Adoration of the Croſs on *Good Friday*.

‡ 1517.

† *Martin Luther*, who was an *Auguſtine* Friar.

the

the Janizaries *of the Papacy*; *theſe have been the Cauſes of all the Soleciſms and Immoralities in Government, and of all the Impieties and Abominations in* Religion; *and by Conſequence, of all the Diſorder, Villany, and Corruption we ſuffer under in this deteſtable Age*; *theſe Men*, by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Help, *have crept into all the Governments of Chriſtendom, where there is any Mixture of* Monarchy, *and made themſelves a third Eſtate*; that is, have by their *Temporalities*, which are almoſt a third Part of all the Land in *Europe*, given them by the blind Zeal, or rather Folly of the *Northern People*, who over-ran this Part of the World, *ſtepped into the Throne*, and what they cannot perform by theſe Secular Helps, and by the Dependency their Vaſſals have upon them, they fail not to claim and to uſurp by the Power they pretend to have from God and his Vicegerent at *Rome*. They * exempt themſelves, their Lands and Goods, from all Secular Juriſdiction, that is, from all Courts of Juſtice and Magiſtracy, and will be Judges in their own Cauſes, as in Matters of Tythe, *&c.* and not content with this, will appoint Courts of their own to decide Sovereignty in Teſtamentary Matters and many other Cauſes, and take upon them to be the ſole Puniſhers of many great Crimes, as Witchcraft, Sorcery, Adultery, and all Uncleanneſs. To ſay nothing of the forementioned Judicatory of the Inquiſition; in theſe laſt Caſes, *they turn the Offenders over to be puniſhed (when they have given Sentence) by the Secular Arm* (ſo they call the Magiſtrate) *who is blindly to execute their Decrees under Pain of Hell-fire*; *as if Chriſtian Princes and Governors were appointed only by God to be their Bravo's or Hangmen*: They give Protection and Sanctuary to all execrable Offenders †, even to Murderers themſelves, whom God commanded to be indiſpenſably puniſhed with Death: If they come within their Churches, Cloyſters, or any other Place which they will pleaſe to call *Holy Ground*; and if the ordinary Juſtice, nay, the Sovereign Power do proceed againſt ſuch Offender, they thunder out their *Excommunication*; that is, cut off from the Body of Chriſt not the Prince only, but the whole Nation and People, ſhutting the Church Doors, and commanding Divine Offices to ceaſe, and ſometimes even authoriſing the People to riſe up in Arms, and conſtrain their Governors to a Submiſſion, as happened to this poor City in the Time of our Anceſtors; when, for but forbidding the Servant of a poor *Carmelite* Friar who had vowed Poverty, and ſhould have kept none to go armed, and puniſhing his Diſobedience with Impriſonment, our whole Senate, with their *Gonfalonier*, were conſtrained to go to *Avignon* for Abſolution; and, in Caſe of Refuſal, had been maſſacred by the People. *It would almoſt aſtoniſh a wiſe Man to imagine how theſe Folks ſhould acquire an Empire ſo deſtructive to Chriſtian Religion, and ſo pernicious to the Intereſt of Men*; but it will not ſeem ſo miraculous to them who ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, that *the Clergy hath been for more than this thouſand Years upon the Catch, and a formed united Corporation againſt the Purity of Religion and Intereſt of Mankind*, and have not only wreſted the Holy Scriptures to their own Advantage, which they have kept from the Laity in unknown Languages, and by prohibiting the Reading thereof; but made Uſe likewiſe, firſt, of the blind Devotion and Ignorance of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, &c. and ſince, of the Ambition and Avarice of Chriſtian Princes, ſtirring them up one againſt another, and ſending them upon fooliſh Errands to the *Holy Land* ‡, to loſe their Lives and to leave their Dominions, in the mean Time, expoſed to themſelves and their Complices; they have, beſides, kept Learning and Knowledge among themſelves, ſtifling the Light of the Goſpel, crying down moral Virtues as ſplendid Sins, defacing human Policy, deſtroying the Purity of the Chriſtian Faith and Profeſſion, and all that was virtuous, prudent, regular, and orderly upon Earth, ſo that *whoever would do Good and good Men Service, get himſelf immortal Honour in this Life, and eternal Glory in the next, would reſtore the good Policy (I had almoſt ſaid with my Author*, Livy, *the Sanctity too) of the Heathens, with all their Valour and other glorious Endowments*; *I ſay, whoever would do this, muſt make himſelf powerful enough to extirpate this curſed and apoſtate Race* ‖ *out of the World.*

I hope I ſhall not be thought impious any longer upon this Point, I mean for vindicating Chriſtian Religion from the Aſſaults of theſe Men, who, having the Confidence to

* In the Church of *Rome*. † In *Popiſh* States, ſet a-part for Religious Exerciſes, is protected from Juſtice. ‡ To recover *Jeruſalem* from the *Turk*. ‖ Of *Popery*.

believe,

believe, or, at leaſt, profeſs themſelves the only Inſtruments which God hath choſen, or can chooſe to teach and reform the World, though they have neither moral Virtues nor natural Parts equal to other Men, for the moſt Part, have by this Pretence prevailed ſo far upon the common Sort of People, and upon ſome too of a better Quality, that they are perſuaded their Salvation, or eternal Damnation, depends upon believing or not believing of what they ſay. I would not be underſtood to diſſuade any from honouring the *true Apoſtolick Teachers*, when they ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed among us, or *from allowing them* (even of Right, and not of Alms or Courteſy) *ſuch Emoluments as may enable* them *cheerfully to perform the Duties of their Charge, to provide for their Children, and even to uſe Hoſpitality*, as they are commanded by St. *Paul*. But this *I will propheſy* before I conclude, That *if Princes ſhall perform this Buſineſs by Halves, and leave any Root of this Clergy, or Prieſt-craft, as it now is in the Ground; then, I ſay, I muſt foretel, that the* Magiſtrates, *will find themſelves deceived in their Expectation; and that the leaſt Fibre of this Plant will over-run again the whole Vineyard of the Lord*, and turn to a diffuſive Papacy in every Dioceſs, perhaps in every Pariſh: *So that God in his Mercy inſpire them to cut out the Core of the Ulcer, and the Bag of this Impoſture, that it may never rankle or feſter any more, nor break out hereafter to diffuſe new Corruption and Putrefaction through the Body of* Chriſt, *which is his* Holy Church, *to viciate and infect the good Order and true Policy of* Government.

I come now to the laſt Branch of my Charge; which is, *That I teach Princes Villany, and how to enſlave and oppreſs their Subjects.* If any Man will read over my Book of the *Prince* with Impartiality and ordinary Charity, he will eaſily perceive, that it is not my Intention therein to recommend that Government, or thoſe Men there deſcribed to the World; much leſs to teach Men to trample upon good Men, and all that is ſacred and venerable upon Earth, Laws, Religion, Honeſty, and what not: If I have been a little too punctual in deſcribing theſe Monſters, and drawn them to the Life in all their Lineaments and Colours, I hope Mankind will know them the better, to avoid them, my *Treatiſe* being both a *Satyre* againſt them, and a true *Character* of them ------

Whoever in his Empire is tied to no other Rules than thoſe of his own Will and Luſt, muſt either be a Saint *or elſe a very* Devil incarnate; *or, if he be neither of theſe, both his Life and his Reign are like to be very ſhort; for whoſoever takes upon him ſo execrable an Employment, as to rule Men againſt the Laws of Nature and Reaſon, muſt turn all topſy turvy, and never ſtick at any thing; for*, if once he halt, he will fall and never riſe again, *&c.* And ſo I bid you farewel (1 *April*, 1537.)

The Hiſtory of the moſt unfortunate Prince, King *Edward the Second*; with choice Political Obſervations on him and his unhappy Favourites, *Gaveſton* and *Spencer*: Containing ſeveral rare Paſſages of thoſe Times, not found in other Hiſtorians; found among the Papers of, and (ſuppoſed to be) writ by the Right Honourable *Henry* Viſcount *Faulkland*, ſometime Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Henry Cary, *Viſcount* Faulkland *(among whoſe Papers the following Hiſtory was found) was born at* Aldnam *in* Hertfordſhire; *his extraordinary Parts, being a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman, and a compleat Courtier, got him ſuch an Eſteem with King* James the Firſt, *that he thought him a Perſon fitly qualified to be* Lord Deputy *of* Ireland *(the Government*

ment of which Place required at that Time a Man of more than ordinary Abilities) which Truſt he very well diſcharged. Being recalled into England, *he lived honourably here, until, by an unfortunate Accident he broke his Leg in* Theobald's *Park; of which ſoon after he died. He was a Perſon of great Gallantry, the Ornament and Support of his Country, which he ſerved with no leſs Faithfulneſs and Prudence* Abroad, *than Honour and Juſtice at* Home, *being an excellent Stateſman. During his Stay at the Univerſity of* Oxford, *his Chamber was the Rendeſvouz of all the eminent Wits, Divines, Philoſophers, Lawyers, Hiſtorians, and Politicians of that Time; for whoſe Converſation he became eminent in all thoſe Qualifications.*

The Subject of the following Hiſtory (ſuppoſed to be written by the above-mentioned Nobleman) is the unhappy *Lives, and* untimely *Deaths, of that unfortunate* Engliſh *King* Edward *the Second, and his two Favourites* Gaveſton *and* Spencer; *for his immoderate Love to whom, (ſays Dr* Heylin) *he was* hated *by the Nobles, and* contemned *by the Commons. This King (ſaith Sir* Richard Baker) *was a comely Perſon, and of great Strength, but much given to Drink, which rendered him unapt to keep any Thing ſecret. His greateſt Fault was, he loved but one, for, if his Love had been divided, it could not have been ſo violent; and, though Love* moderated *be the beſt of Affections, yet the* Extremity *of it is the* worſt *of Paſſions. Two Virtues were eminent in him, above all his Predeceſſors,* Continence *and* Abſtinence; *ſo* continent, *that he left no* baſe Iſſue *behind him; ſo* abſtinent, *that he took no* baſe Courſes *for raiſing Money.*

Our Author cloſes his Hiſtory without declaring the Particulars *of the* Murder *of this Prince; wherefore I ſhall give you an Account thereof, as I find it ſet down by the aforeſaid Sir* Richard Baker.

Many Ways were attempted to take away his Life. Firſt, *they vexed him in his* Diet, *allowing him nothing that he could well endure to eat, but this ſucceeded not:* Then *they* lodged *him in a Chamber over* Carrion *and dead Carcaſes, enough to have poiſoned him; and, indeed, he told a Workman at his Window, he never endured ſo great a Miſery in all his Life; but neither did this ſucceed.* Then *they attempted it by* Poiſons, *but whether by the Strength of his Conſtitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this ſucceed. At laſt the peſtilent* Achitophel, *the Biſhop of* Hereford, *deviſed a Letter to his Keepers, Sir* Thomas Gourney *and Sir* John Mattrevers, *blaming them for giving him too much Liberty, and for not doing the Service which was expected from them; and in the End of his Letter wrote this Line,* Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt; *craftily contriving it in this doubtful Senſe, that both the Keepers might find ſufficient* Warrant, *and himſelf* Excuſe. *The Keepers, gueſſing at his Meaning, took it in the worſt Senſe, and accordingly put it in Execution. They took him in his Bed, and caſting heavy Bolſters upon him, and preſſing him down,* ſtifled *him; and not content with that,* they heated an Iron red-hot, and, through a Pipe, thruſt it up into his Fundament, *that no Marks of Violence might be ſeen; but, though none were ſeen, yet ſome were heard; for, when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Caſtle over. This was the lamentable End of King* Edward *of* Carnarvan, *Son of King* Edward *the Firſt.*

What became of the Actors and Abettors of this deep Tragedy, Sir Winſton Churchill *tells us in theſe Words:*

'*Poor Prince, how unkindly was he treated, upon no other Account but that of his own 'overgreat Kindneſs! Other Princes are blamed for not being ruled by their Counſel-'lors, he for being ſo: Who whilſt he lived, they would have him thought to be a* Sot, '*but being dead, they could have found in their Hearts to have made him a* Saint.

*'How far he wronged his People doth not appear, there being very few or no Taxa-
'tions laid upon them all his Time; but, how rude and unjuſt they were towards him,
'is but too manifeſt. But their Violence was ſeverely paid by Divine Vengeance, not
'only upon the whole Kingdom, when every Vein in the Body Politick was afterwards
'opened, to the endangering the letting out of the Life-blood of the Monarchy in the Age
'following; but upon every particular Perſon conſenting to, or concerned in his Death.
'For as the Throne of his Son that was thus ſet in Blood (though without his own Guilt)
'continued to be imbrued all his Reign, which laſted above fifty Years, with frequent
'Executions, Battles, or Slaughters; the Sword of Juſtice, or his own, being hardly
'ever ſheathed all his Time: So it is ſaid, that the Queen herſelf died mad, upon the
'Apprehenſion of her own, in* Mortimer's *Diſgrace, who was executed at* Tyburn, *and
'hung there two Days, to be a Spectacle of Scorn. The King's Brother* Edmond *had
'this Puniſhment of his Diſloyalty, to be condemned to loſe his Head for his Loyalty, it
'being ſuggeſted (and happy it had been for him if it had been proved) that he endea-
'voured the Reſtoration of his Brother; his Death being imbittered by the Mockery of
'Fortune, whilſt, by keeping him upon the Scaffold five Hours together, before any Bo-
'dy could be found that would execute him, he was deluded with a vain Hope of being
'ſaved. The Fiend* Tarlton, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *who invented the curſed Oracle
'that juſtified the Murderers, died with the very ſame Torture, as if the hot Iron, that
'ſeared his Conſcience, had been thruſt into his Bowels. Of the two Murderers, one
'was taken and butchered at Sea, the other died in Exile, perhaps more miſerable.
'And for the Nobility in general, that were Actors in the Tragedy, they had this Curſe
'upon them, that moſt of their Race were cut off by thoſe Civil Diſcords of their divid-
'ed Families, to which this ſtrange Violation gave the firſt Beginning, not long after.
A dreadful Example, both to* Prince *and* People, *that uſurp unlawful Methods to ac-
compliſh their unjuſt Intentions.*

EDWARD the Second, born at *Carnarvan*, was immediately after the Death of *Edward* the Firſt, his Father, crowned King of *England*. If we may credit the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times, this Prince was of an Aſpect fair and lovely, carrying in his outward Appearance many promiſing Predictions of a ſingular Expectation. But the Judgment, not the Eye, muſt have Preheminence in the Cenſure of human Paſſages, the viſible Calendar is not the true Character of inward Perfection, evidently proved in the Life, Reign, and untimely Death of this unfortunate Monarch.

His Story eclipſeth this glorious Morning, making the Noon-tide of his Sovereignty full of tyrannical Oppreſſions, and the Evening more memorable by his Death and Ruin. Time, the Diſcoverer of Truth, makes evident his Impoſture, and ſhews him to the World, in Converſation *light*, in Will *violent*, in Condition *wayward*, and in Paſſion *irreconcileable*.

Edward his Father, a King no leſs wiſe than fortunate, by his diſcreet Providence, and the Glory of his Arms, had laid him the ſure Foundation of a happy Monarchy. He makes it his laſt Care ſo to inable and inſtruct him, that he might be powerful enough to keep it ſo. From this Conſideration he leads him to the *Scotiſh* Wars, and brings him Home an exact and able Scholar in the Art Military. He ſhews him the Benefit of Time and Occaſion, and makes him underſtand the right Uſe and Advantage. He inſtructs him with the precious Rules of Diſcipline, that he might truly know how to obey, before he came to command a Kingdom. *Laſtly*, he opens the Cloſet of his Heart, and preſents him with the politick Myſteries of State, and teacheth him how to uſe them by his own Example, letting him know, that all theſe Helps are little enough to ſupport the Weight of a Crown, if there were not a correſpondent Worth in him that wears it.

Theſe Principles make the Way open, but the prudent Father had a remaining Taſk of a much harder Temper. He beheld many ſad Remonſtrations of a depraved and vicious Inclination, theſe muſt be purified, or his other Cautions were uſeleſs, and to little Purpoſe. A Corruption

tion in Nature, that by Practice hath won itſelf the Habit of being ill, requires a more than ordinary Care to give it Reformation. Tenderneſs of Fatherly Love abuſeth his Belief, and makes him aſcribe the Imperfections of the Son, to the Heat of Youth, Want of Experience, and the Wickedneſs of thoſe that had betrayed his unripe Knowledge, and eaſy Nature, with ſo baſe Impreſſions. He imagines, Age, and the ſad Burthen of a Kingdom, would, in the Senſe of Honour, work him to Thoughts more innocent and noble; yet he neglects not the beſt Means to prepare and aſſure it. He extends the Height of Entreaty, and uſeth the befitting Severity of his paternal Power, making his Son, know, he muſt be fit for a Scepter, before he enjoy it. He takes from him thoſe tainted Humours of his Leproſy, and enjoins him by all the Ties of Duty and Obedience, no more to admit the Society of ſo baſe and unworthy Companions. *Gaveſton*, the *Ganymede* of his Affections, a Man, as baſe in Birth as Conditions, he ſentenceth to perpetual Exile.

The melancholy Apparitions, of this loth to depart, give the aged Father an Aſſurance, that this *Syren* had too dear a Room in the wanton Cabinet of his Son's Heart. He ſtrives to enlighten his Mind, and to make him quit the Memory of that Dotage, which he foreſaw, in Time, would be his Deſtruction. But Death overtakes him before he could give it Perfection, the Time is come, that he muſt, by the Law of Nature, reſign both his Life and Kingdom.

He ſummons his Son, and bequeaths him this dying Legacy, commanding him, as he will in another Day anſwer his Diſobedience, never to repeal his Sentence. To his Kindred and Peers, that with ſad Tears, and watery Eyes, were the Companions of his Death-bed, he ſhortly diſcourſeth the baſe Conditions of this Paraſite, and lets them underſtand both their own and the Kingdom's Danger, if they withſtood not his Return, if it were occaſioned. They knew his Injunctions were juſt, and promiſe to obſerve them; he is not ſatisfied till they bind it with an Oath, and vow religiouſly to perform it. This ſends him out of the World with more Confidence, than in the true Knowledge of his Son's wilful Diſpoſition he had Cauſe to ground on.

The Father's Funeral Rights performed, *Edward* in the Pride of his Years undertakes the Crown, and Guidance of this glorious Kingdom. He glories in the Advantage, knowing himſelf to be an abſolute King, and at Liberty; yet thinks it not enough, till the *Belief* of the Kingdom did equally aſſure it. He eſteems no Act more proper to confirm it, than running in a direct Strain of Oppoſition againſt his Predeceſſor's Will and Pleaſure. The ſtrong Motive of his violent Affection ſuggeſts Reaſons, that the Majeſty of a King may not be confined from his deareſt Pleaſure. When he was a Son, and a Subject, he had witneſſed his Obedience; being now a King and a Sovereign, he expects a Correſpondence of the ſame Nature. Where there was ſo ready an Inclination in the Will, Reaſon found Strengh enough to warrant it, which made him make *Gaveſton*'s Return the firſt Act of his Sovereignty. No Proteſtation of his Lords, nor Perſuaſion of his Council, can work a Diverſion, or win ſo much as a befitting Reſpect. The Barons, that were unable to withſtand, are contented to obey, attending the Iſſue of this ſo dangerous a Reſolution, Where the News was ſo pleaſing, the Journey is as ſudden; *Gaveſton* loſeth not a Minute, till he felt the Embraces of his Royal Lord and Maſter.

Edward, having thus regained his beloved *Damon*, is ſo tranſported with his Preſence, that he forgets the Will and ordinary Reſpect, due to the greateſt Lords and Pillars of this Kingdom; and hence proceeds their firſt Diſcontent and Murmur. Many Ways are invented to diſſolve this Enchantment, but none more fit and worthy than to engage him in the ſacred Knot of Wedlock. The Intereſt of a Wife was believed the only Remedy to engroſs or divert thoſe unſteddy Affections, which they beheld ſo looſely and unworthily proſtituted. *Iſabel*, the Daughter of the *French* King, the goodlieſt and beautifulleſt Lady of her Time, is moved, and the Tender on all Sides as plauſibly accepted.

This ſends *Edward*, ſcarce a King of nine Months ſtanding, into *France*, and brings him back, ſeized of a Jewel, which not being rightly valued, occaſioned his enſuing Ruin. The Excellency of ſo ſweet and virtuous a Companion could not ſo ſurpriſe her Bridegroom, but *Gaveſton* ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the faireſt Room in his Affections. He makes it more notorious by creating him Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Gift of the goodly Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Wallingford*.

Gaveſton applies himſelf wholly to the Humour of the King, and makes each Word that falls from his Mouth an Oracle; their Affections go Hand in Hand, and the apparent Injuſ-

tice of the one never found Contradiction in the other. The Subject's Voice was ſo fortunate, that it was always concurrent where the King maintained the Party: If the Diſcourſe were Arms, *Gaveſton* extolled it as an Heroic Virtue; if Peace, he maintained it not more uſeful than neceſſary; unlawful Pleaſure he ſtiled a noble Recreation; and unjuſt Actions, the proper and becoming Fruits of an abſolute Monarchy. Theſe Gloſſes ſo betray the willing Ear that heard them, that no Honour is thought good and great enough for the Reporter. The greateſt Command and Offices are in the Perſon or Diſpoſure of *Gaveſton*. The Command of War, and all Proviſions Foreign and Domeſtic, are committed ſolely to his Care and Cuſtody. All Treaties for Peace or War had their Succeſs or Ruin by his Direction and Pleaſure. The King ſigned no Diſpatch private or publick, but by his Conſent or Appointment. So that all Men believed their Sovereign to be but a meer Royal Shadow, without a real Subſtance. Neither was it enough to advance him beyond his Deſert, or the Rules of a modeſt Proportion; but his Power muſt be made more extant in the Commitment to the Tower of the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, whom he quarrels, as the Occaſion of his firſt Baniſhment.

Theſe Inſolencies, carried with ſo great a Height and Contempt, are accompanied with all the Remonſtrances of a juſtly grieved Kingdom. The ancient Nobility, that diſdained ſuch an Equal, juſtly exclaim againſt the Iniquity of the Time, that made him their Superior. The grave Senators, that underſtood their own Worths, are diſcontent to ſee themſelves rejected, while Upſtarts, by Money or Favour, poſſeſs the higher Places. The Soldier, that with his Blood had purchaſed his Experience, laments his own Diſhonour, ſeeing unworthy Striplings advanced, while he, like the Ruins of a goodly Building, is left to the wide World, without Uſe or Reparation. The Commons in a more intemperate Faſhion make known their Griefs, and ſad Oppreſſions.

Gaveſton, that both ſaw and knew the general Diſcontent, ſought not to redreſs it, but, with an ill adviſed Confidence, ſtrives to outdare the worſt of his approaching Danger. *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, and *Pembroke*, whoſe noble Hearts diſdained the overgrown Height of this untimely Muſhroom, let the King know their Fidelity, and his apparent Error. He muſt free himſelf, and right them, or elſe they will ſeek it in another Faſhion.

Edward knew their Complaints were juſt, yet was moſt unwilling to hear or relieve them; till ſeeing their ſtrong Reſolution, and himſelf wholly unprovided to withſtand the Danger, he makes his Affections ſtoop to the preſent Neceſſity, and conſents to a ſecond Baniſhment of his ſo dearly beloved Favourite. *Gaveſton*, in the Height and Pride of his Ambition, is forced to leave his Protector, and to make *Ireland* the Place of his abiding. With a ſad Heart he takes his Leave, departing, yet, with a more Deſire of Revenge, than Sorrow for his Abſence.

All Things thus reconciled, the Kingdom began to receive a new Life; Men's Hopes were ſuitable to their Deſires, and all Things ſeem to promiſe a ſwift and fair Reformation. But the bewitching Charms of this wily Serpent made it ſoon evident, that alone his Death muſt prevent his Miſchief. The perſonal Correſpondency taken away, the Affections of the reſtleſs King becomes far more violent. In the ſhort *Interim* of his Abſence, many reciprocal and ſweet Meſſages interchangeably paſs betwixt them: *Edward* receives none, but he returns with a golden Intereſt. He is not more ſenſible of his Loſs, than the Affront and Injury, which perſuades him, it were too great Indignity for him to ſuffer at the Hand of a Subject: Though, with his own Hazard, he once more calls him Home, pacifying the incenſed Lords, with an Aſſurance of Reconciliation and Amendment. Thoſe ſtrict Admonitions, ſo fully expreſſed, were not powerful enough to reclaim the Fondneſs of the one, and Inſolency of the other.

The King, regaining thus his beloved Minion, doats on him in a far greater Meaſure; and he, to make the Muſick perfect, is of a far more violent Temper. He affronts and condemns his Adverſaries, the ancient Nobility, ſurreptitiouſly waſting and imbezelling the Revenues of the Crown. He inflames the King's Heart, ſo apt to receive it, with all the Motives of Revenge, Unquietneſs, and Diſorder. The Jewels of the Crown, and that rich Table and Treſſels of Gold, are purloined and pawned, to ſupply this wanton Riot. He had ſo true a Knowledge of his Maſter's Weakneſs, that he made him ſolely his. His Creatures were alone preferred, his Agents were the Guides, and no Man hath the King's Ear, Hand, or Purſe, but ſuch

ſuch as were by *Gaveſton* preferred or recommended.

Edward, by his voluptuous Senſuality, ſupplies the Place; but he had the ſole Execution of that Royal Prerogative, that was alone proper to the Crown. The Nobility, whoſe Lion-hearts ſtruggled betwixt the Senſe of their juſt Grief and Allegiance, at length reſolve, the King, as to himſelf, muſt be ſo to them and the Kingdom, or they may no more endure it. With grave and weighty Reaſons, they make the King know both the Error and the Vanity of his Affections; letting him truly underſtand, that they had a dear Intereſt, both in him and the Kingdom, which they would no longer ſuffer to be ſo abuſed and miſguided.

Edward, being himſelf thus hardly preſſed, and that no Entreaty or Diſſimulation could prevail, he muſt now ſet right the Diſorders of the Kingdom, or have his Work done to his Hand, with leſs Honour, and more Danger. Once more he ſubſcribes to their Will, which he ſees he cannot withſtand or alter. *Gaveſton* is again baniſhed, and makes *Flanders*, the next Neighbour, the Place of his Reception. Infinite was the Joy of the Kingdom, who now expected a ſecure Freedom from that dangerous Convulſion that threatened ſo apparent an inteſtine Ruin.

This, their imaginary Happineſs, was made more real and perfect, in the Knowledge, that *Windſor* had bleſſed them with an Heir Apparent. The Royal Father is pleaſed with the News, but had not (whether his divining Spirit, or *Gaveſton*'s Abſence, were the Cauſe) thoſe true Expreſſions of Joy, that in Juſtice became ſo great a Bleſſing. The Abſence of his Minion could not lighten his heavy Soul; but all other Comforts ſeemed vain and counterfeit; his diſtracted Brains take new and deſperate Reſolutions; he revokes the Sentence of his Grief, and vows to juſtify it againſt the utmoſt Strength of Contradiction.

He, that dares do thoſe Things that are diſhoneſt and unjuſt, is not aſhamed to juſtify and maintain them: This Error gave this unfortunate King more Enemies, than he had Friends to defend them. Kings that once falſify their Faiths, more by their proper Will, than a neceſſary Impulſion, grow infamous to foreign Nations, and fearful or ſuſpected to their own peculiar Subjects. He that is guilty of doing Ill, and juſtifies the Action, makes it evident, he hath won unto himſelf a Habit of doing ſo, and a daring Impudence to maintain it by the Protection, of which he believes all Things in a politick Wiſdom lawful. This Poſition may, for a Time, flatter the Profeſſor, but it perpetually ends with Infamy, which ſtands with Reaſon and Juſtice; for, as Virtue is the Roadway to Perfection, ſo is the Corruption of a falſe Heart the true Path to a certain and an unpitied Ruin.

The inraged Barons are not more ſenſible of their own Diſparagement, than the Inconſtancy and Injuſtice of their Sovereign. They think this Affront done to them, and the whole Kingdom, of too high a Nature to be diſpenſed with, yet, with a temperate Reſolution, they a While attend the Iſſue. The Actions of Injuſtice ſeldom leſſen; they believe Progreſſion to be in all Things an excellent moral Virtue. He that hath a Will to do Ill, and doth it, ſeldom looks back, until he be at the Top of the Stairs. This makes the ill-affected Return of this our Favourite, more infamous and hated. With an imperious Storm, he lets the Lords know, he meditates nothing but Revenge, and waits a fit Advantage to entertain it. They believe Time ill loſt in ſo weighty a Cauſe, and therefore draw themſelves and their Forces together, before the King could prevent, or his Abuſer ſhun it. The Clouds preſaging ſo great a Storm, he ſtudies the beſt Means he could to avoid it. The general Diſtaſte of the Kingdom takes from him the Hope of an able Party. *Scarborough* Caſtle, his laſt Refuge, he makes his Sanctuary; but it was too weak againſt the Number of his Enemies, and the Juſtice of their Quarrel. He falls at length into the Power of thoſe, from whom he had no Cauſe to expect Protection or Mercy. The Butterflies of the Time, that were the Friends of his Fortunes, not him, ſeeing the Seaſon changed, betake themſelves to the warmer Climate. His Greatneſs had won him many Servants; but they were but Retainers, that, like Rats, forſook the Houſe, when they beheld it falling. The Spring was laden with many glorious and goodly Bloſſoms, but the Winter of his Age leaves him naked, without a Leaf to truſt to.

In this uncomfortable Caſe, remains this glorious Cedar, in the Hands of thoſe, whom, in his greater Height, he had too much condemned and abuſed. They reſolve to make ſhort and ſure Work, unwilling to receive a Command to the contrary, which they muſt not obey, though it ſhould come from him to whom they had ſworn Obedience. Forſaken, unpitied, ſcorned,

ſcorned, and hated, he falls under the Hands of Juſtice. *Gaverſeed* is the Place which gives the Epilogue to this fatal Tragedy, whence his Adverſaries return more ſatisfied than aſſured.

Thus fell that glorious Minion of *Edward the Second*, who, for a Time, appeared like a blazing Comet, and ſwayed the Juriſdiction of the State of *England*, and her Confederates. He did not remember, in the Smiles and Embraces of his lovely Miſtreſs, that ſhe was blind, nor made himſelf ſuch a Refuge as might ſecure him when ſhe proved unconſtant. Such a Providence had made his End as glorious, as his Beginning fortunate, leaving neither to the juſt Cenſure of Time or Envy.

The King's Vexations, in the Knowledge, are as infinite as hopeleſs; his Paſſions tranſport him beyond the Height of Sorrow. He vows a bitter Revenge, which, in his Weakneſs, he ſtrives to execute with more Speed than Adviſement. The graver Senators, that had moſt Intereſt in his Favour, mildly diſcourſe his Loſs to the beſt Advantage. They lay before him his Contempt and abuſive Carriage, his Inſolence, Honour beyond his Birth, and Wealth above his Merit, which muſt, to all Ages, give a juſt Cauſe to approve their Actions, and his Fortune. The leaſt Touch of his Memory adds more to the King's Affliction, who is fixed not to forget, or forgive, ſo bold and heinous a Treſpaſs.

The Operations in the King were yet ſo powerful, but the Jealouſies of the Actors are as cautelous, ſo fair a Warning-piece bids them in Time make good their own Security. *Lincoln*, the principal Pillar of this Faction, follows his Adverſary to Grave, but with a much fairer Fortune. This Man was a goodly Piece of true Nobility, being in Speech and Converſation ſweet and affable; in Reſolution grave and weighty; his aged Temper active above Belief; and his Wiſdom far more excellent in a ſolid inward Knowledge, than in outward Appearance.

When the Harbinger of Death plucked him by the Sleeve, and he ſaw and knew he muſt leave the World, he calls unto him *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, that had married his Daughter, giving him a ſtrict Impoſition on his Death-bed, that he ſhould carefully maintain the Welfare of the Kingdom, and make good his Place among the Barons. This reverend old Stateſman ſaw the King's Ways, and knew him to be a moſt implacable Enemy, and, with a Kind of ſpeculative Prediction, would often ſeem to lament the Miſery of the Time, where either the King, Kingdom, or both muſt ſuffer. The Son, whoſe noble Heart was before ſeaſoned with the ſame Impreſſions, aſſures it, which he in Time as really performs, though it coſt him the Loſs of his Eſtate, Life, and Honour.

Things are too far paſt to admit a Reconciliation; the King's Meditations are ſolely fixed upon Revenge; and the Lords, how they may prevent, or withſtand it. The Kingdom hangs in a doubtful Suſpenſe, and all Men's Minds are variouſly carried with the Expectation of what would be the Iſſue. Meditation and Interceſſion brings it at length to Parliamentary Diſcuſſion, which, being aſſembled at *London*, enacts many excellent Laws, and binds both the King and Lords by a ſolemn Oath to obſerve them. Thus the Violence of this Fire is a While ſuppreſſed, and raked up in the Embers, that it may (in Opportunity and Advantage) beget a great Danger.

A new Occaſion preſents itſelf, that makes each Part temporiſe for a While, and ſmothers the Thoughts of the enſuing Rumour. *Robert le Bruce* re-enters *Scotland*, whence he had been by *Edward* the Firſt expulſed, inverting all the *Engliſh* Inſtitutions, that had ſo lately ſettled the Peace and Subjection of the Kingdom. *Edward*, tender of his Honour, and careful to preſerve that Purchaſe, that had proved ſo dear a Bargain, adjourns his private Spleen, and provides to ſuppreſs this unlooked for Rebellion. He knew the Juſtice of his Quarrel, and wakens from the Dream, that had given him ſo large a Cauſe of Sorrow. He gives his Intentions a ſmall Intermiſſion, and a leſs Reſpite; with all Speed, he levies an Army, and leads it with his own Perſon. Whether it were the Juſtice of Heaven, or his own Misfortune or Improvidence, the *Scots* attend and encounter him, making *Eaſtrivelyn* the fatal Witneſs of his Diſaſter. His Army loſt and defeated, he returns Home laden with his own Shame and Sorrow. His Return is welcomed with a ſtrange Impoſtor, that pretends himſelf the Heir of *Edward* the Firſt, and the King, the Son of a Baker. A Tale, ſo weak in Truth and Probability, wins neither Belief or Credit. *Voidras*, this imaginary King, is apprehended, and makes *Northampton* Gallows the firſt Stair of his Preferment. His Execution is accompanied with as

ſtrange

ſtrange a Story, which ſuggeſts the Inſtigation of a Spirit, that, in Likeneſs of a Cat, had for two Years Space adviſed it.

The King, with a true feeling Grief, lamenting his diſhonourable Return from *Scotland*, where his noble Father had ſo oft diſplayed his victorious Arms, doth vow with a ſpeedy Reſcue to revenge it. He communicates his Reſolution with the whole Body of his Council, who are, in their Advice, equally concurrent in the Action. The former Loſs exacts a more Care, and a better Proviſion. *York*, as the fitteſt Place, is made the Senate of this grave Aſſembly. Thither reſort all the Sages of the Kingdom, and make it their firſt Deliberation to ſecure *Berwick*, that is one of the Keys of the Kingdom, and expoſed to the greateſt Hazard. This Charge is given to Sir *Peter Spalden*, who was believed able enough, both in Fidelity and Valour. A ſhort Time diſcovers him truly poſſeſſed of neither. A ſmall Sum of Money, with an expectant Preferment promiſed, betrays the Truſt repoſed, and gives the *Scots* the full Poſſeſſion of the Charge to him committed.

The Pope, wiſely foreſeeing into the Miſery of this Diſſenſion, out of his Chriſtian and pious Care, ſends over two Cardinals, to mediate a Peace and Agreement. They, being arrived in *England*, find the King well diſpoſed, ſo the Conditions might be reaſonable, and ſuch as might become his Intereſt and Honour. They paſs from hence into *Scotland*, and are by the Way, with a barbarous Example, ſurpriſed and robbed. The King is infinitely diſcontented with ſo inhuman an Act, that threw a Taint upon the whole Nation. Great Inquiry is preſently made, which finds out the Actors, and ſends Sir *Peter Middleton*, and Sir *Walter Selby*, to a ſhameful and untimely Execution. Immediately at the Heels of this follows another Example, no leſs infamous, and full of Danger.

Sir *Gilbert Denvil*, and others, pretending themſelves to be Outlaws, with a jolly Army, to the Number of Two-hundred, ramble up and down the Country, acting divers notorious Inſolencies and Robberies. The Fame of an Attempt ſo new and unexpected, without a ſpeedy Prevention, ſeemed to intimate a greater Danger. A Commiſſion is immediately ſent out, which apprehends the Heads of this increaſing Miſchief, and delivers them over to the Hand of Juſtice. They which confeſſed themſelves out of the Protection of the Law, and glory in their being ſo, fall under his Rigour.

Thoſe, that duly examined the Truth of this Action, believed the Pretence to be but a Maſk, that hid a more perilous Intention. The King, by his untemperate and undiſcreet Actions, had loſt the Hearts of his People, and there was a general Face of Diſcontent, throughout the whole Kingdom. The Ulcers feſtered daily, more and more, which ſeemed to preſage and threaten, without ſome ſpeedy Prevention, a dangerous Iſſue. All Men diſcover their ill Affections, expecting but a Patron, that durſt declare himſelf, and adventure to hang the Bell about the Cat's Neck. If this diſorderly Attempt, which was but to taſte the People's Inclinations, had ſucceeded, the King (as it was to be feared) had much ſooner felt the general Loſs, and Revolt of his whole Kingdom. But this Work was reſerved to future Time, and the Operation of thoſe who had the Time to effect it with more Power and Pretence of Juſtice. The crying Maladies of this Climate were ſuch, that the Divine Power ſent down, at one and the ſelf-ſame Inſtant, his three fatal Executioners, *Plague*, *Dearth*, and *Famine*, to call upon us for a repentant Reformation. No Part of the Kingdom is free, but was grievouſly afflicted by the unmerciful Proſecution of one, or all theſe fatal angry Sifters. So great a Miſery was too much, but it is ſeconded with a ſudden Invaſion of the hungry *Scots*, who apprehending the Advantage of the preſent Viſitation, and ill Eſtate of their Neighbours, like a Land-Flood, over-run the naked and unprovided Borders.

The Archbiſhop of *York*, a grave and wiſe Prelate in his Element, but as far from the Nature, as Name of a Soldier, reſolves to oppoſe this over-daring and inſolent Eruption. He levies in haſte an Army, in Number hopeful; but it was compoſed of Men, fitter to pray for the Succeſs of a Battle, than to fight it. With theſe, and an undaunted hoping Spirit, he affronts the *Scots*, and gives them Battle, makeing *Mitton* upon *Swale*, that honoured his Enemies with the Glory of a ſecond Triumph, the Place of his Diſaſter. Many Religious Churchmen, with the Purchaſe of their Lives, begin their firſt Apprentiſhip in Arms; whoſe Loſs chriſtened this Overthrow, *The White Battle.*

The Intent of this grave Prelate was, queſtionleſs, worthy of a great and ſingular Commendation,

mendation, but the Act was wholly inconſiderate, weak, and unadviſed. It was not proper for his Calling to undertake a military Function, in which he had no Experience; neither did it agree with his Wiſdom, or Piety, to be an Actor in Blood, though the Occaſion were ſo great and weighty. Too much Care and Confidence, improperly expreſſed, doth many Times overthrow and ruin the Cauſe it ſeeks to ſtrengthen and advantage. There ought to be, in all Conſiderations of this Nature, a mature Deliberation, before we come to Action, elſe we loſe the Glory of our Aims, and commit all to the uncertain Hazard of Time and Fortune. The Cardinals are now returned out of *Scotland*, by whom the King truly underſtands, that the Hopes of Peace are deſperate. Their Leave taken, and Loſſes fairly repaired, they return to *Rome*, acquainting his Holineſs with the Succeſs of their Employment. The Pope being truly informed, that the *Scots* were neither conformable to his Will, or the general Good, excommunicates both that uſurping King and Kingdom.

The King, nearly touched with the Loſs of *Berwick*, inflamed with the Inſolency of his barbarous Enemies, and grieved with ſo great a Loſs of his People, reſolves no more to ſuffer, but to tranſport the War into the very Bowels of *Scotland*. To this Effect, with Speed he haſtens out his Directions, and gives preſent Order for the Levying of Men, Arms, and Money, to begin the War, and continue it. The Royal Command, and Deſire of Revenge, gives Wings to this Reſolution. An Army is ready, and attends the King's Pleaſure, before he conceits his Will truly underſtood, or bruited. Nothing is wanting but his own Perſon, or a fit Commander to lead them; he loſeth no Time, but appears in the Head of his Army, before his Enemies had the leaſt Knowledge of this Aſſembly. With a hopeful Expectation he leads them on, and makes *Berwick* the Rendezvous, that ſhould make his Number compleat and perfect. Before this Strength that had the Warranty of Art and Nature, he makes the firſt Experiment of this Expedition. The Town, begirt, was not more confident of their own Strength, than aſſured of a ſpeedy Supply or Reſcue. This gave the King a longer Delay than he believed, and his Enemies Leiſure to raiſe and enable their Proviſions. They ſaw it a Work too full of Danger and Hazard, to venture the Breach of the Body of ſo great an Army, that in Worth and Number ſo far exceeded. The Memory of former Paſſages and Trials taught them, how to underſtand their preſent Condition; this begets in them a Reſolution more ſolid and hopeful. They leave the Road-way, and war rather by Diſcretion than Valour; which ſucceeds ſo fortunately, that they ſurpriſe all the *Engliſh* Proviſions, and enforce the King to a ſecond Return, more fortunate, yet much leſs honourable. It is true, he retreated, and brought back his Army in Safety; but he had quitted the Siege, which he had vowed to continue, againſt the united Power of *Scotland*, and loſt wholly all that Wealth and Luggage he had carried with him.

This filled all Men's Mouths with a complaining Grief, and made foreign Nations think the *Engliſh* had loſt their former Luſtre, and renowned Valour. It was wondered, that an Enemy, ſo weak and contemptible, ſhould, three ſeveral Times ſucceſſively, bear away the Garland from thoſe, that had ſo often, and knew the Way ſo well, to win and wear it.

But now begins a ſecond Fire of a higher Nature, that made the Kingdom a Theatre ſtained with the nobleſt Blood, that within her Confines had or Life or Being. The King, diſcouraged with his foreign Fortune, lays aſide the Thoughts of Arms, and recalls into his wanton Heart the bewitching Vanities of his Youth, that had formerly bred him ſuch Diſtemper. He was Royally attended; but it was by thoſe that made their Tongues, rather the Orators of a pleaſing Falſhood, than a true Sincerity. Theſe were fit Inſtruments for ſuch an Ear, that would not hear, unleſs the Muſick anſwered in an even Correſpondency. The Infidelity of the Servant is, in a true Conſtruction, the Miſery of the Maſter; which is more or leſs dangerous, as is the Weight or Meaſure of his Employment. It is in the Election of a Crown a principal Conſideration, to chuſe ſuch Attendants, whoſe Integrity may be the Inducement, as well as the Ability, elſe the imaginary Help proves rather a Danger than Aſſiſtance. Neither is it ſafe or honourable, for the Majeſty of a King, to ſeem to depend ſolely on the Wiſdom, Care, or Fidelity of one particular Servant. Multiplicity of able Men is the Glory and Safety of a Crown, which falls by Degrees into Confuſion, when one Man alone acts all Parts, whence proceeds a World of Error and Confuſion.

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The King was not ignorant, that ſuch a Courſe would make ſuch as were his but at ſecond Hand, yet he reſolves to make a new Choice of one to ſupply the Room of his loſt beloved *Gaveſton*. Though his diſeaſed Court was furniſhed with a large Variety, yet his Eye fixeth on *Hugh*, the younger of the *Spencers*, who was always tractable and conformable to the King's Will and Pleaſure. This Man was in Show ſmooth and humble, of an inſinuating Spirit, one that knew his Maſter's Ways, and was ever careful to obſerve them. He had applied himſelf wholly to *Edward*'s Will, and fed his wanton Pleaſures with the Strains of their own Affection. Heat of Spirit, and Height of Blood, conſult more with Paſſion than Reaſon, and a ſhort Deliberation may ſerve, where the Subject was ſo pleaſing, and to each Side agreeable.

The King, to make his Reſolutions eminent, with more Haſte than Adviſement, makes him his Lord Chamberlain, and lets the World know, it was his Love and Will that thus advanced him. Scarcely is this new great Officer warm in his unbefitting Authority, but he exactly follows his Predeceſſor-precedent to the Life, making all Things lawful that were agreeable to his Maſter's Will, or his fantaſtical Humour.

The Peers of the Kingdom, that ſaw the ſudden and haſty Growth of this undeſerving Canker, reſolve to lop or root it up, before it ſhould overtop their Luſtre. *Spencer*, that in the precedent Story of *Gaveſton*, beheld the Danger of his own Condition, begins, in Time, to provide and ſtrengthen a Party. His aged Father, fitter for his Beads than Action, he makes a young Courtier, and wins the King to give him Power and Aſſiſtance. He labours to remove from his Maſter's Ear all ſuch as might endanger him, and ſupplies their Places with ſuch as were his Creatures. Thoſe that were too high for ſuch a Surpriſal, by Perſuaſion, Money, or Alliance, he ſeeks to engage, and make the Parties of this his coming Faction. The Body of the Court thus aſſured, his Actions in the State went in an even Correſpondency. Thoſe that held him at a Diſtance, valuing their Fidelity and Honour before ſo baſe an Advantage, ſaw themſelves diſgracefully caſhiered, and others inſtalled in their Rooms, that had neither Worth, Birth, or Merit. The factious Entertainers of his proffered Amity, not only enjoy their own, but are advanced higher, which made them but the Inſtruments to act and further the Corruptions of his Will and wicked Nature.

This Foundation laid, they now ſeem to contemn all Fear of Danger, and, in that Aſſurance, expreſs their Contempt and Scorn againſt the Nobility, who, they knew, would never entertain their Society or Friendſhip. While thus the Rule and Manage of all the Royal Affairs, in their Power, was daily more and more abuſed, the incenſed Barons met at *Sherborough*, where the Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Prime Agent, lays before them, in a ſhort and grave Diſcourſe, the Iniquity and Danger that ſeemed eminently to threaten both them and the whole Kingdom, if ſuch a Reſolution were not taken, as might aſſure a ſpeedy Prevention. The Fore-knowledge of their Sovereign's Behaviour, which would obſerve no Rule or Proportion in his immodeſt Affections, gave them ſmall Hope to prevail by Perſuaſion or Entreaty. They too well underſtood, that *Spencer*'s Pride was too great and haughty to go leſs without Compulſion, and they muſt ſink a Key, or neither the Kingdom or themſelves (againſt ſo inveterate a Hatred) could expect, in Reaſon, Safety, or Aſſurance. *Hertford*, *Mowbray*, and *Clifford* ſoar a higher Pitch, and, in plain Terms, affirm, That all other Reſolutions were vain and hopeleſs, it was only Arms that muſt right the Time and State ſo much diſordered. *Benningfield* and *Mortimer* approve this Reſolution, and as ſoon give it Life and Action. They enter furiouſly on the Poſſeſſions of their Enemies, ſpoiling and waſting like profeſſed Enemies.

Such an Outrage flies with a nimble Wing to the Ears of the Owner, who as ſoon makes the King the Sharer of his Intelligence, and increaſeth it to his own Advantage. The King ſenſible of ſo great an Affront, and as tender of the one, as cruel to the other, publiſheth, by Proclamation, the Sentence of his Royal Will and Pleaſure. The Actors of this Miſdemeanor muſt appear and juſtify themſelves, or preſently forſake the Kingdom.

The Lords that ſaw their Intereſt at Stake, as they had begun, reſolve to maintain the Quarrel. New Levies and Preparations are daily made, to make good the ſucceeding Iſſue. Yet the more to juſtify thoſe Arms, that in the beſt Conſtruction were deemed rebellious, they ſend to the King a fair and humble Meſſage. The Tenor whereof lets him know, their Intentions were fair and honeſt, and the Arms, thus levied, were rather to defend, than offend

his Perſon; only they in all Humility deſire, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove and puniſh thoſe Vipers, which had too near a Room in his Royal Heart, whereby they had overthrown and undone the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom.

The King, that fears, is enforced to believe. He knew their Informations were juſt, and he had no Power to deny, or withſtand them. He aſſures a Reformation; to make it more real, he adjourns it to the enſuing Parliament, which is immediately ſummoned to appear at *London*. The jealous Lords, that too well knew the Cunning and Hatred of their malicious Adverſaries, appear like themſelves, bravely attended with a Crew of luſty Yeomen well armed, which ſtiled this *The Parliament of White Bands*. The Mayor, ſeeing ſuch a Confluence from all Parts of the Kingdom, ſo ill inclined and well appointed, with a careful Providence reinforceth the City Guards, and planteth a ſtrong Watch throughout all the Strengths and Parts of his Juriſdiction.

This great Aſſembly being now met, the complaining Barons find in both Houſes a ready Belief, and as ſudden a Cenſure. A ſolemn Declaration gives the King Knowledge of their Sentence, which commands both the *Spencers*, Father and Son, into perpetual Exile. The King, as weak in his Diſability, as wilful in the leaſt Advantage, gives a ſad and unwilling Conſent; which, being known, gives the *Spencers* no Time of Imparleance; their Judgment is immediately put in Execution, and they find more Servants than they deſire to attend them to *Dover*, where they are immediately ſhipped to go and ſeek a new Fortune. The Elder, whoſe ſnowy Age, and more Innocence, deſerved Pity, makes his Tears witneſs his true Sorrow, and his Tongue unfold them. He taxeth his Son's Vanity and Ambition, and his own Weakneſs, that had ſo eaſily conſented to his Ruin. He laments his Misfortune, that in the Winter of his Age had caſt him from his Inheritance, and had made him the Sea-mark and Scorn of a whole Kingdom. He confeſſeth the Folly, that led him (by indirect Means) to the Preſervation of his high and ill-acquired Greatneſs. He wiſheth his Carriage had been ſuch, that, in this ſo ſad Change of Fortune, he might have found either Pity or Aſſiſtance. But it is the inſeparable Companion of Greatneſs that is gotten in the By-way, and not by a juſt Deſert or Virtue. It labours to ſupport itſelf more by Cunning and Falſhood, than by a ſweet and winning Temper, when it is of all others the moſt erroneous Maxim, that believes, Affections can be in a ſubordinate Way gotten or aſſured. They are the proper Functions of the Soul, which move alone in their own Courſe, without Force, or the leaſt Impulſion. All other Ways are but Temporary Proviſions, that ſerve the preſent Advantage, but he, that by a juſt Deſert wins the Love and Belief of his Worth, hath laid a ſure Foundation, making his Honour his own, and the Succeſſion hereditary and permanent, to his everlaſting Glory.

Theſe imperious Servants thus removed, the Father, in Obedience to his Doom, betakes himſelf to a foreign Quietneſs. The Son, of a more turbulent and revengeful Spirit, keeps ſtill a Sea-board in the Skirts of the Kingdom, and falling ſhort in Power, to requite the Authors of his Diſgrace, he expreſſeth his Malice to the whole Nation. The Merchants, free from all Suſpicion, in their Voyages and Returns, are pillaged and rifled, and he the principal Actor.

Such a domeſtick Piracy begets a general Terror and Exclamation, which fills the King's Ears, and preſſeth (as it required) a ſpeedy Prevention or Remedy. He knew the Action was foul, but it was one of his own that had done it; and ſuch a one that was too dearly valued, to be either perſecuted or puniſhed. He ſtudies firſt to ſatisfy his own Paſſion, before he right this injurious Carriage againſt the Subject. This makes him reject the wholeſome Admonition of Friends, the Validity of his Laws, and thoſe fearful Apparitions that preſent him with the Danger of ſo foul an Enterpriſe, while with an Example new, and full of aſſured Hazard, he repeals the Sentence of their Exile. This Act gave him too large a Time of Repentance, and may be a befitting Inſtance to all enſuing Poſterity. The Actions, of a Crown are Exemplary, and ſhould be clean, pure, and innocent; the Stains of their Errors die not with them, but are regiſtered in the Story of their Lives, either with Honour or Infamy.

But to proceed in this Hiſtorical Relation: The *Spencers* thus recalled, and reinveſted in their former Favour, they expreſs themſelves in another Kind, and now, by a ſtrong Hand, ſtrive to cruſh, by Degrees, all thoſe of the adverſe Faction. Sir *Bartholomew Baldſmer* was the firſt that taſted their Fury and Injuſtice. His Caſtle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, under a pretended

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and feigned Title, is ſurpriſed and taken from him, without a due Form, or any legal Proceeding. Their Return, and the Abrogation of that Law that baniſhed them, was Provocation enough, there needed not this ſecond Motive to inflame the Hearts of the angry Barons. But when the unjuſt Oppreſſion of the Knight (their Ally and Confederate) was divulged, and came to their Ears, they vow a bitter Revenge, and make Speed to put it in Execution. They ſee the Fruits of their Dalliance, and long abuſed Confidence, and waken out of that Slumber that had fed him with the *Chimera*'s of ſo dull and cold a Proceeding.

The King, who formerly had been ſo often ſurpriſed, in Time arrives to provide a Remedy: He knew his Arms, and not his Tongue, muſt plead the Injuſtice of his Actions, wherein, if he again failed, he feared another Manner of Proceeding. The *Spencers*, that evidently ſaw the Eminency of their own Dangers, make it their Maſter-piece to cruſh the Serpent in the Head before it grew to Perfection. They knew the Height of their Offences were beyond the Hope of Mercy, and there was no Way left of Aſſurance, but that, which they muſt wade through in Blood, and make good, with the Sword, their Lives, or elſe be ſure to loſe them. An Army is provided, and appears at *Shrewsbury* almoſt before it was bruited. The firſt Exploit ſeizeth the two *Mortimers*, that had begun again their former Invaſion of the *Spencers*. Their Strength was great enough for ſuch an Incurſion, but much too weak to withſtand or encounter this Royal Army. This firſt Hanſel, ſo fortunate, gives Life to their Adverſaries, and impriſons them in the *Tower*, before their Aſſociates could be truly informed, or ready to relieve them.

There is now left no Time to diſpute; the Barons muſt with their Arms warrant their Proceedings, or they muſt miſcarry in the Action. They had ſoon gathered a Strength, with which they reſolve to encounter the King at *Burton*. The Knowledge of the great Power that came againſt them, and their own Weakneſs, wins them to a Retreat, not more dangerous than diſhonourable. But their Reaſons were juſt and weighty; the Earl of *Lancaſter* had ſent Sir *Robert Holland* to raiſe his Tenants and Friends, which he hoped would, in Time, reinforce his Army.

Valence, Earl of *Pembroke*, that commands his Maſter's Forces, ſeeing the Diſorder of their Going off, lays Hold of the Advantage, and chargeth them ſo hotly, that they break and betake themſelves to their Heels, with great Loſſes and Confuſion. *Holland*, entruſted by the Earl of *Lancaſter*, having accordingly performed the Work he was employed in, marching up to the Reſcue, is advertiſed of the State of their Affairs, which makes him ſeek his own Peace, and reſign this Supply wholly up, to be diſpoſed at the King's Will and Pleaſure. The Supply, ſo unexpected, is graciouſly received, and there is a ſet Reſolution to employ it to the beſt Advantage.

The deſpairing Lords, with their Adherents, with much ado recover *Pomfret*; there a ſecond Deliberation is taken, which held it the ſafeſt Courſe to paſs on, and to poſſeſs the Caſtle of *Donſtanborough*, which was deemed a Strength tenable enough until they could reinforce their Party, or work their own Conditions. This Reſolution is preſently attempted with more Haſte than Fortune. Sir *Andrew Harkely* meets and encounters them at *Burrowbridge*, where *Hertford*, *Clifford*, and others, died honourably, in maintaining a brave Defence, while *Lancaſter*, *Mowbray*, and many of their Adherents were taken, and with their Heads paid the Ranſom of their Errors. The *Spencers*, like two furious Tigers that had ſeized their Prey, give not their incenſed Maſter Leave, to deliberate on the Weight of ſo ſad a Work; the Lives of many brave Subjects are taken away in an Inſtant, and each Part of the Kingdom is ſtained with Loſs of that noble Blood, that had been much more glorioufly ſpent in a foreign War, than in theſe Domeſtick and Civil Tumults.

Edward, who was apparently guilty of too many other Vices, drowns their Memory in this ſo cruel and bloody a Tyranny. The wreaking Blood of ſo many brave Gentlemen, ſo unfortunately and untimely loſt, doth cry for Vengeance, and hurry on the Deſtruction of the chief and principal Actors. Mercy ſhould precede the Severity of Juſtice, if not to all, yet to ſome, ſince they were not alike guilty. If *Lancaſter* had been of ſo unnoble a Diſpoſition, the *Spencers* had neither had Time nor Cauſe to rejoice in his Ruin. How often had they by a full Advantage had Power of theſe their Enemies, yet made it evident, their Aims were not Blood but Reformation. And aſſuredly, in this their laſt Act, their Intents towards the Crown were innocent in all other Reſpects, than the Deſire of ſupporting it with

more Honour. As Things fell afterwards out, it had been to the King a Happineſs if their Arms had prevailed, for this Victory was the principal and fundamental Cauſe of his enſuing Ruin. Fear, and the Expectation of Danger, kept both him and his Favourites in a better Temper, ſo long as there was ſo ſtrong a Bridle. Certainly, in the Regimen of a Kingdom, it is a wiſe and diſcreet Conſideration to maintain and uphold a divided Faction, and to countenance them ſo, that the one may be ſtill a Counterpoiſe to the other; by this Means the King ſhall be more truly ſerved and informed.

The Subject that is too far exalted, and hath no one to contradict or queſtion him, conſiders not the Juſtice, but the Means to preſerve him, by which the Judgment of the King is taxed, and he is robbed of the Hearts of his People. The greater the Height, the ſtronger is the Working to maintain it, which ſeldom goes alone, but is accompanied, for the moſt Part, with thoſe State-Actions of Impiety and Injuſtice, which draws with it ſo perpetual an Envy and Hatred, that it leads him headlong to a fatal and diſhonourable Concluſion. Though the Fury of this enraged King had ſo fully acted this bloody Tragedy, yet *Mortimer* is ſpared, rather out of Forgetfulneſs than Pity, whoſe Life had been more available than all theſe, that with ſo great a Speed had felt his Rigour. But he is reſerved for a ſecond Courſe, to teach the *Spencers* the ſame *legem talionis*, and *Edward* the plain Song of his Error. The Kingdom ſeems now in better Peace and ſettled; the principal Pillars of the Commonwealth were taken away, and thoſe which remained are utterly diſheartened in the Danger of ſo freſh an Example.

This gains ſuch a Liberty to theſe triumphing *Sycophants*, that they make the whole Kingdom, as it were, the juſt Fruits of an abſolute Conqueſt. The King approves and maintains their Actions, giving them the Regal Power for their Warranty. All Kinds of inſolent and unjuſt Oppreſſions are now confidently practiſed, without Contradiction or Queſtion. No Exaction or unlawful Action is left unattempted, while the grieved Kingdom languiſheth under the Burden, yet durſt not ſtir to redreſs it. The great ones ſuffer baſely beyond their Birth or Honour, yet look faintly one upon another, nor daring to revenge their Quarrel. The Commons murmuring complain, yet find not a Man that will give them Heart or Leading.

The watchful *Spencers*, that ſaw and knew the general Hatred, and Infamy of their own Conditions, leſſen not their Height, or fear the Sequel. With a politick Care they uſe their beſt Means to prevent it. The King's Humour, naturally vicious, they feed, with all the proper Objects, that might pleaſe or more betray his Senſes. They ſtrive to make him alike hateful to his Subjects, that in the Change of Fortune they might together run one and the ſelf-ſame Hazard.

There is yet another Piece of State to this great Work as proper. *Edward* is but a Man, and a Creature in nothing more conſtant than his Affections, yet theſe with Age and Time may alter; this Gap muſt be ſtopped, that they may be more aſſured. *Hugh*, the younger of the *Spencers*, who had a ſearching Brain, wiſe and active, believes this Work had two ſeveral Dependences, the one to keep him in continual Fear, the other in a perpetual Want. Theſe, being marſhalled with Diſcretion, he knew would knit faſt his Maſter's Love, and add to the Opinion of his Wiſdom and Fidelity; impoſing a Kind of neceſſary Impulſion ſtill to continue him. In his Breaſt alone were locked all the Paſſages and Myſteries of State, whereby he was moſt able to provide for the future Inconveniences.

From this Ground, with a Kind of looſe Scorn, he continues the *French* Correſpondence, and ſecretly contriveth a Continuance of the *Scotiſh* Rebellion. He omits no Act of Contempt againſt the antient Nobility, that they might in the Senſe of their Diſgrace be, or at leaſt daily threaten ſome new Combuſtion. The Confluence of ſo many threatening Dangers work the wiſhed Effect, and keep the King in perpetual Fear and Agitation. The ill Succeſs of his Armies, and Expeditions in their Memory, help ſtrongly to increaſe it: Yet is not his faithful Servant neglecting in the ſecond and remaining Part. He ſo orders his Buſineſs, within Doors and without, that the Royal Treaſure of the Crown is profuſely waſteſt and ſpent without Account or Honour. The antient Plate and Jewels of the Crown are in the Lombard, and their Engagement drowned, before it had the Warmth of a ſure Poſſeſſion. The Subject is racked with ſtrange Inventions, and new unheard of Propoſitions for Money, and

and many great Loans required, beyond all Proportion or Order. Laſtly, the Royal Demeans are ſet at Sale, and all Things that might make Money within the Kingdom.

To ſupply theſe Inconveniencies, which are now grown to a greater Height than the Plotter of them intended; a new Parliament is called at *York*, where the elder *Spencer* is advanced to the Earldom of *Wincheſter*; and *Harkely*, another Chip of the ſame Block, is made Earl of *Carliſle*. *Baldock*, a mean Man in Birth, Worth, and Ability, is made Lord Chancellor of *England*.

In this Parliament, which was by Fear and Favour made to his Hand, he makes known the Greatneſs of his Want and Occaſions; the juſtly aggrieved Commons, entering into a deep Conſideration of the Times, freely give the ſixth Penny of all the temporal Goods throughout the whole Kingdom.

When this Act came to the general Knowledge, it utterly eſtranged the Hearts of the Subjects, which plead an Impoſſibility to perform it, in reſpect of thoſe many former Exactions. Yet after ſome light Conteſtation it is levied, no Man daring to make ſo much as a Show of Reſiſtance.

If we may credit all the antient Hiſtorians, who ſeem to agree in this Relation, there were ſeen, at this Time, many Sights fearful and prodigious. Amongſt them no one was ſo remarkable, as that which for ſix Hours Space ſhewed the glorious Sun cloathed all in perfect Blood, to the great Admiration and Amazement of all thoſe that beheld it. Following Times, that had recorded it in their Memories by the Sequel, believed it the fatal Prediction of the enſuing Miſeries. Thoſe, that more aptly cenſure the preſent View of a Wonder, conceited, the juſt Heavens ſhewed their incenſed Anger, for the noble Blood of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and his Adherents, ſo cruelly ſhed, without Compaſſion or Mercy.

The *Scots* working on the Condition of the Times, ſo much dejected and amazed, ſeize the Advantage. They ſaw by the laſt Parliamentary Proceedings, that the King was ſo enabled, as the Hope of any Attempt, in *England*, was altogether hopeleſs. Yet they reſolve to be doing ſomewhere within the King's Dominions, or at leaſt his Juriſdiction. This draws them to aſſemble themſelves, and to attempt a Surviſal of the Northern Places in *Ireland*. As the Action was vain, ſo the Succeſs proved as unfortunate; they are defeated, ſlain, overthrown, and return not with the twentieth Part of their Number.

The King, remembering thoſe many Indignities he had ſuffered, and reſenting this their laſt Attempt, with an implacable Scorn and Anger, reſolves to let them ſpeedily know that he meant to call them to an After-reckoning. Upon this he ſends out his Summons, to call his Men of War together, and makes all Proviſions be prepared, for this ſo conſtantly reſolved a Journey. His former Misfortunes had inſtructed him to undertake this Deſign much more ſtrongly and warily. And this ſo grave a Conſideration brought him together the remaining Glory and Strength of the greater Part of his Kingdom. With theſe he marcheth forward and invadeth the nearer Parts of *Scotland*; but, whether it were the Infidelity of thoſe about him, the Will and Pleaſure of Him that is the Guider and Director of Human Actions, or the unfortunate Deſtiny of this unhappy King, he is enforced to return, without doing any Act that is truly worthy his Greatneſs or Memory.

The wily *Scots*, that durſt not ſet upon the Face of his Army, wait upon the Rear, and, in a watched Opportunity, ſurpriſe his Stuff and Treaſure. This ſends him Home a third Time a diſcontented Man, and, whether with a juſt Guilt, or to transfer his own Fault upon others, the newly created Earl of *Carliſle* is put to a ſhameful Execution. The Grounds againſt him were very probable, but not certain, and it was enough that he is believed, like *Judas*, for Money to have ſold his Maſter. The principal Motive, that may lead us to think he was deeply faulty, was the Honour and Gravity of his Tryal, which gave him, on a full Hearing, ſo ſincere and ſharp a Sentence.

Scarcely is the King ſettled, after his tedious Journey, when comes a ſtranger News, That the *French* King had made a hoſtile Attempt upon the Frontier-Parts of *Guyenne*, which was ſeconded with a Declaration, That he was no longer reſolved to entertain the Friendſhip or Peace with *England*.

This Feat had been cunningly before-hand wrought by the ſecret Working of *Spencer*, yet he deſired to have it ſtill in Agitation, and not in Action. He wiſhed his Maſter thence might be poſſeſſed with the Fear of War, and not feel it. The *French* were of another Mind, they ſaw into the great Diſorders and Miſguidance of *England*, and thought it a fit Time, either by War.

War or Policy, to unite ſo goodly a Branch of their Kingdom. It is true, they had matched a Daughter of *France* to the Crown of *England*, and had ſolemnly ſwore a Peace, but theſe they thought might be with Eaſe diſpenſed with on ſo weighty a Cauſe, and ſo fair an Advantage. *Edward* ſeeing into the Danger, and taxing bitterly the Infidelity of the *French*, begins to ſurvey his own Condition, whereby he might accordingly ſort his Reſolution, either to entertain the War, or to ſeek Peace upon ſome honourable, or at leaſt reaſonable Conditions.

He in this Paſſage finds himſelf more hated and feared than beloved; he ſaw his Coffers empty, the *Scotiſh* War and Surpriſal had quite exhauſted the Sinews of his laſt Parliamentary Contribution. He feared the Inclination of the Subjects would refuſe any further Supply, or, in Conſenting, make it conditional, which he was unwilling to undergo or adventure.

Laſtly, The Misfortune, that waited on him ever ſince he was abſolute, he feared, had eſtranged and dejected ſo the Hearts of his Soldiers, that they would hardly be drawn forth, or act any Thing with their accuſtomed Valour and Reſolution. In this Diſtraction, he ſeeks not by the Advice of a grave Council to qualify or prevent it, this Medicine he conceits is worſe than the Diſeaſe, but calls unto him *Spencer*, the Cabinet of his Heart; he alone is thought fit to communicate this deep Secret, and to give the Reſolution. His Father, *Baldock*, and the reſt of that Faction, by his Perſuaſion and Entreaty, are admitted to make the Party greater, and the Diſcourſe more ſerious and likely. Before them is laid the Condition of the King, the Eſtate of the Kingdom, their own Danger, and the Intentions of their foreign Adverſary. Many ſeveral Ways are deviſed and adviſed, and in Concluſion, no one is believed more ſound and proper, than that the Queen ſhould perſonally mediate the Atonement with her Royal Brother. This as it was cunningly laid, ſo had it a double Uſe and Reflection. The *Spencers* ſaw the Subjects more inclinable to adore the riſing Sun, in which Act they thought the Queen's Mediation and Preſence would be a dangerous Inſtigator. They believed her Abſence could not work ſuch and ſo great an Aſſiſtance as might countervail the domeſtick Danger They knew the *French* light and inconſtant, and thoſe which, with a Kind of natural Fear, abhorred the *Engliſh* Wars, out of the Limits of their own Kingdom. And in the worſt Conſtruction they conceited Money, or a Reſignation of that Part which was holden by the King in *France*, would beget a Peace at their own Will and Pleaſure. Yet theſe Conſiderations were attended with ſome Doubts, which delayed and put off the Execution.

The Queen, who had long hated the Inſolency of the *Spencers*, and pitying the languiſhing Eſtate of the Kingdom, reſolves in her Mind all the poſſible Ways to reform them. Love and Jealouſy, two powerful Motives, ſpurred her on to undertake it. She ſaw the King a Stranger to her Bed, and revelling in the Embraces of his wanton Minions, without ſo much as a Glance or Look on her deſerving Beauty. This Contempt had begot in her Impreſſions of a like, though not ſo wanton and licentious a Nature. She wanting a fit Subject for her Affections to work on (her Wedlock being thus eſtranged) had fixed her wandering Eye upon the goodly Shape and Beauty of gallant *Mortimer*. He was not behind-hand in the Reception and comely Entertainment of ſo rich and deſired a Purchaſe. But his laſt Act had lodged him in the *Tower*, which was a Cage too ſtrait to crown their Deſires with their full Perfection, yet is there a ſweet Correſpondency continued, Letters and many loving Meſſages bring their Hearts together, tho' their Bodies were divided.

By theſe is *Mortimer* informed of the Reſolution for the intended Journey of his Royal Miſtreſs, whom he vows to attend, or loſe his Life in the Adventure. The Queen, underſtanding the Intentions of her Servant, ſtrives to advance her Diſpatch, and haſten it with all her beſt Endeavours. But, where was ſo great an Inconſtancy, there could be no Expectation, that this Propoſition ſhould be more aſſured and permanent. New Delays and Doubts interpoſe, inſomuch, that the Hopes of this Journey were now grown cold and deſperate.

The Queen ſeeing herſelf deluded, and this Opportunity ſtolen from her, by thoſe whom ſhe before ſo mortally hated, ſets her own Brains a working, to invent a ſpeedy Remedy. She was therein ſo fortunate, as to pretend a Journey of Devotion and Pilgrimage to St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, which by her Overſeers was wholly unſuſpected. Things thus prepared, by a faithful Meſſenger ſhe gives *Mortimer* the Knowledge of her Deſign, who prepares himſelf with a more dangerous Stratagem to meet it. Her eldeſt Son, her deareſt Comfort, and the chief Spring that muſt ſet all

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theſe Wheels a going, ſhe leaves not behind, but makes him the Companion of her Travels.

The King's Joy was great, that ſaw, by this Occaſion, he ſhould gain a free Liberty to enjoy his ſtolen Pleaſures, which were before ſo narrowly attended by the jealous Eyes of his Queen, that in this Kind had been ſo often wronged.

The aſpiring *Spencers* were well pleaſed, that to be aſſured would have given a free Conſent to her perpetual Abſence. A ſhort Time brings her to the End of ſo ſhort a Journey, where ſhe makes her Stay of the ſame Meaſure. *Winchelſey* had the Honour to have the laſt Farewel of this Pair of precious Jewels. Thither comes *Mortimer*, having made a fortunate Eſcape, and with the Earl of *Cane* reſolves to venture his Life in the Attendance and Service of ſo brave a Miſtreſs. An Exploit ſo weighty and dangerous gave no Time of Stay or Ceremony. They immediately embark, and make a Trial where they may find another Climate more propitious and fortunate. The watery Billows and the peaceful Winds, as if they were conſenting to their Enterpriſe, entertain them with an Aſpect clear and quiet, ſending them with a freſh and pleaſing Gale ſafe to their deſired Port of *Bulloign*.

The King and *Spencers*, being truly informed, are ſtartled with the Matter and Manner of their Eſcape. They knew the Birds were too far flown to be catched or reclaimed; and did imagine the Plot was too ſurely laid that had ſo proſperous a Beginning. Now all the former Reſolutions were uſeleſs; new Deliberations are required how this Breach may be handſomely ſodered, or the threatening Danger prevented. All other Ways are deemed ſhort, that one of taking off the King of *France*, was believed moſt ſure and eaſy. They knew the *French* Strain to be giddy, light, and covetous, and applied themſelves in the right Key to fit theſe ſeveral Humours.

The King, whoſe preſaging Soul miſgave his Welfare, grows ſad and melancholy, calling to Mind the Injuſtice of his own Actions, and the fair Cauſe his Wife had to ſeek her Right and Refuge. The Neglect and Breach of Wedlock was ſo great an Error, but ſo to contemn ſo ſweet and great a Queen was a Fault, in his own Thoughts, deſerved a heavy Cenſure. She had not only felt a particular Share of her own Grief, but ſuffered deeply in the Sorrow of the whole Kingdom. Thoſe, which had erected their petty Tyrannies over the Subjects, were in like Sort authoriſed by him that ought to have had an equal Share of her Affliction, more and more to abuſe her.

The ſad Impreſſions of theſe Diſorders, and the reeking Blood of ſo many noble and brave Subjects, ſo baſely ſpilt, do ſeem to cry for Vengeance. This, for a While, wrought deeply in his diſtreſſed Thoughts, but a ſmall Intermiſſion brings him back to his former Temper. A cuſtomary Habit of a depraved Nature dulleth the Senſe of the Soul and Conſcience; ſo that, when our better Angels ſummon us to Repentance, the Want of a lively true Apprehenſion leads us blindfold into a dangerous deſpairing Hazard.

The *French* King having Notice of his Siſter's Arrival, with a wonderous plauſible and ſeeming Joy, doth entertain it with an honourable Attendance, fitting more her Eſtate, Birth, and Dignity, than her preſent miſerable Condition; ſhe is waited on to *Paris*, where ſhe is ſoon viſited by the Royal King, her Brother. When ſhe beheld the Refuge of her Hopes, ſhe falls upon her Knee, and, with a ſweetly coming Modeſty, ſhe thus begins her Story.

The King, unwilling to ſuffer ſuch an Idolatry from her that had a Father, Brother, and Huſband ſo great and Royal, takes her up in his Arms, and then attends her Motives.

Great Sir (quoth ſhe) *behold in me, your moſt unfortunate Siſter, the true Picture of a dejected Greatneſs, and the eſſential Subſtance of an unhappy Wedlock. I have, with a Suffering beyond the Belief of my Sex, overcome a World of bitter Trials. Time leſſens not, but adds to my Afflictions; my Burthen is grown too heavy for my long abuſed Patience. Yet it is not I alone, but a whole Kingdom, heretofore truly glorious, that are thus unjuſtly wronged. My bluſhing Cheek may give you Knowledge, I too much honour the Cauſe of my Affliction, to let my Tongue diſcover it. Yet this in Duty and Modeſty I may ingenuouſly confeſs, My Royal Husband is too far ſeduced, his Ear is too open, his Will too violent, and his Heart too free, to thoſe bewitching* Syrens, *that makes his Errors their Profit and Glory. All Hope of his Return is loſt, ſo long as they ſhall live, and remain his Leaders. How many of his nobleſt and braveſt Subjects have attempted his Freedom, and by an unjuſt and inglorious Death miſcarried? Alas! all Expectations are vain and deſperate; if I had not known the Impoſſibility to diſinchant him, I had not*

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in ſo mean and miſerable a Caſe ſtolen to you for Succour. You have a fair Way to make known to the World the Truth of your own Glory and Goodneſs. Fortune leads you by the Hand to an Action not more juſt than honourable, if you would diſpute it. Can there be a more precious Motive to invite you, than the View of theſe unhappy Ruins? See here two Royal Branches of the Flower-de-Luce *withering, ſullied, and depreſſed. Would you truly conſider, how great and noble a Work it is, to ſupport thoſe that are unworthily oppreſſed, Heaven and Earth muſt witneſs the true Value of your Worth and my Petition. Let it not breed a Jealouſy or Diſcouragement, that I appear before you, and ſeek your Help with ſo poor a Train and mean Attendance. Beſides the Juſtice of my Cauſe, I bring with me the Griefs and Hearts of a Kingdom, that have both ſworn and vowed to defend it. Nor may you with Reaſon doubt their Integrity, while you have my wretched ſelf, and the Heir apparent, to be your Pawn and Warrant. For God's Sake, Sir, by your own Virtue and Goodneſs I deſire it, and in the Challenge of that Royal Blood, whereof by the Laws of God, Men, and Nature, I have ſo large a Share and Intereſt. Let not After-ages taint your Memory with ſuch an Aſperſion, That you are the firſt of all the Kings of* France, *that denied to relieve a Siſter ſo deeply wronged and diſtreſſed.*

She would have ſpoken more, but here the big ſwollen Fountains of her watery Eyes diſcharge their heavy Burthen. Her Tears, like *Orient* Pearls, bedew her lovely Cheeks, while ſhe with a ſilent Rhetorick invites a noble Pity. Her ſad Complaint now won a general Remorſe, and her liquid Tears, a deep and ſtrong Compaſſion. Her Brother vows Revenge, and promiſeth to make *England* and the World know ſhe was his Siſter.

The Lords and Peers of *France* tender their ready Help and Aſſiſtance; the Service is ſo hotly purſued, that the poor Queen, with an abuſed Confidence, believes ſhe ſhall be ſpeedily and ſtrongly righted. It was not alone her Error, it is a general Diſeaſe. We eaſily credit that News we moſt deſire and hope for.

The *Spencers*, whoſe watchful Eyes were ſoon informed of theſe Paſſages, too late condemn their own Improvidence and Folly, that gave the wronged Queen ſo fit and fair an Advantage. They fear not all the Power of *France*, but ſuſpect inteſtine Danger, where they knew the Hearts of all were aliened and eſtranged. They well enough underſtood the Vanity of Female Paſſion, but ſuſpect, that the riſing Son would be followed and admired, whilſt their declining Maſter would be left forſaken and dejected. Theſe Conceits work ſo deeply, that they conclude they muſt fall, if they could not ſtop the foreign Danger. The *Engliſh* were cowed, there was in them no Fear, unleſs the Strangers Strength gave them new Life and Spirit. In ſo weighty a Cauſe there was no Time left for Delay or Dalliance. They diſpatch preſently away their Agents to the *French* Court, laden with the Treaſure of the Kingdom, and many glorious Promiſes. They inſtruct them how to apply themſelves to the Time and preſent Neceſſity, and teach them the Way to work and undermine the Queen's Proceedings.

Theſe Meſſengers, arriving at *Paris*, find the *French* Heat well qualified and cooled. This gave them more Time and Hope, to bring their Maſter's Will and their own Employment to a ſpeedy Perfection. They ſet upon the Pillars of the State, ſuch as in their Maſter's Ear, or in his Council, had moſt Sway and Preheminence; they give freely and promiſe more, till they have won a firm and fair Aſſurance. No one had an Intereſt, and was known to be a Favourer of the adverſe Party, but his Tongue is tied with a golden Chain to a perpetual Silence.

When thus this Practice was ripe, the King is perſuaded to the Danger and Peril of ſo great and weighty an Action. His Siſter's Reputation and intemperate Carriage, though tenderly, is often touched. A Woman's Paſſion is believed too weak a Reaſon to engage two ſo warlike Nations in a War, wherein themſelves had formerly ſo often ſuffered.

The King, for all his firſt great and high Expreſſions, had much rather have to do with the *Engliſh* in their own Kingdom than in *France*, yet was well enough content not to try their Arms in either. Yet ſtill he feeds his ſorrowing Siſter with good Words, pretending many vain Excuſes, which made her ſuſpect and doubt his Meaning. She arms herſelf with a noble Patience, hopeful, at leaſt, that ſhe and her Son might there remain in Peace and Safety.

By the Intercourſe of Meſſages that had ſo often paſſed and repaſſed, the *Spencers* are aſſured, that their Affairs in *France* went fairly on, by which they were well onward in their Journey.

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There could be yet no certain or aſſured Confidence, until they had again gotten the Queen and her Son into Poſſeſſion. No Promiſe or Perſuaſion is left to win her to return, but her Ears were ſtopped, ſhe too well knew the ſweet Enticements of ſuch alluring Serpents. This Project falling ſhort, a ſolemn Letter is framed from King *Edward* to the Pope, and a Meſſenger after their own Hearts appointed to carry it. The Contents were full of Humility and Bitterneſs, complaining to his Holineſs, That his Wife had, without juſt Cauſe, forſaken both him and his Kingdom, carrying away his Son, the Stay of his Age, without his Leave or Licenſe; a Traytor to him and his Crown, who had publickly acted a Rebellion, and was taken and impriſoned for it, had made an Eſcape, and was now her ſole Companion; and though he was not haſty to report or credit, yet he had juſt Cauſe to fear he was the Abuſer of his Wedlock. The King of *France*, with whom he had ſworn ſo ſolemn and firm a League, being ſummoned, had denied to reſtore her.

Theſe goodly Gloſſes and Pretexts find a ready Paſſage, and an eaſy Belief where there was none to contradict or juſtify. If theſe Aſperſions had been, as they were pretended, juſt and true, the Fact had been odious, and juſtly deſerved a fair and ſpeedy Reformation. The greater *Cardinals*, who were at that Time moſt great and eminent, had taſted deeply of the King's Bounty, which gave the Pope a daily Inſtigation to pity and reform ſo great and groſs an Error. On which an Admonition is preſently ſent out to the *French* King, that he cauſe immediately the Queen of *England* to depart forth of his Dominions.

Whilſt this Device was in Action, the *Engliſh* diſcontented Barons ſend privately to the Queen, informing her, that they were almoſt cruſhed to Pieces with their Suffering. They ſolicit her to haſten her Return, and promiſe really to engage themſelves and their Eſtates in her Quarrel. With a joyful Heart (as it deſerves) ſhe entertains this loving Proffer. And, the more to advance her declining Affairs, ſhe inſtantly acquaints her Brother with the Tender. He had then newly received his Summons from the Pope, which taking out of his Pocket, he delivers her back, wiſhing her to peruſe and read it. The amazed Queen, when ſhe beheld ſo ſad a Sentence, falls humbly on her Knees, and deſires, That his Majeſty would grant her but ſo much Favour, that ſhe might more truly inform his Holineſs, and juſtify herſelf by a fairer and noble Trial. With Tears ſhe inſtanceth the Malice of her Adverſaries, that had taken ſo ſtrange a Courſe, both to abuſe and wrong her. Her Brother, glad of ſuch a Protection to ſhadow his diſhonourable and unnatural Falſhood, lets her know the Neceſſity of his Obedience, and that he muſt not, for her Sake, adventure the Cenſure and Interdiction of himſelf and a whole Kingdom. He wiſheth her to arm herſelf with Patience, and to return and make a Peace with her Huſband, in which Act himſelf would uſe both the Perſuaſion and Strength of his beſt Power and Intereſt, letting her withal know, that ſhe had but a ſhort Time to deliberate, for ſhe muſt inſtantly leave his Kingdom. Scarcely had he ended theſe his laſt unwelcome Words, when away he flings, with a ſeeming diſcontented Show of Sorrow, rejoicing inwardly, that he had freed himſelf of the Expence of her Entertainment, and found ſo fair a Colour to avoid the Juſtice of her daily Importunity.

The drooping Queen, thus abandoned, with an amazed Grief, relates this unkind ſad Paſſage to her faithful Servants, *Cane* and *Mortimer*. Their valiant Hearts make good the Loſs of their Hopes; they accuſe the Injuſtice of Time, and exclaim againſt the *French* unnatural Baſeneſs. *Mortimer*, whoſe inflamed Paſſion flew a higher Pitch, breaks out, and, with a bold Freedom, would have fallen to a bitter Expoſtulation. The Queen, who knew the Danger, and was loth to loſe that little miſerable Freedom ſhe had left, with ſweet and mild Perſuaſions reclaims him to a milder Temper. She had a ſecond Doubt, leſt in ſuch a Conteſtation ſhe might be ſent back againſt her Will to her Huſband. This makes her temporiſe, and cunningly ſeem to provide for a voluntary Return, which might prevent that Danger. She, failing in the Maſter, yet taſtes a-new his Servants, and leaves no Means unattempted, to bring about and alter ſo hard and ſtrict a Cenſure. They, that were the firſt Betrayers of her Hopes, do now with a more Confidence and Conſtancy expreſs it, and, with one Voice, ſing the ſame Tune with their Maſter; declining Miſery, the Touchſtone of Friendſhip, finds itſelf ſhunned, like ſome infectious Fever. The Sunſhine of Fortune hath as many Profeſſors as Beams, but, if her Glory be once eclipſed, they all, with a coward Baſeneſs, ſeek ſome other Succour. This Leſſon,

that is ſo frequent and familiar, ſhould guide our Election more by Judgment than Affection. They are not to be choſen or valued, that in the Pretence of Love, though it be for our proper Good and Service, will act any Thing that is baſe and unworthy; the ſame, in the leaſt Change, will not be ſqueamiſh, for a poor Advantage to confirm their former Practice, though it be to our Loſs or Deſtruction. Where Virtue guides our Choice, it begins with Truth and Honour, ending with a like reſplendent Glory. No worldly Croſs, nor Height of Affliction, leſſens the Worth and Value of ſuch a Friend, who, like a goodly Rock, in Fury of the greateſt Storms, makes good his proper Station. Mutual Correſpondency in Affections ought to be pure and innocent; if private Reſpects taint the Sincerity of the Intentions, it makes this Traffick rather a Commerce than Friendſhip. Opinion of Faith is a powerful Motive, yet not weighty enough, unleſs it become as well with real Ability, as Appearance, the Subject of our Election.

But, to proceed, the Queen, being in this diſtreſſed Agony, finds an unexſpected Refuge. The gracious God of Heaven, who never forſakes thoſe which are his, ſends her a Comfort when her dying Hopes were almoſt ſunk and deſperate.

Robert of *Artois*, a Man as truly valiant as noble, was one of the firſt that in the *French* Court had tendered the Queen his Service. He was a wiſe, grave, and ſteddy, well reſolved Gentleman; his firſt Devotion was not led by Matter of Form or Compliment, but was truly grounded on a true Compaſſion and Honour. This brave Friend, beholding with a noble Eye, the Vanity of his Fellow-friends and Courtiers, and looking into the Miſery of the Queen's forſaken Condition, ſets up his Reſt to appear like himſelf, a Friend in all her Fortune, firm and conſtant. In this Reſolution he waits a fitting Opportunity to let her ſee and know it. The Time was favourable, he finds her in her melancholy Chamber, confuſed in her reſtleſs Thoughts, with many ſad Diſtractions. She, fancying the Occaſion of the Coming of ſo great a Perſon was great and weighty, with a ſilent and attentive Ear expects his Meſſage.

Madam (quoth he) *it is the moſt excellent Part of Wiſdom, with an equal Virtue, to entertain the different Kinds of Fortune. This World is but a mere Compoſition of Troubles, which ſeems greater or leſs, as is the Quality of the Heart that entertains them. I confeſs the Juſtice of your Grief, and truly ſhare it, but Tears and Sorrow are not Means to relieve or right you. The juſt Heavens aſſiſt thoſe that with an active and lively Hope invoke their Succour. The Tenderneſs of your Sex, and former free Condition, is yet a Stranger to theſe Trials; Time will let you know they are the familiar Attendants of our frail Structure of Fleſh and Blood, when you will confeſs it too great a Weakneſs to ſink under the Burthen of our Afflictions. For your own Goodneſs (noble Queen) erect and elevate your thus dejected Spirits: Behold in me the Character of an unworthy, but true Friend, that am reſolved my Life and State ſhall attend and run with you the ſelf-ſame Fortune. You may no longer make this unthankful Climate, the Place of your Birth, the Stage of your Abiding; the Way is paved with Gold to your Deſtruction. Wherefore, if my Advice may ſway, let Speed prevent your Danger. The Confines of the ſacred Empire are near adjoining, where are many brave Princes, who may happily afford you Succour; at the worſt, you may there enjoy a more aſſured Peace and Safety. Neither do I preſume to direct this Courſe, but lay it humbly before you, offering my faithful Service to attend you, to what Part ſoever of the univerſal World your Reſolution ſhall fix on, deſiring you to be aſſured, my Life, before my Faith, ſhall periſh; for I have vowed myſelf, and will continue your everlaſting Servant.*

Infinitely was the Queen rejoiced in this ſo grave and ſincere an Expreſſion, ſhe doubles a World of Promiſes and Thanks for this ſo free an Offer, and with a ſecret and wary Carriage ſhe ſpeedily provides to begin her thus reſolved Journey. Though here ſhe ſaw a far leſs Appearance of Hope, when her deareſt Brother, and her native Kingdom had forſaken her, yet ſhe reſolves the Trial rather than to return, without a more Aſſurance. She knew ſhe had too far waded, and incenſed her malicious Adverſaries, to expect a Reconciliation, and feared to be mewed up from all Hope of future Advantage. Theſe Conſiderations made her with a ſad Heart and weeping Eyes forſake the fruitful Limits of ingrateful *France*, and betake herſelf to her laſt but moſt uncertain Refuge. The Condition, that is truly miſerable, finds few real Friends, but never wants Infidelity to increaſe its Sorrow.

Stapleton, Biſhop of *Exeter*, who had fled to the Queen, and made himſelf a Sharer in this weighty

weighty Action, forſakes her Party. He ſeeing the *French* Hopes vaniſhed, and theſe remaining ſo poorly grounded, thought to work his Peace by loſing his Faith, and, in this Conceit, in Haſte returns for *England*. His Intelligence reconciles and wins him Favour, but it was purchaſed at too dear a Rate, that ſtained the Honour of ſo high a Calling, and made him moſt unworthy of ſo divine and grave a Profeſſion.

By this Treachery, the King and *Spencers* underſtand both the Queen's Reſolution and Weakneſs. They fear not the *German* Motions, that were a dull ſad Nation, that ſeldom uſe to fight for nothing. Time hath at laſt brought our Royal *Engliſh* Pilgrims to the Shrine of of their Devotion. The Earl of *Heinault*, a Man truly noble and virtuous, underſtanding her Arrival within the Precincts of his Juriſdiction, gives her a free and loving Welcome. This bountiful honeſt Earl eſteems it his Glory to entertain ſo princely Gueſts like themſelves, and to become the Patron of their ſo weak Condition. He had a Brother that made his Arms the Honour of his Profeſſion, who thinks the Eſtate of this forſaken Queen, in Juſtice, deſerved a true Relief and Pity. He tenders her his Service, and believes the Occaſion happily offered, that might leave to enſuing Times the Memory of his Virtue, Worth, and Valour.

So fair a Morning puts the Queen in Hope, the Evening would prove as fortunate: By all thoſe winning Graces of a diſtreſſed Beauty, ſhe ſtrives to confirm, and more engage, this firſt and fair Affection.

The Earl, having Knowledge of his Brother's Reſolution, thought the Attempt too full of Hazard, and, with a grave and mild Temper, commending the Nobility and Greatneſs of his Spirit, adviſeth him to quit the Action; he lays before him the Weakneſs of the Foundation, the Queen was in Want of Men and Money, and had not ſuch a Correſpondency in *England*, as might warrant her againſt her incenſed Huſband, who was waited on by ſo warlike and valiant a Nation. He, in like Sort, acquaints him, how impoſſible a Thing it was, for him to raiſe ſuch an Army, as might credit the Cauſe, and countenance the Beginning: True Valour conſiſting not in daring Impoſſibilities, but expoſing itſelf where Reaſon, Judgment, and Diſcretion were the Leaders.

Sir *John*, with a quiet Patience, hears his Brother's Admonitions, which he knew ſprung from the Freedom of an honeſt and a loving Heart, but he imagined Age had robbed his Breaſt and Head of all their noble Vigour.

Sir (quoth he) *If you and all the World forſake this noble Lady, my ſingle Arm ſhall maintain her Quarrel, ſince I had rather loſe my Life than my Faith, ſo full and freely engaged. After Ages ſhall not blot the Glory of our Houſe, ſo great and noble, with ſo inglorious a Stain of Baſeneſs and Infidelity: Such Precedents are ſeldom ſeen, and ought to be more tenderly regarded. A Queen, and the Heir apparent of ſo great a Crown, pleading ſo juſt a Pity, nor may, nor ſhall be forſaken. If, in the Reaſon of State, you liſt not to be an Actor, reſerve yourſelf, and make not the King of* England *your Enemy. Know, I have both Arms and Friends, I will pawn them all, rather than, in the leaſt Degree, falſify my Word and Promiſe.*

Theſe Words, ſpoken with ſuch a Reſolution, and fearleſs Bravery, ſtopped all Reply and Contradiction. The Queen, that had already both a *French* and an *Italian* Trick, had no leſs Reaſon here to doubt it. She knew no Means would be left unattempted from her domeſtick Spies, to make her once more forſaken. This enforceth her with a more Importunity to haſten and advance her Enterpriſe. All the good Offices, that might ſpur on the inflamed Heart of her brave Protector, ſhe makes the Hand-maids of her female Wiſdom. But, alas, they needed not her careful Agent; they had quickly gotten together a voluntary Troop of Three-hundred well-reſolved Gallants, that vow themſelves to follow him, even into the Mouth of the Cannon. He ſtays not to increaſe his Number with a Multitude, but believes, if there were an anſwering Correſpondency in the *Engliſh*, with theſe, to over-run the Kingdom. Arms, Shipping, and all Proviſions neceſſary, attend their Coming. They, with the Glory of their Hopes, lead the revived Queen a Shipboard. Now do they expoſe themſelves to the firſt Trial of their Fortune, aiming at *Donge Port*, to take their hoped Poſſeſſion. The Heavens, that favoured their Deſign, out of their preſent Fear, preſerve them beyond Belief or Expectation. Her Adverſaries had a forerunning Knowledge of their intended Place of Landing, and had there provided to give them a hot and bitter Welcome. The raging Billows, and the bluſtering Winds, or rather the Divine Providence, after the ſecond Day's Extremity, brings them a-land ſafe at *Orwel*, near *Harwich*.

wich. They were ignorant, being driven to and fro by the Violence of the Weather, what Part of the Kingdom they had light on; and were as much diſtreſſed with the Unſhipping of their Men and Baggage, as with the Want of Harbour and Victuals. Three whole Days in Diſorder and Confuſion, they make the bleak and yielding Sands their Habitation, perceiving the Vanity of their raſh and deſperate Attempt, which, in the leaſt Oppoſition or Encounter, muſt have wrought their Confuſion. It was in vain to attend longer here, where they ſaw ſo ſmall Sign of better Entertainment; this makes them march on with this little weather-beaten Troop, to win and conquer a Kingdom. St. *Hammond*'s, an Abby of black Monks, was honoured with the Welcome of their long loſt Miſtreſs; here ſhe and her Princely Son had their firſt Reception and Entertainment.

The Bruit of this Novelty, like a *Welch* Hubbub, had quickly overtaken the willing Ears of the diſpleaſed Commons; who, ever deſirous of Innovation, like Bees, in Swarms, do run to her Aſſiſtance. The Barons, ſo depreſſed, and unjuſtly grieved, with itching Ears, attend the News of this Advantage. When the Tidings of their Arrival came to their Knowledge, with ſo liberal a Relation, which made her Army ten Times greater than it was, they loſe no Time, for fear of ſome Prevention.

Henry of *Lancaſter* was the firſt, who was ſeconded by many others of the braver Peers of the Kingdom. By this Means the Queen and her adherent Strangers loſe the Depth of that Agitation, that till now had kept them doubtful.

The King, that till this Time had ſlumbered out the Prologue of this enſuing Danger, ſecure in the Belief of the *Spencers* Strength and Providence, in ſo general a Revolt, awakens from his licentious Pleaſure, and beholds nothing but a grim and fearful Face of Sorrow. The Council of his Cabinet, accompanied with their own Guilt, are affrighted in the ſad Apparitions of their approaching Ruin. The Time of Prevention is loſt, their abuſed Confidence had only laboured to ſhut the Gate, but not aſſured the Family. The preſent Neceſſity admits no long Deliberation, this Flame was too violent to be quenched, and ſuch a Courſe is to be taken as may rather aſſure them Time to temporiſe, than with a ſtrong Hand to ſtrive to repel it.

The City's Guard is recommended to *Stapleton*, that had ſo unhappily, and with ſo little Credit changed his Maſter. The King and the *Spencers* forſaken, but yet ſtrongly attended with the Guilt of ſo many, and ſo foul Errors, fly to *Briſtol*, a Town ſtrong enough, and well provided. *Arundel*, and the Elder *Spencer*, undertake the Defence of the City, while the King, and the others, make the Caſtle their Hope and Refuge.

The Queen being informed, that the King had forſaken his Royal Chamber, and had ſtolen a Flight to *Briſtol*, ſhe ſoon apprehends, and lays hold of the Advantage, addreſſing a fair but mandatory Letter to the Mayor, to keep the City, to the Uſe of her, and her Son, that was ſo like to be his Sovereign. The inconſtant Citizens, that ever cleave to the ſtronger Party, are eaſily perſuaded and intreated. *Stapleton*, that foreſaw and feared the Danger, ſummons the Mayor to ſurrender him the Keys of the Gates for his Aſſurance. *Chickwell*, that was then Lord Mayor, incenſed with the Imperiouſneſs and Injuſtice of this Demand, apprehends this inconſiderate Biſhop, and, without all Reſpect to his Place or Dignity, makes his Head the Sacrifice to appeaſe the angry Commons. This Act had too far engaged him to recoil, he muſt now wholly adhere to the Queen's Faction. Four of the graveſt and moſt ſubſtantial Burghers are ſent, to let her truly underſtand their Devotion. They are graciouſly and lovingly received, the Mayor hath Thanks for his late bloody Act, which was ſtiled an excellent Piece of Juſtice.

This Gap thus ſtopped, with her Army ſhe marcheth to the Cage that kept thoſe Birds, whoſe Wings ſhe would be clipping. She knew, if ſhe ſtruck not while the Iron was hot, the Heat of a popular Faction would quickly ſink and leſſen. All the Way of her Journey, ſhe finds, according to Heart's Deſire, a free and noble Welcome. Her Troops like Snow-balls, in her Motion more and more increaſing. When ſhe came before this great and goodly City, ſhe ſaw it was a Strength by Art and Nature, and did believe it furniſhed to out-wear a Siege of long Continuance, which made both her and her Adherents more jealous, and ſuſpect the Iſſue. Where the Perſon of an anointed King was at Stake, there could be no Aſſurance. But ſmiling Fortune, that had turned her Wheel, reſolves this Doubt, and makes the Action eaſy. The Citizens, that knew not the Laws of War or Honour, will not expoſe their Lives

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and Goods to the Mercy of the Strangers, and the Hazard of an unruly Conqueſt. They had too much taſted the Afflictions of the Kingdom, to think the Quarrel juſt, or to adventure their Protection at ſo dear a Hazard, for thoſe that had been the Cauſe and Inſtrument of ſo much Blood and Trouble.

From this Conſideration, they ſend an humble Meſſage to the Queen, and deſire as well to capitulate for their Commanders, as their own Intereſt. All other Conditions are deſpiſed and diſdained; if they will have Grace, they muſt purchaſe it with the Reſignation and Delivering up their Captains. This Doom was eſteemed heavy, they would have been glad, that ſhe had had her Will, but were themſelves unwilling to be the Actors. But the Time no more Imparleance admitted, neither could they have a Delay or Remedy. The Queen, that had won ſo far upon their yielding Hearts, knew their Condition well enough, and would not give them Reſpite, but calls upon their preſent Anſwer.

This round and ſmart Summons brings, with one and the ſame Art, *Arundel*, *Spencer*, and the City, into her Poſſeſſion. This Part of the Prey thus gotten, no Time is loſt to call them to a Reckoning. Sir *Thomas Wadge*, the Marſhal of the Army, recites a ſhort Calendar of their large Offences, when, by a general Conſent, they are approved Guilty, and without Judge, or other Jury, they are ſentenced to be drawn and hanged, and their Bodies to remain upon the Gibbet. The Rigour of this Doom *Spencer*, the Father, feels, that was Ninety Years old, and could not long have lived by the Courſe of Nature.

The Caſtle-walls, and the Eyes of the King, and his unhappy Son, were Witneſſes of this ſad Spectacle and his Diſaſter. This *Præludium* gives them the Senſe of their enſuing Story, which, with a World of melancholy Thoughts, they ſtudy to prevent or alter. A deſpairing Reſolution at length wins them to a deſperate Hazard. While the Queen was labouring to ſurpriſe their Fortreſs, which was like too long to hold good, if ſome Stratagem were not found to get it, there were no Citizens to betray them, it needed not, themſelves were ſoon the Actors. They ſteal into a ſmall Bark, that rode within the Harbour, hoping by this Means to make an Eſcape undiſcovered; they find the mercileſs Waves and Winds a like cruel. Twice had they gained *St. Vincent*'s Rock, but, from that Reach, were hurried back, with ſudden Guſts and Tempeſts. The often Going off, and Return of this unguided Pinnace, begets a ſhrewd Suſpicion. At length ſhe is ſurpriſed, and in her Bulk is found that Treaſure that ends the War, and gave the Work Perfection.

The King is comforted with the ſmooth Language of thoſe which had the Honour to take him, and believes the Title of a King, Father, and Huſband, would preſerve his Life, if not his Sovereignty.

The Queen having now made the Victory perfect, no Enemy, or other Work remaining, reſolves with herſelf to uſe it to her beſt Advantage. Yet ſhe gives her incenſed Paſſion Preheminence, Revenge muſt precede her Deſire and ſtrong Ambition. No ſooner had Sir *Henry Beamond* brought the impriſoned King and his dejected Favourite to the Army, but ſhe diſpatcheth away her Huſband, to *Barkley*-Caſtle, and *Spencer* is delivered over to the Martial, and immediately hath the like Entertainment, only he hath ſomewhat a longer Time, and a far more cruel Sentence than his Father. All Things thus ordered, the Queen removes to *Hereford*, and in all the Places of her Paſſage is welcomed with joyful Acclamations. With a Kind of inſultant triumphing Tyranny, far unworthy the Nobility of her Sex and Virtue, ſhe makes her poor condemned Adverſary, in a ſtrange Diſguiſe, attend her Progreſs. He was ſet upon a poor, lean, deformed Jade, and cloathed in a *Tabarce*, the Robe, in thoſe Days, due to the baſeſt Thieves and Raſcals, and ſo was led through all the Market-Towns and Villages, with Trumpets ſounding before him, and all the ſpightful Diſgraces and Affronts that they could deviſe to caſt upon him.

Certainly this Man was infinitely tyrannical and vicious, deſerving more than could be laid upon him, yet it had been much more to the Queen's Reputation and Honour, if ſhe had given him a fair and legal Trial, by his Peers, according to that ancient and laudable Cuſtom of *England*, wherein by his Death he might have given both the Law and his Adverſaries a full Satisfaction. It is certainly, give it what other Title you will, an Argument of a wonderous baſe Condition, to inſult or to tyranniſe over thoſe poor Ruins, which Fortune hath thrown into our Power. A noble Pity is the Argument of an honourable and ſweet Diſpoſition, and the Life of Man is great enough to expiate all Offences. To ſatisfy our Paſſions, with the bittereſt Extremity of our Power, may juſtly

Juſtly be ſtiled rather a ſavage and barbarous Cruelty, than true and perfect Juſtice. No Queſtion, it was a pleaſing Sight to all the wronged Subjects, to ſee ſuch a leprous Monſter ſo monſtrouſly uſed. But when the Heat of Blood was paſt, and Men had recollected their Senſes, it then appeared to be too great a Blemiſh to a Queen, a Woman, and a Victor. But whether ſhe were now weary with impoſing, or he with ſuffering, *Hereford*, on a lofty Gibbet, of an extraordinary Height, erected on Purpoſe, gives him the End of all his Torments. Which being performed, Order is left behind for the Execution of *Arundel* four Days after, which is accordingly performed.

I could never yet read a fair and juſt Cauſe, why this Earl loſt his Life, unleſs it may be counted Treaſon not to forſake his Lord and Maſter, to whom he had ſo ſolemnly ſwore his Faith and Obedience. It certainly was no ſuch capital Fault, to accompany and ſeek to defend his Sovereign, when he was by all others forſaken, that, by their Vows and Oaths, ought to have been as deeply engaged. If being taken with thoſe that were ſo corrupt and wicked occaſioned it, I ſee yet no Reaſon, why he alone was executed, and thoſe, that, in their Knowledge, were his only Inſtruments and Creatures, were ſuffered to live, and be promoted. But we may not properly expect Reaſon in Women's Actions, whoſe Paſſions are their principal Guide and Mover.

Now ſhe is come to *London*, and received with all the Honour due to ſo great a Queen and Conqueſt; the People croud to ſee her, and with applauding Shouts extol her, that, in the leaſt Change of Fortune, would be the firſt ſhould cut her Throat, or do her any other Miſchief.

A Parliament is immediately called and aſſembled, in which the Pack was before-hand eaſily laid, for *Edward* had loſt the Hearts and Love of all his People; the Errors and Abuſes of the Kingdom are there, with too great a Liberty againſt a Sacred King yet living, laid open and diſcourſed. All Men were of one Mind, a preſent Reformation muſt be had, which, in a true Conſtruction, was but a meer politick Treaſon. The three Eſtates preſently aſſent to the Depoſition of the Elder, and raiſing the Younger *Edward*, to the ſole Regimen and Guidance of the Kingdom; not a Peer, Biſhop, Knight, or Burgeſs, ſpeaks a Word in Defence of him that was their Maſter; but divers are ſent from both Houſes, to the yet King, to let him know their Declaration. When they were come into his Preſence, *Truſſel*, Speaker in the lower Houſe, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, reſigned up all the Homage due to him, and then pronounceth the Sentence of his Deprivation.

Edward, that long before had Notice of theſe Proceedings, arms himſelf to receive it with Patience. He gives them back no Anſwer, knowing a Conteſtation or Denial might haſten on his Death, and a Conſent had made him guilty, by his own Confeſſion.

Thus did this unfortunate King, after he had, with perpetual Agitation and Trouble, governed this Kingdom Eighteen Years, odd Months and Days, loſe it by his own Diſorder and Improvidence, accompanied with the Treachery and Falſhood of his own Subjects. And that which is moſt miraculous, an Army of three or four hundred Men entered his Dominions, and took from him the Rule and Governance, without ſo much as a Blow given, or the Loſs of one Man, more than ſuch as periſhed by the Hand of Juſtice. In a declining Fortune, all Things conſpire a Ruin, yet never was it ſeen, that ſo great a King fell with ſo little Honour, and ſo great an Infidelity. But what could be expected, when, to ſatisfy his own unjuſt Paſſions, he had conſented to the Oppreſſions of his Subjects, tyranniſed over the Nobility, abuſed his Wedlock, and loſt all fatherly Care of the Kingdom, and that Iſſue that was to ſucceed him. Certainly it is no leſs honourable than proper, for the Majeſty and Greatneſs of a King, to have that ſame free and full Uſe of his Affection and Favour, that each particular Man hath in his œconomic Government; yet, as his Calling is the greateſt, ſuch ſhould be his Care, to ſquare them always out by thoſe ſacred Rules of Equity and Juſtice; for if they once tranſcend to exceed, falling into an Extremity, they are the Predictions of a fatal and inevitable Ruin. Let the Favourite taſte the King's Bounty, and enjoy his Ear, but let him not engroſs it wholly, or take upon him the Sway and Governance of all the Affairs of his Maſter; this begets not more Envy than Multiplicity of Error, whoſe Effects do, for the moſt Part, occaſion a deſperate Convulſion, if not the Deſtruction of that State, where it hath his Allowance and Practice. As Kings ought to limit their Favours, ſo ought they to be curious in the Election; for Perſons of baſer or meaner Quality, exalted, are followed at the Heels with a perpetual Murmur and Hatred.

Neither

Neither is it ſafe or proper, that all the principal Dignities, or Strengths of a Kingdom, ſhould be committed to the Fidelity of any one particular Subject, though never ſo gracious or able. There muſt be then a Kind of impulſive Neceſſity ſtill to continue his Power, and approve his Actions, elſe, having the Keys in his Hand, he may at all Times open the Gates to a foreign Trouble, or a domeſtick Miſchief.

The Number of Servants, as it is the Maſter's Honour, ſo is the Knowledge of their Ability his Glory. Where, by a diſcreet Diſtribution, they find Variety of Imployment, and are indifferently heard, both in Advice and Action, they more ſecure their Maſter's Safety and Greatneſs. Kings, in their Deliberations, ſhould be ſwayed by the whole Body of a Council, and, in my Opinion, ſhould take it ill, to have any Servant eſteemed much wiſer than his Maſter. Their Royal Glory ſhould be pure and tranſparent, ſuffering not the leaſt Eclipſe, or Shadow: Be the Advice of a ſingle Wit never ſo grave and weighty, let the Act and Honour be ſolely the King's, which adds more and more to the Belief of his Ability and Greatneſs.

If once the Royal Heart be ſo given over to Senſuality, that the befitting and neceſſary Cares of a Kingdom ſeem a Burthen, and, by Letter of Attorney, aſſigned over to the Fidelity of another, he is then, by his own Indiſcretion, no more an abſolute King, but at ſecond-hand, and by Direction. It is the Practice, and not the theoric Act of State that awes and aſſures the Heart of the Subject; this, being once doubtful or ſuſpected, eſtrangeth the Will of our Obedience, and gives a Belief of Liberty to the Actions of Diſorder and Injuſtice.

Neither is the Error and Imbecillity of a Crown more prejudicial to itſelf, than dangerous in the Example. Majeſtick Vanities and Vices find a ready Imitation and Practice, ſo that it may be concluded, an ill King may endanger the Virtue and Goodneſs of a whole Kingdom. Our Nature is prone to the worſer Part, which we more readily are inclined to practiſe, with the Condition of Time, and ſo powerful and eminent a Precedent.

Kings that are ſubject to a natural Weakneſs, or grown to the Practice of any other particular Error, by Corruption, ſhould act their Deeds of Darkneſs, with ſuch a reſerved Secrecy and Cæution, that there be not a Suſpicion to taint him; for, if it once win an open Knowledge, beſides the particular Aſperſion, it brings with it an enſuing ſuppoſed Liberty of Practice, both in Court and State, by his Example.

As theſe are moſt proper to the Affections, ſo are there ſome as neceſſary Inſtructions for Kingly Paſſions, which, of the two, are more violent and dangerous.

Though it a While delay the concluding Part of the Hiſtory, yet my Pen muſt not leave them untouched. I muſt confeſs, if Man could maſter and govern theſe rebellious Monſters, he might juſtly merit rather the Name of an Angel than a mortal Creature. But this, in a true Perfection, is moſt impoſſible. It is yet, in Divinity and all moral Conſtruction, the moſt abſolute Maſter-piece of this our Pilgrimage, to diſpoſe them ſo, that they wait on the Operations of the Soul, rather as obedient Servants, than looſe and uncontrouled Vagabonds. A King, that is in theſe deficient, having ſo unlimited a Power, and making his Will his Law, in ſhort Time loſeth the Honour of his Calling, and makes himſelf a Tyrant. Intemperate and heady Actions beget but Diſorder and Confuſion, and if they End in Blood, without a Warranty of apparent Juſtice, or inevitable Neceſſity, they cry to Heaven for a deſerved Vengeance. The Law hath Advantages and Puniſhments enough for thoſe that lie at his Mercy. Let not incenſed Haſte betray the Royalty of a Crown, to make itſelf both Judge and Executioner. Kings are Gods on Earth, and ought in all their Actions to direct the Imitation after a Divine Nature, which inclines to Mercy more than Juſtice. Men's Lives, once loſt, cannot be redeemed; there ought therefore to be a tender Conſideration before they be taken, leſt the Injuſtice of the Actor, in Time, be brought to ſuffer in the ſame Meaſure. As is the Quality of the Fact, ſo is the Condition of his Agent to be maturely deliberated, wherein there may be ſuch Dependencies, that it is for the Crown more profitable, ſafe, and honourable, to ſave, or delay the Execution of the Law, than to advance or haſten it. Howſoever, it is the more innocent and excellent Way, to offend in the better Part, and rather to let the Law, than once own Virtue and Goodneſs to be viſibly deficient, and diſeſteemed. The Actions of Repentance are numbered with the Regiſter of our Miſdemeanours, where none appear more fearful than thoſe, which an inconſiderate Fury, or the Violence of Paſſion, hath acted with too much Haſte and Cruelty. Let then the Height of ſo great and excellent a Calling be ſuited with

with as ſweet a Temper, neither too precipitate or ſlow, but with a ſteddy and well-adviſed Motion.

As theſe Conſiderations are in the one Part neceſſary, ſo ought there to be a correſpondent Worth and Care in him that hath the Happineſs to enjoy in ſo great a Meaſure his Royal Maſter's Ear and Favour. If the Actions of the King be never ſo clear and innocent, yet he muſt favour or protect the Error of ſo great a Servant, which makes him an Acceſſary, if not an Actor, in the unjuſt Oppreſſion of his Kingdom. It is not Diſcretion, neither hath it any Society, with the well grounded Rules of Wiſdom, for the Subject to exalt or amplify the Height of his own Glory; it is, in the Eye of all, too great a preſuming Inſolence, and Kings themſelves will rather alter their Affections, than to be outſhined or dazzled in their own Sphere or Element.

He that hath made his Maſter's Love, and hath aſcended the Stairs of his Preferment, ſhould make the ſame Virtue the Stay of his Advantage, framing his Carriage to his Equals and Inferiors, with a like ſweet and winning Temper. If he ſwerve from this ſacred Rule, and arrive to win Fear, or a vain Adoration, let him know, the firſt is the Companion of Truſt and Safety, the other of a jealous Diffidence, that muſt betray his Life and Honour.

But, to return to our Hiſtory, which now removes *Edward*, the Father, to *Killingworth*, where he remains under the Keeping of the Earl of *Lancaſter*, while his unripe Son is crowned King; and the Queen, with *Mortimer*, take into their Hands the whole Sway, and Adminiſtration of the Kingdom. Their firſt Act ſends *Baldock*, the Lord Chancellor, to *Newgate*, a fit Cage for ſuch a Haggard, though far unworthy the Eminency of his Height and Dignity.

Now do the recollected Spirits of the Kingdom begin to ſurvey and examine the Injuſtice of that Act, that had diſrobed and put down a King, their unqueſtionable Sovereign, that had been ſo ſolemnly anointed, and ſo long enjoyed the Regimen of the Kingdom: They find the Condition of their Eſtate but little altered, and, according to the Vanity of their Hearts, are as ready to attempt a new Innovation. Many Suits are made to the King, and the Protectors, to releaſe him out of his Impriſonment; but all prove vain and fruitleſs. The *Black Friars* were, in this Requeſt, more earneſt; who, in their Denial, ſought to bring it to paſs by Force or Surpriſal. They make *Donhead*, one of their Number, their Captain; but he knew better the Uſe of Church-Ornaments, than how to handle his Weapons, or manage an Army; he is intercepted, and ſent to Priſon, where he dies, before he had ſo much as muſtered his Congregation.

This Cloud diſperſed, the Queen believes it a fit Time to take her Leave of her aſſiſtant Strangers, who mainly haſten their Departure. She was unwilling they ſhould be Witneſſes to the unnatural ſucceeding Tragedy, which was too much for her own Kingdom, and unfit for the Strangers Climate, which was filled with the Belief of her Virtue and Honour. She liberally and freely requites, to each Particular, the Minute of his Pains and Travel; but Sir *John* of *Heinault*, and the better Sort, are honoured with many rich Jewels and Gifts, beſides continuing Annuities, and annual Revenues. They hold themſelves nobly contented, and, taking a ſolemn Leave, are honourably attended to *Dover*, leaving the Kingdom with a merrier Eye, than when they firſt beheld it.

Now is the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who, though he had leaſt Cauſe, was nobly diſpoſed towards his old Maſter removed, and delivers over his Charge by Indenture, to Sir *Morice Barkeley*, and Sir *John Mattrevers*, who led him back to his firſt Place of Impriſonment, where, in the Preſence of his Keepers, he one Day, in a melancholy Paſſion, doth thus diſcourſe his Sorrows:

Alas! Is my Offence ſo great, that it deſerves nor Pity nor Aſſiſtance? Is human Piety and Goodneſs ſo wholly loſt, that neither in Child, Wife, Servant, or Subject, appears the leaſt Expreſſion of Love or Duty? Admit my Errors unexcuſable, wherein I will not juſtify myſelf, nor accuſe others: Though it hath taken from me the Glory of my former Being, I am yet a Father and a Huſband; theſe Titles are without the Juriſdiction of Fortune. If I be ſo, where is the Affection and Duty that becomes the Child, and Wedlock? Sure, my Miſery hath not made me ſuch a Baſiliſk, or Monſter, that my Sight ſhould beget or Fear or Hatred; can they believe a Danger in the Viſitation of a poor diſtreſſed Captive? I know their hardened Hearts are not ſo noble, and apt for Compaſſion, that they need ſuſpect themſelves, or me, in ſo poor a Courteſy. What then occaſions this Neglect or Eſtrangement? Are they not content to enjoy all that was mine,

as

as yet, by the Laws of God, Man, and Nature, but they muſt deſpiſe and forſake my withered Ruins?

Alas! I know my poor Children are innocent, both they, and my injurious Queen, are betrayed by cunning, wicked Mortimer; *whom, if I had paid with his juſt Deſert, when Heaven, and his own Guilt, had laid him at my Mercy, I had not lived to endure this Affliction, nor he to be the inſulting Inſtrument of my Diſhonour. But Time, and this ſad Trial, hath taught me Patience, and learned me how to know the Height of my Misfortunes, which (if my divining Spirit err not) will not be long unſeen and unrevenged. Am I unworthy to be ſeen? I am then unfit to live, and will receive it as a well-becoming Pity, if my Death may ſend me hence, from this ſo great a Sorrow.*

When he had thus ended, and, with a few manly Tears, ſmothered in the Depth of that heart-breaking Sigh, that enforced his Silence, he was, by one of his Attendance, made this rough uncivil Anſwer.

'My Lord, your Wife and Children are jea-
'lous, and fearful of your cruel furious Na-
'ture, whereof both they and the Kingdom
'have too true a Knowledge to truſt you: Be-
'ſides, they are informed, your Reſolution is
'fixed to do them Miſchief, if they approach
'your Danger. This keeps your Queen from
'you ſhe once ſo truly loved.

My Queen (quoth he) *hath ſhe that remaining Title, while I, that made her ſo, am leſs than nothing? Alas, poor wretched Woman! Hath ſhe, nor could ſhe find no other more tolerable Excuſe than this, ſo faint a pretended Fear and Danger? Is there a Poſſibility in her Suſpicion? Or have I the Means (if I were ſo reſolved) to do it, that am here a poor forſaken Man, as far from Power as Comfort? And, Fellow, thou that takeſt ſo audacious and ſawcy a Liberty, to character thy Sovereign's Diſpoſition, which thou art bound to honour, and not to queſtion: Know,* Edward's *Heart is as free from thy baſe Aſperſion, as thine from Truth or Honeſty.*

When he had ended theſe Words, he retires himſelf to his Chamber, ſad and melancholy, believing his Caſe was hard and deſperate, when ſo baſe a Groom durſt Face to Face affront him.

The Queen and *Mortimer*, revelling now in the Height of their Ambition and Felicity, had yet a wary Eye to the Main, which they knew did principally reſt on the Safeguard and ſure Keeping of the depoſed King. Though they had all the Marks and eſſential Parts of an abſolute Sovereignty, the Name alone excepted, yet they had unquiet and troubled Thoughts, in the Fear and Imagination of loſing it. They ſaw their plauſible Incomes were dully continued, and there was a beginning Murmur againſt the Manner of their Proceedings. They knew there was no Conſtancy in the People, that would be as ready to take them off, as they were to bring them on, in any new Stirring or Innovation. The Lords, that were their principal Supporters, were content, but not ſatisfied, all Things concurring to make them ſuſpect their own Condition.

Edward the Father's Faults were extenuated, his Vices aſcribed to thoſe that had betrayed him, and his Eſtate infinitely pitied, that had ſo diſhonourable an Uſage, far ſhort of what in Juſtice appertained to the Honour of his firſt Calling. Theſe Reports made their Ears tingle, and incite them in Time to think upon ſome befitting Remedy. Many Ways and Devices are thought upon, but they are all ſubject to ſome manifeſt Imperfection. On this, *Mortimer* falls to the Matter roundly, and tells the Queen plainly, That there is no Way left to make all ſure, but abſolutely to take away the Cauſe, and to leave the Party by *Edward*'s Death hopeleſs, that, by his Life, ſought to make a new Combuſtion.

The Queen, whoſe Heart was yet innocent of ſo deep a Tranſgreſſion, was deeply and inwardly troubled with this unhappy Propoſition. She believed his Sufferings were already greater than his Faults, and was unwilling to ſtain the Opinion of her Worth and Virtue, with ſo foul an Act of Injuſtice. She was aſſured it could not be ſo done, but it would be diſcovered; if the Eyes of Men could be blinded, yet, that all-knowing Power of Heaven would reveal and puniſh it. Such deep Actions of crying Sins are ſeldom long unrevenged, which made her moſt unwilling, that her Conſent ſhould paſs, or be aſſiſtant. To kill a King, her Huſband, that had once ſo dearly loved her, was more than an Act of Blood; nor could ſhe expect, but that the Son, grown up, would revenge the Death of the Father. *Therefore* (quoth ſhe)

ſweet Mortimer, *let us reſolve rather any other Hazard, than this which is waited on with ſo great Infamy and certain Ruin.*

Mortimer replies, *Madam, who hath the Benefit of Time, and neglects the Advantage, if he fall, is juſtly unworthy Pity or Compaſſion. Have you expoſed yourſelf to all the bitter Trials of Fortune, ſuffering, ſo meanly, ſo many Miſeries; and having overcome them according to your Deſire, are you willing to return to your own Condition, and former Sorrow? If it be ſo,* Mortimer *is wretched, in ſacrificing his Devotion and Heart to ſuch a female Weakneſs. In Caſes of Extremity, a Tenderneſs of Conſcience begets a certain Danger, nor is it diſproportionable ſo to continue a Crown, that by Blood was gotten and ſurpriſed; had* Edward *known I ſhould have lived to ſee his Ruin, my Head had paid my Ranſom. The Impreſſions of Fear make his Subject leſs in Senſe than Apparition; think not me of ſo poor a Brain, but I as well know how to work as move it; ſuch Actions are not to be done, but ſuch a Way as may prevent Proof, if not Suſpicion. But why do I ſeek thus to charm your Ears, if you be willing he ſhall live, let him; let the inclining People ſet him free, to call you to an Account for his Oppreſſion; let him parallel his* Spencer's *Death in your Affliction; perhaps he will ſpare you for your Brother's Sake, who, he knows, ſo dearly loves you, and did ſo bravely witneſs it in your Affliction; perhaps he will ſuffer you ſtill to guide the Crown, and your fair Son to wear it. If you be pleaſed, you may abide the Trial.* Mortimer's *reſolved, ſince you neglect his Judgment, you will as ſoon forget his Service, which he will in Time prevent, before it be debarred.*

With this, he flings away, as if he meant, to give his Words a real Execution. The amazed Queen purſues and overtakes him.

Stay, gentle Mortimer (quoth ſhe) *forgive my Error, I am a Woman fitter to take Advice than give it. Think not I prize thy Love ſo little as to loſe thee. If* Edward *muſt die, I will not ſeek to divert it; only I thus much beg, I may not be Partaker, or privy to the Time, Means, or Manner.*

Madam, leave that to me, who will, alone, both undertake the Act and Danger; all I require from you, is, but to ſeal a Warrant to change his former Keepers.

Sir *Morris Barkley* had been tampered withal, and was ſo far from Conſent, that he plainly declared he did abhor the Action. This Anſwer ſuddenly diſchargeth him, and commits his Maſter's Guard to Sir *Thomas Gourney*, and his former Partner, *Mattrevers*. They, having received both their Warrant and Priſoner, conveigh him to *Cork-Caſtle*, the Place in all the World he moſt hated. Some ſay, he was foretold, by certain magick Spells, that this Place was to him both fatal and ominous. But, whatſoever the Cauſe was, he was, at his firſt Arrival, deeply ſad and paſſionate. His Keepers, to repel this Humour, and make him leſs ſuſpicious, feed him with pleaſant Diſcourſe, and better Entertainment, while his miſgiving Spirit was heavy, ſad, and melancholy.

The Night before his Death, he ſupped heartily, and went to Bed betimes; ſcarcely were his heavy Eyes locked up in ſilent Slumber, when his forſworn traiterous Murderers enter his Chamber, and, finding him aſleep, inhumanly and barbarouſly ſtifled him, before he could avoid or reſiſt it. The Writers differ mainly in the Manner of his Death, but all conclude him murdered; yet ſo, that the Way, on Search and View, could not be known or diſcovered. A ſmall Paſſage of Time gave the moſt Part of all theſe Actors of his Death an End fit for their Deſerts, and this ſo bloody an Action. Their ſeveral Relations and Confeſſions occaſion ſo many various Reports, and different Kinds of Writing; the Truth whereof is not much material, ſince all agree, he came to an unnatural and untimely Death.

Thus fell that unhappy King *Edward the Second*, who was Son and Father to two of the moſt glorious Kings that ever held the Monarchy of the *Engliſh* Nation. Main Reaſons are given probable enough to inſtance the Neceſſity of his Fall, which, queſtionleſs, were the ſecondary Means to work it. But his Doom was regiſtered by that inſcrutable Providence of Heaven, who, with the ſelf-ſame Sentence, puniſhed both him, and *Richard the Second*, his great Grandchild, who were guilty of the ſame Offences. The Example of theſe two ſo unfortunate Kings, may be juſtly a leading Precedent to all Poſterity.

Certainly, we have had other Kings as faulty and vicious, that have overlived their Errors, and died not by a violent Hand, but by the ordinary and eaſy Courſe of Nature. The Condition and Quality of theſe was not, in themſelves,

ſelves, more perilous and exorbitant, than hurtful and dangerous to the Eſtate, Peace, and Tranquillity of the whole Kingdom. If, by Height of Youth, Height of Fortune, or a corrupt natural Inclination, the Royal Affections looſely fly at Random; yet, if it extend no farther than the Satisfaction of the proper Appetite, it may obſcure the Glory, but not ſupplant the Strength and Welfare of a Monarchy. But when it is, in itſelf, not only vicious and ill affected, but doth patrocine and maintain it in others, not bluſhing in ſuch a Juſtification, it is a forerunning and preſaging Evidence, that betokens a fatal and unpitied Ruin.

It is too much in a King, that hath ſo great a Charge delivered to his Care and Cuſtody, to be diſſolute, or wantonly given; but when it falls into a ſecond Error, which makes more Kings than one in the ſelf-ſame Kingdom, he opens the Way to his own Deſtruction. The Subjects Hearts, as they are obliged, ſo are they continued by the Majeſty and Goodneſs of a King; if either of theſe prove proſtitute, it unties the Links of Duty and Allegiance, and hunts after Change and Innovation.

It is of ſo ſingular and great a Conſequence, that Kings ought to be well adviſed, and ſparingly to accumulate their Honours and Favours, wherein both the Time, Perſon, and Occaſion, ought to be both worthy and weighty; for the Eye of the Subject waits curiouſly on his Actions, which finding them degenerating from his own Greatneſs, and inclinable to their Oppreſſion, vary their Integrity to a murmuring Diſcontent, which is the Harbinger to a Revolt and Miſchief. Nor is it proper (if the Sovereign's Affections muſt dote) that the Object of their Weakneſs ſhould ſway the Government of the Kingdom. Such an Intermixtion begets Confuſion and Error, and is attended by a perpetual Envy and Hatred.

Is it poſſible, but there muſt be perpetual Error and Injuſtice, where all Things are carried more by Favour and Affection, than Law and Reaſon? Or can the leſſer Fountains be clear, when the main Spring that feeds them is tainted and polluted? Alas, common and familiar Experience tells, that the Actions and principal Uſe of a Favourite, is to make good, by his Strength and Favour, thoſe Deſigns that are, in themſelves, unjuſt, perverſe, and inſupportable.

A good Cauſe, in the Integrity of Time, needs no Protection but its own Innocence; but where the ſacred Rules of Juſtice are inverted, the Sincerity of the Law abuſed, the Conſcience of the Judge corrupted or enforced, and all Things made mercenary, or carried by indirect Favour, what Expectation can there be, but that Kingdom, which is the Theatre of ſo infamous a Practice, ſhould fall ſpeedily into a fearful and deſperate Convulſion? Though the Hiſtories of theſe Times are plentifully ſtored, and few Commonwealths are free from the Examples of this Nature, yet I ſhall not need any other Inſtance, than the Story of this unfortunate Prince, whoſe Time preſents a perfect Mirror, wherein enſuing Kings may ſee how full of Danger and Hazard it is, for one Man's Love, to ſell the Affections and Peace of the whole Kingdom.

Had *Edward*, in his own Particular, been far worſe than he was, he might have ſtill ſubſiſted; but when for his inglorious Minions, *Gaveſton* and *Spencer*, who ſucceſſively engroſs him, he fell to thoſe injurious and diſſolute Actions, that made all Men, and the Kingdom, pray to their inſolent and imperious Humours, he quickly found both Heaven and Earth reſolved to work his Ruin. Not only his own, but theirs, and thoſe of their ignoble Agents, were made his proper Errors, which took ſo wholly from him the Love and Hearts of his Subjects, that he found neither Arms nor Tongue to defend him. A more remarkable Miſery, I think, no Time of ours produceth, that brings this King to Deſtruction, without ſo much as any one Kinſman, Friend, or Subject, that declared himſelf in his Quarrel.

But he found the climacterick Year of his Reign, before he did expect it: And made that unhappy Caſtle, which he ever hated, the Witneſs of his cruel Murder; where I muſt leave him, 'till he find a more honourable Place of Burial, and my weary Pen a fortunate Subject, that may invite it to ſome other new Relation.

A LETTER to Mr. *SERJANT*, a *Romiſh* Prieſt, concerning the Impoſſibility of the Publick Eſtabliſhment of *Popery* here in *England*.

May 19, 1672.

SIR,

SINCE I was laſt with you I have thought of what you ſaid, *That 'ere long all our Pariſh Churches would be in your Poſſeſſion*. This hath occaſioned me to write (I will not ſay my Advice) but my Opinion: That you and your Clergy ſhould not attempt that which I perceive you have already in your Speculations. They who know the Hiſtory of your Services in the laſt Wars, and ſince, muſt acknowledge that you have deſerved well of your Prince, in that not only you aſſerted his Cauſe in the Field with the Loſs of a Limb, but which is more, you diſcovered to one of his great Miniſters of State the Deſign of the *Roman* Catholicks, managed by Sir *Kenhelm Digby*, and Father *Holden*, an *Engliſh* Sorboniſt, to put their Part of this Nation under the Subjection and Patronage of *Oliver*. It is in Reſpect to you, and ſo many as are of your Loyalty as well as *Religion*, that I wiſh in the Game they now play, by venturing high, they may not loſe all. You are much miſtaken, if from a Toleration you conclude an Aſſurance of publick Eſtabliſhment. It is one Thing to gain a favourable Look, another, that one ſhould ſo fall in Love, as to eſpouſe your Cauſe. Conſider the Difficulties, if not Impoſſibilities, which in great Number oppoſe your Hopes. The Chiefeſt, as you ought to apprehend, is the firm Reſolution of the King, to defend the *Church* of *England*, as it *yet* ſtands; a Reſolution in him ſo unmoveable, that neither an Intereſt in mighty Princes, obtainable by ſuch an Exchange, could invite, nor the Arguments of Military Men could perſuade him to renounce that Church, from which he then * received no Advantage, but the Satisfaction of her Communion, and ſuffering in her Defence. You cannot but know withal, that, to believe him inclinable to you, is to commit Treaſon in your Hearts, ſince that, to ſay ſo, is declared Treaſon by an Act of Parliament. But, if you ſhould prove ſo ſanguine and full of Fancies, as to believe what was formerly ineffectual, might now prevail; I cannot commend your Judgment, except you ſhew, that either your Religion is better, or elſe that Intereſt doth more ſtrongly draw the King towards you now than heretofore. For the former Part, Religion, you ſay it ought not in the leaſt to be altered; and we acknowledge, if it were reformed, it will be leſs worth to the Clergy. For the other, concerning Intereſt of State, if it diſſuade under thoſe Circumſtances, much more will it at this Day. In thoſe Times he might, by this Courſe, have been reſtored to three Kingdoms. Now he would hereby give up half his Juriſdiction, to wit, Supremacy; and, after a While, a good Part of his Revenue, the appendant Poſſeſſions of his Supremacy. But this is not the Worſt; for, beſides this, by ſetting up Popery, he ſets up the Pope as his Collegue and fellow Sovereign in all his Majeſty's Dominions. He gives him, at once, all the Clergy, and implicitely as many as they frighten with Purgatory and Hell. ———To obey God's Vicar rather than Man. This hath been done, not in the Caſe of the Church alone, but in temporal Quarrels betwixt him and other Princes. But, if you ſtill hold the Concluſion againſt unanſwerable Objections, what Means, pray, can you propoſe, whereby this may be accompliſhed? Exerciſe all your imaginative Power, fancy any Thing, though never ſo unlikely, to be granted or practiſed, ſo it be but in the utmoſt Degree of Poſſibility. There are but two Ways to do it, either by Parliament, and you cannot expect that this Parliament, which appeared ſo earneſt againſt your Toleration, ſhould ſet you up as the National Church. And if you hope this Parliament may

* In the Time of his Baniſhment and the Grand Rebellion.

quickly

quickly die of old Age, and that another more favourable to the Diſtreſſed may ſit in their Rooms, you will find yourſelves miſtaken; and that it is not your Party ſhall be the Men, but rather ſuch, who, though they ſerved your Turn, never loved you when they were uppermoſt.

Let me farther adviſe you not to forfeit your Diſcretion ſo far, as to expect as ſudden a publick Change of Religion now by a Parliament, as was in Queen *Mary*'s Days; then the Reformation had only been begun by King *Edward* his ſix Years Reign, and careleſly managed by the greateſt Perſons under him, whoſe chiefeſt Aims appear to be quite another Thing: So that thereby, whilſt they neglected to bring over the Country Gentlemen to Proteſtantiſm, they confirmed them in Popery. Thence was it, that the *Romaniſts* might much better promiſe themſelves to be reſtored under that Queen, than at theſe Years when People ſtill remember her; and for ſeveral Generations have been reconciled to the Reformation by Writings in thoſe Controverſies, and held in by penal Laws——, and eſtranged from *Rome* by 88.* and the 5th of *November* †. Now you cannot look for any Good from a Parliament, you may rightly dread their Diſpleaſure; eſpecially if you ſhould ſtretch your Liberty of Conſcience to the Perverting of other Men's: For do what you can, and declaim never ſo much againſt a Parliamentary Religion; the Commons will have a Committee for Religion, or elſe Liberty and Privilege are utterly loſt. So that you ought by a private Exerciſe of your Worſhip, and a peaceable Demeanor, to provide for the Coming of a Parliament, as by Repentance Men do for Death, becauſe it cannot be avoided, but may be made leſs hurtful.— By this Time, I ſuppoſe, you may have laid aſide all Hopes of being advanced by a Parliament, and caſt your Thoughts towards a ſtanding Army; certainly you will find this Conceit as airy as any of the reſt, for (beſides that he, whoſe Authority ſhould raiſe it, intends you no more than a bare and limited Toleration) there are very many and obvious Hinderances of that Project: The Kingdom, being an Iſland, takes away the Pretences hereof, which are alledged by our powerful Neighbours, and allowed by Reaſon of their Situation. So that, on the Surmiſes of ſuch a Thing, the mutinous Temper of this Climate would appear as jealous of their Liberties, as in ſome Countries Men are of their Wives. And withal, where could you raiſe Men for the Service? Your own Gentlemen of Eſtates would not endure Foreigners; and they muſt neceſſarily want home-born Soldiers, there being not a ſufficient Number of your Religion, and of none to give the Law of Arms to all your Adverſaries. And where will you get the main Weapon, Money? Though your Religion ſhould open their Stock and Treaſure as for a holy War, yet, in a little Time, either their Stock or their Zeal would be ſpent, and then an Army in its own Country cannot ſo eaſily get Bread by the Sword, as labouring Men can do by the Spade. For Proof of this, you may call to Mind how that both Rump and Army were well nigh famiſhed into a *Diſſolution*, when the Country declared they would pay no more Taxes. In ſuch Neceſſities, Soldiers, like Beaſts of Prey, will fall one upon another and devour their Keepers too; and, if you believe them to be wholly mercenary, they are never ſo likely to be hired to a Deſign contrary to their former Commiſſion, as when their Maſters cannot pay, nor their Enemies can be plundered, yet will freely part with Money upon their own Terms. You ſee, Sir, how I have followed your Propagators through all, both probable and wild Methods, which they can invent; all which appearing unprofitable and unlikely, they will not ſurely like vain Projectors waſte what they have, for that which they can never obtain.——

Your Servant ——.

* The Time of the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, with their *invincible Armado*, as they were pleaſed to term it; tho' God brought it to nothing; the Particulars whereof will be printed in this Collection.

† The Day when the Papiſts had contrived to deſtroy the three Eſtates of the Nation aſſembled in Parliament, by Blowing them up with Gunpowder, and ſince called, *The Gunpowder Plot*, or *Treaſon*.

The

The apparent Danger of an Invaſion, briefly repreſented in a Letter to a Miniſter of State. By a *Kentiſh* Gentleman. MDCCI.

SIR,

THE preſent Poſture of publick Affairs abroad has ſuch a terrible Aſpect upon the Liberties of *Europe* in general, that *France* will have no Reaſon to wonder, if all the Princes and States of *Europe*, which are its Neighbours, ſhould take the Alarum at her late Conduct ſince the Treaty of *Reſwick* *. I am ſure it would be a very great Wonder with me, and Poſterity too, if, after ſo late and notorious a Violation of a ſolemn Treaty, we ſhould take her Word again, and truſt to her Engagements, unleſs we can oblige her to perform them †.

She has, undoubtedly, her Envoys and her Inſtruments in all Countries ‡, *eſpecially here*, who, with great Artifice and ſubtle Inſinuations, will tempt the Eaſy and the Ignorant by Colours and Pretences of her good Meaning, that ſhe has no farther Deſign than maintaining the Duke of *Anjou*'s Succeſſion ‖, and all her Neighbours, that will own *Him*, ſhall be, if they pleaſe, *Her dear Friends and Confederates.*

But what wiſe Man can be found? Nay, one may venture to ſay, Where can you ſhew me that Blockhead that has Brains little enough to believe her? And yet a *Frenchman* has ſo much Confidence in the Folly of all other Nations, and in his own Dexterity to play the Knave, that with very great Aſſurance he obtrudes his Flattery, and expreſſes his Friendſhip and Eſteem for you, when his own Conſcience gives him the Lye, and he is carrying on a Deſign at the ſame Time to cut your Throat.

Every Body knows it was but in *October* laſt, that all the Courts of *Europe* were, in Show at leaſt, earneſtly ſollicited to enter into the Treaty of Partition; and all the huffing and ſneaking Arguments were uſed by your *Guiſ—ds* and your *Amel—ts*, for two or three Months together, to prevail upon the *Italians* and *Germans* §, great and little; but, in the midſt of all this Banter and Grimace, arrives an Expreſs with the King of *Spain*'s Death and *Anjou*'s Succeſſion, and what Part does my little *Franculus eſuriens* ** act upon ſo ſudden a Change?

Why, out he ſets as briſkly as can be with a new Memorial, fawns and hectors, *en bon Francoiſe*, deſires your Patience a little, while his Maſter, like a true Son of old *Eunius*, ſteals away half a dozen Kingdoms and Dukedoms; and then promiſes (believe him if you dare) to be a very good Muſſelman,———till the next Opportunity ††.

There is a certain very worthy Gentleman ‖‖, and true *Engliſhman* too, who was aware of this, and gave us his Advice, in very honeſt Terms, in the Year 98, but *Thrift* and *Diſtruſt*, Two wary *Devils*, oppoſed his Deſign; and what the Force of Foreigners, in 10 Years War, could never do, the Folly of a few true-born *Engliſhmen* effected in a Trice; *viz.* Subdued the Hero, and ridiculed the Politician.

* The ſame may juſtly be remarked of the *French* Behaviour ſince the Treaty of *Utrecht.*

† By firſt reducing her to ſo low a Condition, as to oblige her to an honourable Peace, and ſo to watch her Intrigues, and check her illegal Aſpirings in Time of Peace, as to prevent her Capacity ever to become troubleſome to the Liberties of her Neighbours any more.

‡ See Page 19, in Number I.

‖ To the Crown of *Spain*, by which Union *France* promiſed herſelf to gain a Power to give Laws to all *Europe*, as her Attempts from that Time will prove.

§ Was not this the very Method taken by *France*, to deprive the Empire of its Liberties, and to ruin the Houſe of *Auſtria*, before this War broke out?

** Hungry *Frenchman*, who graſps at all Power.

†† To take what more he can get from you.

‖‖ K—'s Speech.

We

We choſe, at that Time, rather to truſt our *good Neighbour* with a ſtanding Force of 150000 *Foreigners*, than, at the End of the War, ſuffer 10 or 20000 Swords and Muſquets to continue in the Hands of our *own Countrymen*, for Fear, I ſuppoſe

That Engliſhmen *ſhould* Engliſhmen *ſubdue.*

I confeſs they have a pretty good Hand at betraying their Country, but, for my Part, I was for truſting them at that Time, and ever ſhall, before any Foreigners.

§. But our Fleet was diſarmed, and our Land-Forces reduced, from 84 to 7000 Men, that is full $\frac{1}{12}$*th*. And when we had ſtripped ourſelves thus naked, and invited the *Aſſyrians* into our Land, you will aſk me, How it came to paſs, that we have not had a ſecond Invaſion from *Normandy* or *Picardy*, and that the *French* have not, before this, taken up their Quarters within the Weekly Bills, and with our Friends at *Rocheſter* and *Sittingborn*. Why truly, I muſt tell you, not for Want of good Will, and good Opportunity too (we thank our Maſters) but they had other Game in Chace; the lingering Sickneſs of the late King of *Spain* put *Verſailles* in a conſtant Alarum every Poſt; for *Spain* and the *Indies*, ever ſince 1660, were decreed for Uſurpation *; and if your *Montaltoe*'s and *Portocarrero*'s had failed of their Treaſon, the *Ratio ultima Regum* was at Hand; *viz.* A good Train of Artillery, and an 100000 Men. When this Morſel was ſwallowed, it would be Time enough to look after *England*, and the Outſkirts of *Europe:* Who in the mean Time are to be huſhed, if poſſible, with ſpecious Propoſals and golden Mountains, till my little Maſter † is well ſettled at *Madrid*. And then her Highneſs the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* will put in her Claim to the Crown of *England*, and we may defend the Proteſtant Heir or Poſſeſſor if we can, when her Grandfather ‡ has over-run *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, and taken Poſſeſſion of all the Ports in *Holland*. He has already made ſuch quick Approaches towards that unfortunate Country, that the People are in the higheſt Conſternation; and, if we ſuffer them to be devoured, the next Step he takes will be for *England*.

And he has ſo many and ſo conſiderable Reaſons to invade us at this very Juncture, that ſome Myſteries of State, undiſcoverable at preſent, or a mighty Infatuation alone can hinder him. The People on our Coaſts are ſo ſenſible of their defenceleſs Condition, eſpecially ſince the *French* Troops entered ſo unexpectedly, and all at one Moment, into all the Frontier Towns in the *Spaniſh Flanders*, that they expect every Morning to hear they have put Garriſons into *Dover*, *Rye*, and *Shoreham*, and it is almoſt as eaſy and quick a Paſſage from *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, to *Harwich*, *Dunwich*, and *Yarmouth*. The Paſſage between us and them is ſo ſhort, that five or ſix Hours is Time enough to execute ſuch a Deſign in any Part of *Kent*.

Julius Cæſar, who had but indifferent *Pilots*, and Veſſels that were ill Sailors, came over in a Night: And *William the Conqueror* croſſed a wider Part of the Channel, *viz.* from *Bologn* to *Pevenſey*, in a few Hours, and both of them ſucceeded ſo well by the Folly and Diviſions of our Anceſtors, that it is our good Luck if our Enemies do not take the Advantage of our preſent Circumſtances, to make a Trial of our boaſted *Engliſh* Valour, and ſee, how many of the Fourteen-hundred Thouſand Names, contained in the *Aſſociations* lodged in the *Tower of London*, dare ſhew their Faces in the Field againſt the Marſhal *de Boufleurs* at the Head of Twenty or Thirty-thouſand Veterans.

I pretend not to the Skill of a Marſhal, and you do not miſtake me, I am ſure, for a Conjurer in Affairs of State; and yet I will venture to affirm, upon the little Experience I have had in a Military Station, and a pretty long Acquaintance with the Humour of a People under a Panick Fear, that, were I of the Intereſt and Religion, and in Pay of Monſieur at *Verſailles*, I ſhould no more queſtion the Succeſs of invading *England*, at this Time, till about a Month or Six Weeks hence, than I do my Meeting with you next Year at *Tunbridge-wells* in the Seaſon.

And, upon Peril of my Head, I would undertake, as old as I am, to land with about Twenty-thouſand Foot, and Two-thouſand Dragoons on next Monday Morning in any Part of *Kent*, or *Suſſex*, from *Dover* to *Chicheſter*, and with little or no Oppoſition continue my March towards your populous City, and quarter my Troops in *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Southwark*, by *Saturday* next, ſo as to hear high Maſs on *Sunday* Morning, at St. *Paul*'s,

* By the King of *France*. † The Duke of *Anjou*. ‡ The King of *France*.

and

and diſſolve your Parliament the *Monday* following.

This you may think a little unlikely, and I wiſh it were morally impoſſible; but, I think, I can make it appear a very feaſible Enterpriſe. I will ſuppoſe then the Marſhal *de Boufflers* at *Dunkirk*, or *Calais*, this very *Saturday* Night, embarking his Men, and ſetting Sail at one or two in the Morning, with a freſh Gale at *Eaſt*, what ſhall hinder him from croſſing the Channel in five or ſix Hours, but a Tempeſt, or a Fleet, in that very Place? The firſt we cannot expect, and the latter we have not ready, ſo that, land he will in Spite of our Barks and our Fiſhermen of *Kent*. When his Troops are debarqued, we will ſuppoſe they reſt them one Day, and, by that Time, it may be, another Reinforcement arrives; what now will hinder him from bending his March directly for *London*, and coming thither in the Time beforementioned, but a ſufficient Body of Men to meet him by the Way? And nothing but an equal Force will do, for the Battle of *Creſſy* is long ſince forgotten, and the Name of an *Engliſhman*, I will aſſure you, is no ſuch Bugbear to a *Frenchman* at this Time of Day.

But where are the Forces we ſhould draw together? As for the *Dutch*, *Hannibal is at their Gates*, and they cannot ſpare a ſingle *Battalion*, and, if they could twenty, Mounſieur *Boufflers* may march to *York*, before they can all embark, for they do not lie ready quartered in their Ports, as the *French* do in theirs. And for our Handful of 7000 ſtanding Forces, if you fill all the *Northern* and *Weſtern* Garriſons with our *Militia*, it will be a Fortnight, at leaſt, before they can meet in a Body on *Hounſlow-heath*, which will be too late. And then for our *Militia* of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, which may make a Body of Ten or Twelve-thouſand Men, and can ſooneſt aſſemble themſelves; do you, imagine, they will march towards *Dover*, and with the Aſſiſtance of a little Mob, venture to give Battle to diſciplined Troops? If they ſhould have ſo much Courage, and ſo little Diſcretion, I expect little more from ſuch an Attempt, than what was done by Eight or Ten-thouſand Club-men, who roſe in the late Civil War in the Counties of *Wilts*, *Somerſet*, and *Dorſet*, and were diſperſed by half a Dozen Troops of the *Parliament-Horſe*. The *City Militia*, I believe, is our beſt; but what Diſcipline can Men have, who appear in Arms but *once* a Year, march into the *Artillery-ground*, and there wiſely ſpend the Day in *Eating*, *Drinking*, and *Smoaking*; in *Storming* half a Score *Sir-loins* of Beef and *Veniſon-paſties*; and, having given their Officers a *Volley* or *two*, and, like ſo many idle Boys with Snow-balls, *fooled away a little Gunpowder*, return Home again as ignorant as they went out, and as fit to fight the *French* at *Blackheath*, as one of our little *Yatchts* is to engage the *Britannia*.

And, beſides this, which I have not repreſented to the worſt Diſadvantage, there are other prodigious Difficulties that would perplex us upon ſuch an Invaſion; we have ſo many *Cataline*'s and *Portocarrero*'s amongſt us, that would not fail to betray us, ſo many religious Bigots that are bewitched with a tender Conſcience for the Right of old *Pharaoh* *, ſo many hardy Villains, and deſperate Miſcreants, that are for Plunder, and a prevailing Power †, and ſo many lukewarm heartleſs Coxcombs, that will ſtand ſtill to ſee themſelves undone, or run away by the Light of their own Houſes; and ſo very few, whatever they pretend, that will ſtand by the King with their Lives and Fortunes, and fight for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties; in ſhort, we are ſo crumbled into Factions, Civil and Religious, ſo debauched from the old *Engliſh* Virtue and Valour, and ſo deſtitute of the true Love to our Country and real Principles of Honour, ſo ripe for a Civil War at Home, and ſo expoſed to an Invaſion from Abroad, that our Enemies are altogether infatuated, if they do not lay hold on this Opportunity, in a Week or two; and we are all utterly undone if they do, unleſs a Miracle be wrought to ſave us.

England is now the only Nation in *Europe*, that hath any Remains of ſubſtantial Liberties; for Arbitrary Power, like a mighty Deluge, has in a Manner overſpread the Face of the whole Earth, and is ready to break in upon us ‡ with an irreſiſtible Fury, unleſs we make ready to withſtand

* The Family of the *Stewarts*.

† It is a general Obſervation in all Rebellions, that the Mobile take Part with a powerful Invader, becauſe they have nothing to loſe, and hope to better their Condition upon the Ruin of thoſe that maintain their Religion and Laws.

‡ If overcome by the *French* Invaſion.

withſtand it. *Holland* ſtands now expoſed to Military Execution, and ſo do the Counties of *Kent* and *Surrey*, who have Forty or Fifty-thouſand Men ready to land upon them at a a Day or two's Warning from *Boulogne*, *Calais*, *Gravelin*, *Dunkirk*, *Newport*, and *Oſtend* *, there is but a Hair's Breadth betwixt us and Ruin.

We have been ſo long fitting ourſelves by our Vices and our Treachery for Conqueſt and Slavery, that I fear you have ſcarce Ten-thouſand Men left in City and Country, that have Spirit and Bravery enough to march to our Aſſiſtance, whenever we have Occaſion. You will be ſure to have as early Notice, as is poſſible, for our Fears make us as watchful, as we hope you are indefatigable to provide for our Security.

We cannot forget how the *French* Troops treated the Inhabitants of the *Palatinate*, in 1688 †, when they intirely ruined a Country on both Sides the *Rhine*, as large as *Kent* and *Suſſex*; burnt down to the Ground above Two-hundred Burghs, and the three famous and populous Cities of *Worms*, *Spires*, and *Heidelburg*; put the People to the Sword in divers Towns, and ſpared not the *Popiſh* Temples and Cathedrals, and this without Provocation from the People or their Prince. What Sort of Uſage think you then may we expect at *Dover* and *Winchelſea*, &c. and you too in *London*, who are *Engliſhmen*, Rebels, and Hereticks, as bad as we. Our Enemies have a particular Eye upon your Factious City, and the Wealth of the *Bank* and *Lombard-ſtreet*, which the hungry Prieſts and Soldiers frequently talk of at *Calais* and *Dunkirk* with great Indignation, but with ſome Kind of Aſſurance of late, that *England* will ſhortly receive her old Maſter ‡ and the *Popiſh* Religion again.

Which I heartily wiſh may be prevented by the Wiſdom and Prudence of the King and preſent Parliament.

Mo—ds, Febr. 14, 1700. I am, SIR,

* All which Ports were then in the Power of the *French*. † See the Emperor's Letter to King *James* II. at St. *Germains*, in Number I. Page 18. ‡ A *Popiſh* Prince, then King *James* II.

A brefe Comedy or Enterlude of *Iohan Baptyſtes* preachynge in the wylderneſſe, openynge the craftye aſſaultes of the hypocrytes *, with the gloryouſe Baptyme of the Lorde Jeſus Chriſt. Compyled by *Iohan Bale*, *Anno* M.D.XXXVIII †.

The worde of God came unto Iohan the ſonne of Zachary in the wylderneſſe. And he reſorted into all the coaſtes about Iordane, and preached the Baptyſme of repentaunce for the remyſſyon of ſynnes. Luce iii.

John Bale, *the Compiler of the following Comedy or Interlude, was the Son of* Henry Bale, *of* Covie *in* Suffolk. *Born in the Year* 1495; *entered among the* Carmelite *Friars at* Norwich, *at twelve Years old, and went from thence to be a Schollar at* Jeſus *College in* Cambridge, *ſtill remaining, as he himſelf declares, in the moſt profound Ignorance of all true Learning, and greateſt Blindneſs of Mind, without any Tutor or Patron, till*

* Alluding to the *Popiſh* Prieſts, Friars, &c. who, like the *Phariſees* and *Hypocrites* of old, were determined, at all Events, to prevent the Dawning of the *Goſpel*, at the Beginning of the *Reformation*.

† The Year in which *Henry the Eighth* declared his Diſguſt with the See of *Rome*.

the Word of God began to appear in its proper Luſtre, and the Churches were brought back to the pure Fountains of all Divinity; and then, by the Means of the moſt Noble the Lord Wentworth, *he was induced to leave the monſtrous Corruptions of* Popery, *and to embrace the Purity of the Goſpel. Soon after his Converſion, he married his Wife* Dorothy, *who alſo was zealous for the true Religion; but he had been utterly undone by Dr.* Lee *Archbiſhop of* York, *and* Stokley *Biſhop of* London, *had not my Lord* Cromwell *ſcreened him from their Perſecutions; after whoſe Death he retired to the* Low Countries; *from whence he was recalled by* Edward *the Sixth, who made him Biſhop of* Oſſory *in* Ireland, Feb. 2, 1552. *But, before he had been conſecrated ſix Months, he was obliged to fly from thence to eſcape the Perſecutions of Queen* Mary, *who then aſcended the* Engliſh *Throne; and, embarking at* Dublin, *he was taken by the Pirates and ſold. But he obtained his Ranſom, and proceeded to* Baſil, *where he employed himſelf in his Studies till recalled by Queen* Elizabeth, *who gave him a Prebend of* Canterbury; *upon which he was rather contented to live, than to return any more to* Ireland. *He died in* November 1563. *He publiſhed many Books both in* Latin *and* Engliſh, *in Proſe and Verſe, amongſt which this Comedy is one of the ſcarceſt, and gives us a true Idea of the* Stage *in thoſe Times, when it appears the firſt Reformers endeavoured to expoſe the Errors of the* Roman *Church, and to propagate the Goſpel, even in thoſe Places which had been remarkable for Vice; for, I apprehend, this as well as ſome other Interludes, compoſed by him, were the Productions of his younger Days juſt after his Converſion, as it more particularly appears in the Concluſion of this Comedy; and it is further valuable, as it is in no Catalogue of Plays that ever I ſaw, and gives us a Specimen of the moſt refined Part of our Language in King* Henry the Eighth's *Reign. To conclude, he was a Man of Learning, a conſtant Preacher and good Antiquary, but a moſt bitter Writer againſt the Church of* Rome, *inſomuch that he has drawn the whole Herd of Writers on that Side the Queſtion upon himſelf in moſt bitter Invectives, when ever they mention him; and his Books are particularly prohibited in the* Expurgatory Index, *publiſhed in Folio, at* Madrid, *Anno* 1667.

INTERLOCUTORES.

Pater cœleſtis, *i. e. The heavenly Father.*
Ioannes Baptiſta, *John Baptiſt.*
Publicanus, *The Publican.*
Phariſæus, *The Phariſee.*
Ieſus Chriſtus, *Jeſus Chriſt.*
Turba uulgaris, *The common People.*
Miles armatus, *The Soldier.*
Sadducæus, *The Sadduce.*

BALEUS PROLOCUTOR.

PRÆFACIO.

*THE kyngedome of Chriſt, wyll now * begynne to ſprynge,*
Which is the preachynge, of hys newe teſtament †.
Now ſhall Meſſias, *which is our heauenly kynge,*
Apere to the worlde, in manhode euydent.
Whoſe wholſom commynge, Iohan Baptyſt *wyll preuent,*
Preachynge repentaunce, hys hygh waye to prepare,
Whych now we entende, before yow to declare.

The lawe and Prophetes, draweth now faſt to an ende,
Which were but ſhaddowes, and fygures of hys commynge.

* Our King being ready to ſhake off the *Popiſh* Superſtition.

† In Oppoſition to the Traditions of the Church of *Rome.*

Now

Now ſhall he approche, that all grace wyll extende,
Of cleane remyſſyon, our caucyon will he brynge,
To pacyfye God, hys father euerlaſtynge.
By ſheadynge hys bloude, all thynges ſhall he renewe,
Makynge one people, of the Pagane *and the* Iewe.
*For ſo moch as we, are geuen to noueltees *,*
Of very nature. Lete vs our ſelues applye,
To accepte theſe newes, and heauenlye verytees †,
Which are for our ſynne, moſt ſouerayne remedye,
And for our ſowles helthe, ſo hyghlye neceſſarye.
That without knowledge, of them, we can not haue,
A true fayth in him, which dyed our ſowles to ſaue.

Whan Man had ſynned, the harde preceptes of the lawe,
Moſes *proclamed, the Prophetes gaue monycyons.*
But non of them all, to the heauenly kyngedome drawe,
Tyll Iohan Baptiſt *come, with clerar expoſycyons.*
The publycanes then, leaue their yll dyſpoſycyons,
Vnto Chriſt to come, and hys moſt holy Goſpell,
Where the frowarde ſectes, contynuallye rebell.

Ye ſhall ſe Chriſt here, ſubmyt hymſelf to Baptym,
Of Iohan *hys ſeruaunt, in moſt meke humble wyſe.*
In pooreneſſe of ſprete, that we ſhuld folowe hym,
Whoſe lowlye doctryne, the hypocrytes deſpyſe.
Folowe hym therfor, and ſhurne their deuylyſh practyſe.
Be gentyll in hart, and beare your good intent,
Towards hys Goſpell, and godlye teſtament.

Incipit Comœdia.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

AS a maſſenger, I come to geue yow warnynge,
That your lorde, your kynge, your ſauer and redemer,
With helth, grace and peace, to yow ys hydre commynge.
Applye ye therfor, delaye the tyme no longer,
But prepare hys waye, makynge the rough pathes ſmother.
Stryke downe the mountaynes, fyll vp the valleyes agayne,
For all men ſhall ſe, their mercyfull ſauer playne.

The ſeate of *Dauid*, whych is the father heauenly,
He cometh to poſſeſſe, as a ruler ſpirytuall.
And in *Iacobs* howſe, to reigne contynually,
Whych is of hys churche, the nombre unyuerſall,
Not only of *Iewes*, but faythfull beleuers all.
That congregacyon, will he euermore defende,
And of hys kyngedome, ſhall neuer be an ende.

Turba uulgaris.

At theſe newe tydynges, whom thys good man doth brynge,
My hart within me, for Ioye doth leape and ſprynge.

* Traditions. ‖ Preached by the Reformers. † *Publicanus.*

Publicanus.

O myghty maker, what confort to vs is thys?
Thyne own ſonne to ſende, to reforme that is amys.

Miles armatus.

Soch confort to me, as I can not expreſſe,
Of tunges though I had, thre thouſande and no leſſe.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Approche nyghar fryndes, and tell me what ye ſaye.

Turba uulgaris.

Ye tolde us, me thought, we ſhuld prepare a waye,
For the lordes commynge. Was not your ſaynge ſo?

Ioannes Baptiſta.

My preachynge was it, from it can I not go.
For grounded it is, on Gods myghty worde trulye,
Vttered longe afore, by the prophet *Eſaye*.

Publicanus.

I praye ye tell vs, what ye meane by that waye?

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Your conuerſacyon, which is in a ſore decaye.

Laye apart your wrathe, your couetouſneſſe and pryde,
Your luſtes unlaufull, with your other ſynnes beſyde.
Knowledge your treſpace, and ceaſe from doynge yll,
Flee mennys tradycyons, and Gods hygh lawes fulfyll.
Make ye ſtrayght the pathes, lete euery man haue hys,
In no wyſe reuenge, whan men vſe ye amys.

Seke God your father, in ſprete and veryte,
But not in ſhaddowes, as doth the *Pharyſe*,
Whych by outwarde workes, loketh to be juſtyfyed,
And neyther by faythe, nor by Gods worde wyll be tryed.
Euery depe valleye, to moch more hygthe wyll growe,
The mountaynes and hylles, ſhall be brought downe full lowe.

Miles armatus.

What meane ye by that? I praye ye hartely tell.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Mekeneſſe wyll aryſe, and pryde abate by the Goſpell:

The ſymple fyſher, ſhall now be notable,
The ſpirytuall *Pharyſe*, a wretche deteſtable.
The wyſe and lerned, the Idyote wyll deface,
Synners ſhall excede, the outward ſayntes in grace.
Abiectes of the worlde, in knowledge wyll excell,
The conſecrate Rabyes, by vertu of the Goſpell.

The poore man by faythe, ſhall very clerely deme,
The clauſe that wyll harde unto the lawer ſeme.
All that afore tyme, vntowarde ded remayne,
The rule of Gods worde, wyll now make ſtrayght and playne.
The couetouſe iourer ſhall now be lyberall,
The malycyouſe man wyll now to charyte fall.

The wratheful hater ſhall now loue erneſtlye,
To temperate meaſure men wyll change glotonye.

Pryde ſhall ſo abate, that mekeneſſe wyll preuayle,
Lechery ſhall lye down, and clenneſſe ſet up ſayle.
Slouthfulneſſe ſhall flyde, and dylygence aryſe,
To folowe the truthe, in godly exercyſe.

Prepare ye therefor, ſo faſt as euer ye can,
To thys lorde whych will, renue ye euery man,
In caſe ye repent the folye that is paſt.

Omnes una.

Sory are we for it, and wyll be to our laſt.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

What are ye? tell me, ych perſone ſeuerallye.

Turba uulgaris.

I do repreſent the commen People of *Jewry*.
In ſweate of my browes, my lyuynge I procure,
By daylye labours, and mynde ſo to endure.

Publicanus.

A publicane I am, and moch do lyve by pollage,
For my offyce is, to gather taxe and tollage.
Moch am I hated, of the *Pharyſe* and *Scrybe*,
For axyng trybute, it iudgynge vnlaufull brybe.

Miles armatus,

A ſouldyour I am, or valeaunt man of warre,
The lande to defende, and hys enemyes to conquarre.
Whan my wages are too lyttle for my expence,
To get a botye, I ſpare no vyolence.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

For Gods loue repent, and turne ye to the lorde,
That by him ye maye, to hys kyngedome be reſtorde.

Ad Deum conuertitur turba uulgaris, & peccata ſic confitetur.

Turba uulgaris.

I knowe bleſſed lorde, by playne experiment,
Moſt nygh vnto helth, is he that ſheweth hys ſore.
Wherefor I confeſſe, in place here euydent,
The ſynnefull lyuynge, that I haue vſed afore.
A wretched ſynnar I haue bene euermore,
Vnthankefull to thee, to man vncharytable,
And in all my workes, both falſe and deceyuable.

Hunc tunc baptiſat Ioannes flectentem genua.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Then take my baptyme, whych is a preparacyon,
Vnto faythe in Chriſt, wherin reſt your ſaluacyon.
To Chriſtes Goſpell your conuerſacyon applye,
And lerne by thys ſygne, with hym to lyue and dye.

Turba uulgaris.

Myne vſage (ye knowe) is outwarde and externe,
Some godly preceptes for that fayne wolde I lerne.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

I wyll not moue ye to offer calfe nor gote,
But to charyte, whych is of hyghar note.
With no ſacryfyce is God more hyghly pleaſed,
Than with that good hart, wherby the poore is eaſed.
For that he accepteth, as though hymſelfe it had.

Turba

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Turba uulgaris.

Thys helthſome counſell, maketh my hart ioyfull and glad.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

He that hath two coates, lete hym geue one to the nedye,
And he that hath vytayle, lykewyſe releue the hungrye.
Helpe alwayes the poore, with herbour, foode and aparell,
With ſocour, ſolace, with doctryne and ghoſtlye counſell.
Theſe thynges done in faythe maye mollyfye Gods yre.

Turba uulgaris.

Farwell to ye then, for I haue my deſyre.

Eo exeunte, publicanus coram Deo peccatum agnoſcit.

Publicanus.

Thy worde bleſſed lorde, by this good man declared,
Cauſeth my conſcyence of ſynne to have remorce.
And to remembre, how that I haue not ſpared
The poore to oppreſſe, by crueltie and force.
I conſydre yet, how I oft haue bene horce,
Cryenge for cuſtome, exactynge more than due,
To my neyber lorde I haue bene full vntrue.

Illum tunc baptiſat Ioannes incuruantem genua.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Be baptyſed then, in token of repentaunce,
And take to ye faythe, with a newe remembraunce.
Thynkynge by thys ſygne, ye are from hensfourth bounde
Vyces to reſyſt, acceptynge Chriſt for your grounde.

Publicanus.

Geue me ſome precept, or rule, whereon to ſtaye,
That I, in my ſort, my lorde God maye obaye.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

I wyll not bynde ye, your ſubſtaunce to dyſpence,
But I requyre yow, to abſtayne from vyolence.
Though your offyce be to gather and to pull,
Yet be no tyrauntes, but rather mercyfull.
A good waye thys were, for your eſtate, I thynke.

Publicanus.

Perfourme it I ſhall, I wolde els I ſhuld ſynke.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

For your peynes ye haue appoynted by the emproure
Your ſtypende wages, no creature ye ought to deuoure;
For Gods loue therfor, do no man iniury
In taking tollage, aduauntage to haue therby.
Non otherwyſe than, it is to yow preſcrybed.

Publicanus.

By me from hens fourth, nought from the poore ſhall be brybed.

Eo decedente, Miles ſua confitetur ſcelera.

Miles armatus.

Experyence doth ſhewe, where as are good monycyons,
Maye be auoyded all ieopardy and daunger.
At thys mannys counſell, all ſynnefull dyſpoſycyons
I wyll therfor change to a lyfe (I hope) moch better.
No man ſo wycked, nor ſo farre out of order,
As I wretche haue bene, in murther, rape and theſte.
Swete lorde forgeue me, and thoſe wayes ſhall be lefte.

Illum tunc baptiſat Ioannes in genua procumbentem.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Thys baptyme of myne, to yow doth repreſent
Remyſſyon in Chriſt, in caſe your ſynnes ye repent.
In hys bleſſed deathe, it aſſureth yow of grace,
Sealynge your paſport, vnto the hyghar place.

Miles armatus.

My maker I thanke, of hys moſt ſpecyall gyſte,
For my vſage now, ſhewe me ſome ghoſtly dryſte.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Of warre ye haue lawes, vſe them with ryght alwayes,
Do no ſpoyle nor rape, take no vnlaufull prayes.
The offyce ye haue, for the publyque vnyte,
Mynde to exercyſe, to the landes tranquyllyte.
Ye maye thus pleaſe God, in doynge your feate, ryght well.

Miles armatus.

Father go forewarde, for I moch delyght your counſell.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

For the publique peace, Gods lawe doth yow permyt,
Stronge weapon to weare, but in no caſe to abuſe it.
If ye mynde therfor, of God to auoyde the daunger,
For couetouſe lucre, hurt neyther frynde nor ſtranger.
But with your wages, yche man be ſatysfyed.

Miles armatus.

Prayſe be to the lorde, I am moch edyfyed.

Eo locum deſerente, intrant Phariſæus *ac* Sadducæus. *Interim* Ioannes Baptiſta *alloquitur populum.*

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Of Chriſt to tell yow, with the dyfference of our baptym,
I waſhe in water ; but remyſſyon is of him.
My baptyme is a ſygne of outwarde mortyfyenge,
A grace is hys baptyme of inwarde quyckenynge.
The baptyme of me is the baptyme of repentaunce,
Hys baptyme in faythe bryngeth full recoueraunce.

My doctryne is harde, and full of threttenynges,
Hys wordes are demure, replete with wholſom bleſſynges.
I feare the conſcience, with terrour of the lawe,
He by the Goſpell mannys ſowle wyll gentylly drawe.
A knowledge of ſynne the baptyme of me do teache,
Forgeueneſſe by faythe wyll he here after preache.

I open the ſore, he bryngeth the remedye,
I ſturre the conſcyence, he doth all pacyfye.
As *Eſaye* ſayth, I am the cryars voyce,
But he is the worde, and meſſage of reioyce.
The lanterne I am, he is the very lyght,
I prepare the waye, but he maketh all thynges perfyght,

Phariſæus. *Inuicem alloquuntur.*

As is ſaid abroade, thys fellawe preacheth newe lernynge*,
Lete vs dyſſemble, to vnderſtande hys meanynge.

Sadducæus.

Wele pleaſed I am, that we examyne hys doynges,
Hys doctrine parauenture myght hyndre els our lyuynges,

* This is the Term given to the Reformers Preaching the Goſpel, by the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome.*

But

But in our workynge, we muſt be ſumwhat craftye.

Phariſæus.

Tuſh, thu ſhalt ſe me, vndermynde hym very ſynelye.

Et uertens ſe ad Ioannem, doloſe illum alloquitur.

God bleſſe ye father, and proſpere your buſyneſſe.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Ye are welcome both, ſo that ye mynde anye goodneſſe.

Sadducæus.

No harme we intende, ye maye truſt vs and ye wyll.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Ye ſhewe to the worlde, as though ye coulde do no yll,
But the lorde doth knowe, what ye haue in your hartes,
And ſecretelye how ye playe moſt wycked partes.
Where as ſectes remayne, the ſprete of God cannot be,
Whoſe kynde is to knytt, by a perfyght vnyte.

Pariſæus.

That taunte haue I ones, bycauſe I am a *Pharyſe*.

Sadducæus,

My part is no leſſe, for I am alſo a *Sadduce*.
We wyll thu knowe it, our relygyons are worſhypfull.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Not ſo worſhypfull, but moch more falſe and deceytfull,
An outwarde pretence ye haue of holyneſſe,
Whych is before God a double wyckedneſſe.

Phariſæus.

A verye wretche art thu, ſoch vertuouſe men to deſpyſe,
As the lawes of God, to hys people doth decyſe.
We *Pharyſees* are thoſe, whych ſyt in *Moſes* ſeate
As interpretours, the holy ſcriptures to treate.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

And them ye corrupt, with your peſtylent tradycyons.
For your bellyes ſake, have yow falſe expoſycyons.

Sadducæus.

What ſayſt thu to me? whych in one poynt do not ſwerue.
From *Moſes* fyue bokes; but euery Iote we obſerue.
Thynkeſt not vs worthy the gloryouſe name we beare,
Of ryghteouſe *Sadducees?* Saye thy mynde without feare.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

I ſaye thys vnto yow, your obſervacyons are carnall.
Outwarde workes ye haue, but in ſprete nothynge at all.
Ye walke in the letter, lyke paynted *Hypocrytes*.
Before God ye are, no better than *Sodomytes*.

De Chriſto baptiſmo.

Synners offendynge, of weakeneſſe, doubt, or ignoraunce,
Of pytie God pardoneth. But where he ſyndeth reſyſtence
Agaynſt the playne truthe, there wyll he ponnyſh moſt.
For a wyckedneſſe that is agaynſt the holy Ghoſt.
And that reigneth in yow, whych neuer hath forgeueneſſe.
For enemyes ye are, to that ye knowe ryghteouſneſſe.

Phariſæus.

Auaunt begger, auaunt. Becometh it the to prate
So vnmannerly agaynſt our comely eſtate?
Whych is knowne to be, ſo notable and holye?
Thu ſhalt be loked on, I promyſe the ſurelye.

Sadducæus.

Our worthy decrees, the knaue doth not regarde.
But practyſeth newe lawes, ſoch as were neuer hearde.
By whoſe autoryte, doeſt thu teache thys newe lernynge?
Doubt not but ſhortly, thu wylt be brought to a reckenynge.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Ye generacyon of vypers, ye murtherers of the prophetes,
Ye Lucifers proude, and vſurpers of hygh ſeates.
Neuer was ſerpent, more ſtyngynge than ye be,
More full of poyſon, nor inwarde cruelte.
All your ſtodye is, to perſue the veryte,
Soch is your practyſe, deceyte and temeryte.
You boaſt your ſelues moch, of ryghteouſneſſe and ſcyence,
And yet non more vyle, nor fuller of neglygence.
How can ye eſcape the vengeaunce that is commynge,
Upon the vnfaythfull? whych wyll admytt no warnynge.
Neyther your good workes, nor merytes of your fathers,
Your faſtynges, longe prayers, with other holy behauers,

Shall yow afore God, be able to iuſtyfye,
Your affeccyons inwarde, vnleſs ye do mortyfye.
And therefor ſhewe fourth, the due frutes of repentaunce,
Not in wordes only, but from the hartes habundaunce.
Forſake your malyce, your pryde and hypocreſye,
And now exercyſe, the frutefull dedes of mercye.

Phariſæus.

It become not the, to ſhewe what we ſhall do,
We knowynge the lawe, and the prophecyes alſo.
Go teache thy olde ſhoes, lyke a buſye pratlynge fole,
For we wyll non be, of thys newe fangeled ſcole:
We are men lerned, we knowe the auncyent lawes,
Of our forefathers, thy newes are not worth, ii. ſtrawes.

Sadducæus.

The ofſprynge we are, of the noble father *Abraham*,
And have the bleſſynge, ſo many as of hym cam.
We can not peryſh, though thu prate neuer ſo myche,
For we are ryghteouſe, wele lerned, famouſe and ryche.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Great folye is it, of *Abraham* ſo to booſt,
Where his fayth is not, the kyndred is ſone loſt.
Ye are *Abrahams* chyldren, lyke as was *Iſmael*,
Onlye in the fleſhe, to whom no bleſſynge fell.
It profyteth yow lyttle, of *Abraham* to beare name,
If ye be wycked, but rather it is your ſhame.

And as touchynge *Abraham*, the Lorde is able to rayſe,
Of ſtones in the waye, ſuch people as ſhall hym prayſe.
The *Gentyles* can he call, whom ye very ſore deſpyſe,
To *Abrahams* true faythe, and graces for them deuyſe.
No hart is ſo harde, but he can it mollefye,
No ſynner ſo yll, but he maye him iuſtyfye.

Phariſæus.

Yea, he tolde the ſo, Thu art next of hys counſell,
And knoweſt what he myndeth, to do in heaven and in hell,
Now forſoth thu art, a Iolye *Robyne Bell.*

Sadducæus.

With a lytle helpe, of an heretyke he wyll ſmell.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

I ſe it very wele, agaynſt Gods truthe ye are bent,
And come not hyther, your wicked wayes to repent.
For that prynces ſake, that will clere vs of care,
But your commynge is, to trappe me in a ſnare.

Sadducæus.

We knowe hym not we, nor wyll not knowe hym in dede.
But whan he ſhall come, if he do ſowe ſoch ſede,
As thu haſt done here, he maye chaunce to have yll ſpede.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Be ware if ye lyſt, the axe is put to the rote,
With the Lorde to mocke, it will ye no longar bote.
Euery wythered tre, that wyll geue no good frute,
Shall up, whych are yow, of all grace deſtytute.
And ſhall be throwne fourth, into euerlaſtynge fyre,
Where no helpe can be, for no pryce nor deſyre.

Phariſæus.

A lewde knaue art thu, yll doctryne doſt thu teache,
We wyll ſo prouyde, thu ſhalt no longar preache.

Sadducæus.

If we do not ſe, for thys gere a dyreccyon,
This fellawe is lyke, to make an inſurreccyon.
For to hys newe lernynge, an infynyte cumpanye,
Of worldlye raſcalles, come hyther ſuſpycyouſlye.

Phariſæus.

In dede they do ſo, and therefor lete vs walke,
Vpon thys matter, more delyberatlye to talke.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

The nature of theſe, is ſtyll lyke as it hath be,
Blaſphemers they are, of God and hys veryte.
Here haue I preached, the baptyme of repentaunce.
After me he cometh, that is of moch more puyſaunce.
For all my auſteryte, of lyfe and godly purpoſe,
Worthye I am not, hys lachettes to vnloſe.

He wyll yow baptyſe, in the holy Ghoſt and fyre,
Makynge yow more pure, than your hart can deſyre.
Hys fanne is in hande, whych is Gods iudgement,
Vnto hym commytted, by hys father omnypotent.
He wyll from hys floore, which is hys congregacyon,
Swepe awaye all fylth, and falſe dyſſymulacyon.

Cleane wyll he ſeclude, the dyſguyſed hypocrytes,
And reſtore agayne, the perfyght *Iſraelytes.*
He wyll brynge the wheate, into hys barne or grayner,
The chyldren of faythe, to the kyngedome of hys father.
The caffe vnprofytable, whych are the vnfaithfull ſort,
Into hell ſhall go, to their ſorowfull dyſconfort.

Ieſus Chriſtus.

I am *Ieſus Chriſt*, the ſonne of the lyuynge God,
The lyght of hys glorye, the ymage of hys ſubſtaunce.
Though he to thys daye, hath plaged man with the rod,
Yet now for my ſake, he hath withdrawne all vengeaunce,
All rygour, all fearceneſſe, with hys whole hartes diſpleſaunce,
Sendynge me hyther, of hys benyuolence,
To ſuffer one deathe, for all the worldes offence.

The tyme prefixed, of my celeſtyall father,
Is now perfourmed, I reignynge in thys nature,
Borne of a woman, yea, of a vyrgyne rather:
Subject to the lawe, for Man which is vnpure,
From deathe dampnable, hys pardone to procure.
That he maye receyue, the hygh inherytaunce,
Due to the chyldren, of hys choyce or allowaunce.

If ye will nedes knowe, wherfor I am incarnate,
It is to be head, of your whole congregacyon,
To make means for ye, to pacyfye the hate,
To be the hygh preſt, that ſhall worke your ſaluacyon,
Your gyde, your confort, your helth, your conſolacyon,
I come not to iudge, nor flee, but all to ſaue,
Come therfor to me, all yow that lyfe wyll haue.

I am become fleſh, for myne own promes ſake,
Without mannys ſede borne, hys kynde to ſanctyfye,
Of ſynners lynage, the ſynners quarell to take,
Of patryarkes and kynges, as a father and gyde heauenlye,
Poore, that ye ſhuld thynke, my kyngedom nothing worldlye
In fleſh, to the ſprete, that the Goſpell ſhuld ye brynge.
Beleuynge by me, to have the lyfe euerlaſtynge.

Ye worldlye people, lerne gentylneſſe of me,
Which though I am God, unto the father coequall,
I toke thys nature, with all dyſcommodyte,
My ſelfe to humble, as a creature here mortall
To rayſe ye to God, from your moſt deadlye fall.
Lete thys example, be grafted firſt in your wytt,
How I for baptyme, to *Johan* my ſelfe ſubmytt.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

By the holy Ghoſt, aſſured I am thys houre,
That thys man is he, whych is of the hyghar poure,
Whom I haue preached, The lambe of innocencye,
Whoſe ſhoe to vnloſe, my ſelfe is far unworthye.
From whens do ye come, I praye ye tell to me.

Ieſus Chriſtus.

From *Nazareth* thys houre, a cytie of *Galyle*,
From my mothers howſe, the heauenly father from hence,
Te obeye and ſerue, with moſt due reuerence.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Your intent or mynde, fayne wolde I underſtande.

Ieſus Chriſtus.

To receyue with other, the baptyme of thy hande.

Hic protenſis manibus baptiſmo illum prohibet.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Requyre not of me, I deſyre the inſtauntlye,
To preſume ſo farre, for doubtleſſe I am vnworthye.
I a carnall ſynner, ought to haue baptyme of the,
My Lorde and Sauer. And doſt thu axe it of me?
Perdon me ſwete Lorde, for I wyll not ſo preſume.

Ieſus Chriſtus.

Without preſumpcyon, that offyce ſhalt thu adſume.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

The baptyme of me, is but a ſhaddow or type,
Soch is thy baptyme, as awaye all ſynne doth wype.
I geue but water, the ſprete Lorde thu doſt brynge,
Lowe is my baptyme, thyne is an heauenly thynge.
Now thu art preſent, it is mete my baptyme ceace,
And thyne to floryſh, all ſynners bondes to releace.

Me thy poore ſeruaunt, repleniſh here with grace,
And requyre me not, to baptyſe the here in place.

Ieſus Chriſtus.

Johan, ſuffre me now, in thys to haue my wyll,
For vs it behoueth, all righteouſneſſe to fulfyll.
That is to ſaye, me, as wele as theſe my ſeruauntes,
The great graunde captayne, ſo wele as hys poore tenauntes.
I come not hither, to breake the lawes of my father,
As thy baptyme is one, but to confirme them rather.
If I by the lawe, in yewth was circumcyſed,
Why ſhuld I dyſdayne, thys tyme to be baptyſed?
The *Pharyſees* abhorre, to be of the common ſort,
But I maye not ſo, whych come for all mennys confort.
I muſt go with them, they are my bretherne all,
He is no good captayne, that from hys armye fall.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

They are ſynners Lorde, and from good lyuyinge wyde.

Ieſus Chriſtus.

The more nede is theirs, to haue me for their gyde.

I wyll go afore, that they maye folowe me,
Whych ſhall be baptyſed, and thynke me for to be,
Their mate or brother, hauynge their lyuerye token,
Whych is thy baptyme, as thy ſelfe here hath ſpoken.
Take water therfor, and baptyſe me thys houre
That thy baptyme maye, take ſtrength of hyghar poure.

The people to marke, vnto my kyngedome heauenlye.

Ioannes Baptiſta.

Then bleſſed ſauer, thy ſeruaunt here ſanctyfye.

Ieſus Chriſtus.

The man whych haue fayth, lacketh no ſanctyfycacyon
Neceſſary and mete, for hys helth and ſaluacyon.
Thyne offyce therfor, now execute thu on me.

Hic Ioannem *ſubleuat* Ieſus, *ac eius baptiſmo ſe ſubmittit.*

Ioannes Baptiſta.

I baptyſe the (Lorde) by ſoch autoryte,
As thy grace hath geuen, to my poore ſympleneſſe,
Onlye to obeye, the hygh requeſt of thy goodneſſe.

In terram procumbens Ieſus, *tunc dicit, Deo gratias.*

Ieſus Chriſtus.

Thys offyce father, whych I in thys mortall nature,
Do take vpon me, at thy moſt hygh appoyntment,
For mannys ſaluacyon, here to appeyſe thy hature,
So proſpere forewarde, that it be to thy intent,
And to thy people, fytte and conuenyent.
And that thu wytſaue, by thy moſt fatherly poure,
Thy ſonne to commende, vnto the worlde thys houre.

Deſcendit tunc ſuper Chriſtum ſpiritus ſanctus in columbæ ſpecie, & uox patris de cœlo audietur hoc modo :

Pater cœleſtis.

Thys is myne owne ſone, and only hartes delyght,
My treaſure, my Ioye, beloued moſt inteyrlye.
Thys is he whych hath, procured grace in my ſyght,
For man that hath done, moſt wylfull trayterye.
Alone is it he, that me doth pacyfye.
For hys only ſake, with Man am I now content,
To be for euer, at a full peace and agrement.

I charge ye, to hym, Geue dylygent attendaunce,
Heare hys monycyons, regarde hys heauenly doctryne.
In mennys tradycyons, loke ye haue no affyaunce,
Nor in *Moſes* lawe, but as he ſhall defyne,
Heare hym, beleue hym, drawe only after hys lyne.
For he alone knoweth, my purpoſe towardes yow,
And non els but he, heare hym therefor only now.

Tunc cœlum inſpiciens Ioannes, *incuruat genua.*

Ioannes Baptiſta.

O tyme moſt ioyfull, daye moſt ſplendiferus.
The clereneſſe of heauen, now apereth vnto vs.
The father is hearde, and the holy Ghoſt is ſeane,
The ſonne incarnate, to puryfye vs cleane,
By thys we maye ſe, The Goſpell ones receyued,
Heauen openeth to vs, and God is hyghly pleaſed.

Lete vs ſynge therfor, togyther with one accorde,
Prayſynge theſe ſame thre, as one God and good Lorde.

Et expanſis ad cœlum manibus canit Ioannes.

Glorye be to the Trynyte,
The father, the ſonne and ſprete lyuynge,
Whych are one God in perſones thre,
To whom be prayſe without endynge.

BALEUS PROLOCUTOR.

Thys vyſyble ſygne, do here to yow declare,
What thynge pleaſeth God, and what offendeth hys goodneſſe.
The worlde hath proude hartes, hygh myndes, with ſoch lyke ware,

God

God only regardeth, the ſprete of lowlyneſſe.
Marke in thys Goſpell, with the eyes of ſympleneſſe.
Adam, *by hys pryde, ded* paradyſe *vp ſpeare,*
Chriſt *hath opened heauen, by hys great mekeneſſe heare.*

Iohan *was a preacher, Note wele what he ded teache,*
Not mennis tradycyons, nor hys owne holye lyfe.
But to the people, Chriſt Ieſus *ded he preache,*
Wyllynge hys Goſpell, amonge them to be ryfe,
Hys knowledge heavenly, to be had of man and wyfe.
But who receyued it? The ſinfull commynalte,
Publicanes and ſynners, but no paynted Pharyſe.

The waye that Iohan *taught, was not to weare harde clothynge.*
To ſaye longe prayers, nor to wandre in the deſart,
Or to eate wylde locuſts. No, he neuer taught ſoch thynge.
Hys mynde was that faythe, ſhuld puryfye the hart.
My ways (ſayth the Lorde) with mennys ways haue no part.
Mannys ways are all thynges, that are done without fayth,
God's waye is hys worde, as the holy ſcripture ſayth.

If ye do penaunce, do ſoch as Iohan *doth counſell,*
Forſake your olde lyfe, and to the true fayth applye.
Waſhe away all fylth, and folowe Chriſtes *Goſpell.*
The iuſtyce of men, is but an hypocreſye,
A worke without fayth, an outwarde vayne glorye.
An example here, ye had of the Pharyſees,
Whom Iohan *compared, to vnfruteful wythered trees.*

Geue eare unto Chriſt, *lete mennys vayne fantaſyes go,*
As the father bad, by hys moſt hygh commaundement,
Heare neyther Frances, Benedyct, *nor* Bruno,
Albert *nor* Domynyck, *for they newe rulers inuent,*
Beleue neyther Pope, nor preſt of hys conſent.
Folowe Chriſtes *Goſpell, and therin fructyfye,*
To the prayſe of God, and hys ſonne Ieſus *glorye.*

Thus endeth thys brefe Comedy or Enterlude of *Iohan Baptyſtes* preachynge in the wylderneſſe, openynge the craftye aſſaultes of the hypocrytes, with the gloryouſe Baptyme of *Ieſus Chriſt.*

Compyled by Iohan Bale, *Anno* M.D.XXXVIII.

A Diſ-

ORDERS ſet down by the Duke of *Medina*, Lord General of the King's Fleet, to be obſerved in the Voyage toward *England*. Tranſlated out of *Spaniſh* into *Engliſh*, by *T. P.*

Imprinted at London *by* Thomas Orwin, *for* Thomas Gilbert, *dwelling in* Fleetſtreet, *near to the Sign of the* Caſtle, 1588.

The wonderful Deliverance, which England *commemorates on the following Occaſion, is ſtill more remarkable, from the due Conſideration of the following Pamphlet; where, the Reader may obſerve, that not only the Strength, and exceeding great warlike Preparations, but the political and military Orders, to preſerve good Harmony among the Soldiers and Sailors, and due Obedience from both to their reſpective Commanders; and to avoid all Confuſion, in Caſe of a Storm, or other diſaſterous Accident, ſhew that our Enemies had taken all the Precautions that human Prudence could conceive, to accompliſh their Intrigues, and to ruin our Eſtabliſhment in Church and State. Therefore, I have inſerted theſe* Orders, *thereby to encourage us in the like Dangers, and to ſhew, that, when God is on our Side, neither the Power, nor Policy of Man, is able to do us Harm.*

Don Alonſo Peres de Guzman, *the good Duke of* Medina, Sidonia, *Count of* Nebla, *Marquis of* Caſheſhe *in* Africa, *Lord of the City Saint* Lucar, *Captain General of the Ocean Sea, of the Coaſt of* Andaluſia, *and of this Army of his Majeſty, and Knight of the honourable Order of the Golden Fleece.*

I Do ordain and command, that the General Maſters of the Field, all Captains, Officers of the Camp, and of the Sea, Pilots, Maſters, Soldiers, Mariners, and Officers, and whatſoever other People for the Land or Sea Service cometh in this Army, all the Time that it endureth, ſhall be thus governed, as hereafter followeth, *viz.*

Firſt, and before all Things, it is to be underſtood by all the abovenamed, from the higheſt to the loweſt: That the principal Foundation and Cauſe, that have moved the King his Majeſty to make and continue this Journey, hath been, and is, to ſerve God, and to return unto his Church a great many of contrite Souls, that are oppreſſed by the Hereticks, Enemies to our holy Catholick Faith, which have them Subjects to their Sects, and Unhappineſs: And for that every one may put his Eyes upon this Mark, as we are bound, I do command, and much deſire every one, to give Charge unto the Inferiors, and thoſe under their Charge, to embark themſelves, being ſhriven *, and having received the *Sacrament* with competent Contrition for their Sins: By the which Contrition, and Zeal to do God ſuch great Service, he will carry and guide us to his great Glory: Which is, that which particularly and principally is pretended.

In like Manner, I do charge and command you, to have particular Care, that no Soldier, Mariner, or other, that ſerveth in this Army, do blaſpheme, or rage againſt God, or our Lady †, or any of the Saints, upon Pain that he ſhall therefor ſharply be corrected, and very well chaſtened, as it ſhall ſeem beſt unto us:

* Confeſſed his Sins to a Prieſt.

† The Virgin *Mary*.

And

And for other Oaths of leſs Quality, the Governors, in the ſame Ships they go in, ſhall procure to remedy all: They ſhall puniſh them in taking away their Allowance of Wine, or otherwiſe, as they ſhall think good. And for that the moſt Occaſions come by Play, you ſhall publickly prohibit it, eſpecially the Games that are forbidden: And, that none do play in the Night, by no Means.

And to avoid Inconveniencies that might enſue in this Army and Force of his Majeſty, if that the here written were not put for Remedy, by theſe Preſents, I do command, that, particularly and generally, all Quarrels, Angers, Defiances, and Injuries, that are, and have been, before this Day, and until the Publication hereof, of all Perſons, as well by Sea as Land, of greater or leſs Qualities, be ſuppreſſed and ſuſpended, ſo that none goeth in this Army for the Time that this Voyage continueth and laſteth, although they be old Quarrels: Yet, for my expreſs Commandment, ſhall break this Truce and Forbearance of Arms, directly, or indirectly, upon Pain of Diſobedience, and incurring into high Treaſon, and die therefor.

In like Manner I do give Charge, that aboard the Ships there be not any one Thing offered to the Diſgrace of any Man.

Declaring herewithal, that there cannot be any Diſgrace imputed to any Man for any Thing that ſhall be offered, nor yet be a Reproach, whatſoever happeneth a-board any Ship.

And for that it is known, that great Inconveniences and Offence groweth unto God, by conſenting that common Women, and ſuch like, go in like Armies:

I do ordain and command, that there be none embarked nor carried in the Army: And if that any will carry them, I do command the Captains, and Maſters of the Ships, not to conſent thereto: Who ſo doth, or diſſembleth therewith, ſhall be grievouſly puniſhed.

The Company of every Ship, one every Morning, at the Break of every Day, according to the Cuſtom, ſhall give the good Morrow * by the Main-maſt, and at Night the *Ave Maria* *: And ſome Days the *Salve Regina* *: Or, at leaſt, the *Saturdays* with a Littany.

And foraſmuch as it importeth for the Preſervation and good Succeſs of this Army, that there be between the Soldiers and Mariners much confirmed Friendſhip, and ſuch Amity, that there be not any Difference, nor other Occaſions of murmuring, I command it to be publiſhed, that no Body do carry any Dagger, nor thwart one another, or give any Occaſions, but that all do obey the ſuperior Officers: And if any Scandal or Offence come, he that was the Beginner, ſhall ſtraightly be puniſhed.

When the Gallion *Saint Marten*, wherein myſelf go, Admiral of this Fleet, doth make a Sign with a Piece of Ordnance, it ſhall be a Sign of Departure for the whole Fleet, that, ſounding their Trumpets, ſhall follow without loſing Time, and without coming foul of each other, and cutting Sail, ſhall do the like: Having great Care of the Sands and Catchops, carrying their Boats and Skiffs ready for any Thing that may happen.

Being from the Land a Sea-board, every Ship ſhall come to Leeward, ſaluting the Admiral, to know what he will command: And demand the Word, without going a-head the Admiral, either in the Day or in the Night, but to have great Care to his Sailing.

Every Afternoon, they ſhall repair to their Admirals, to take the Word, and to know if there be any Thing to do.

And for that ſo many great Ships, and ſo great may be, cannot come every Day without Boarding one another: To avoid the Danger that may follow, the General of each *Squadron* ſhall have particular Care, to take the Word in Time, to give it unto the Ships under their Charge.

The Admiral ſhall be ſaluted with Trumpets, of them that have them: If not, with their Whiſtles: And the People to hallow one after another, and, anſwering them, ſhall ſalute again: And, if it be towards Night, to demand the Word, and, taking it, ſhall ſalute one another in Time, and depart, to give Room to others that follow.

If it happeneth ſome Days, that the Wind will not ſuffer to take the Word of the Admiral, or Admirals, they ſhall have, for every Day in the Week, the Words following:

Sunday,	*Jeſus.*
Monday,	*The holy Ghoſt.*
Tueſday,	*The holy Trinity.*
Wedneſday,	*Saint James.*
Thurſday,	*The Angels.*

* A Cuſtom ſtill obſerved in *Spain*, and ſome other *Popiſh* Countries, by Tolling a Bell three Strokes thrice, in all, nine Strokes.

Friday

Friday, *All Saints.*
Saturday, *Our Lady.*

And for that it importeth, that all the Armies do go cloſe together, I do command, that the General, and Wings, with great Care, do procure to carry the *Squadrons*, as nigh, and in as good Order, as is poſſible: And the Ship and Pinnaces, of the Charge of Don *Antonio de Hartado de Mendoſa*, keep next unto the Admiral, except ſix: Whereof, two ſhall follow the Admiral Don *Pedro de Valdezi*, and two the Admiral of *Martin Bretendona*; the other two, the Admiral of *Joan Gomes de Medina*: The which ſhall be appointed preſently, and have great Care to repart themſelves, without the one thwarting the other: And the *Squadron* of the Hulks ſhall go always in the Midſt.

That no Ship of the Navy, nor any that goeth with them, ſhall depart, without my Licenſe: And I do command upon Pain of Death, and Loſs of Goods, that if by Chance, with a Storm, any be driven to depart * before they come to the *Cape Finiſter*, that then they follow their Courſe to the ſaid *Cape*, where they ſhall have my Order what to do; or elſe they ſhall ſail to the *Groyne*, where they ſhall have it.

In departing from the *Groyne*, they ſhall ſet their Courſe for *Silley*, and procure to make the Southerſide of it, having great Care of their Sounding: And if by Chance in this Courſe any Ship, or Ships, do loſe the Fleet, they ſhall not return into *Spain*, in any Manner, upon Pain of Death, and the Loſs of Goods, and taken for Traytors, but follow the Courſe, and make to the Southward of the ſaid Iſland. And if any ſuch do think the Navy to be a-ſtern of him, he ſhall detain himſelf in the ſame Height, laying up and down, and not to depart from his Courſe.

And if it be thought, that the Navy is a Head, then ſhall you ſeek them in *Mont's-bay*, which is betwixt the Land's End and the *Lizard*, there ſhall you have the whole Navy, or Intelligence what he ſhall do; and yet for all this, if he do not meet with the Navy, yet ſhall he find Pinnaces, with Order what ſhall be done.

In the Night, there ſhall be great Vigilance for the Admiral, to ſee if ſhe change her Courſe, or make about. Before ſhe goeth about, ſhe will ſhoot off a Piece; and, being about, will put forth another Light, upon the Poop a-part from the Lanthorn; who that doth ſee it, ſhall anſwer with another Light.

When he doth take away Bonnets, or ſhorten the Sails, he ſhall ſhew Lights, one in the Poop, and other two ſhrowed high.

When that for any Occaſion he ſhall ſtrike all Sails, he ſhall ſhew three Lights, one in the Top, another in the Shrouds, and the third in the Fore-caſtle; and the reſt ſhall ſhew it, with putting forth a Light, each upon his Poop.

If any Ship have any Occaſion to ſtrike all her Sails in the Night, he ſhall ſhoot off a great Piece, and put out a Lanthorn all Night, and thoſe that are nigheſt unto him ſhall ſhew Lights, for that other may procure it, and ſhall take in the Sails till Day: And, if Neceſſity be great, ſhall ſhoot off another Piece, and thoſe, that do ſee it, ſhall anſwer with other two Lights making the like Board.

When the Admiral will have any Communication, he will make a Sign, putting a Flag in the after Miſen near the Lanthorn, and ſo they ſhall repair unto him to know what he would have. If (which God for his Mercy permit not) there happen any Ship to take Fire, the next unto her ſhall make from her, ſending firſt their Boats and Skiffs, to ſuccour and help, and ſo ſhall all the reſt.

They ſhall have particular Care, to put forth their Fire in every Ship, before the Sun go down.

In taking of their Allowance of Victuals, the Soldiers ſhall let them that have the Charge thereof, to deliver it, ſo that the ſaid Soldiers ſhall not go down to take it, nor chooſe it perforce, as in Times they have done; and, for this Cauſe, ſhall be preſent the Serjeant, or Corporal, of the Company or Companies, where they are, for avoiding Diſorder, and that timely they have their Portions; ſo that before Night every Body may have ſupped.

That no Ship, nor other Veſſel of this Navy, nor of any of thoſe, that goeth ſubject under my Juriſdiction, ſhall not be ſo bold to enter into any Harborough, anchor, nor go a Shore, without the Admiral doth it firſt, or with my ſpecial Leave, upon Pain of Puniſhment hereof.

The Colonels of the Field, Captains, Lieutenants, Enſigns and Officers, muſt have particular Care, that the Soldiers have always their

* Between *Liſbon* and *Cape Finiſter*.

Armour clean, ready, and in Order, for Time of Neceſſity, cauſing them to make them clean, twice every Week, and uſing themſelves with them in ſuch Sort, that they may be expert at the Time of Need.

And for that, in the Way, Order ſhall be given, in what Form every Man ſhall put himſelf, if we do fight, I do command, that particular Care be had, adviſing the Gunners to have half Butts with Water and Vinegar, as is accuſtomed, with Bonnets, and old Sails, and wet Mantles to defend Fire, that as often is thrown, as to have the like Care to have Shot made in good Quantity, and that Powder and Match be ready for Ship, and Soldiers of the Store, by Weight, Meaſure, and Length; according to the Order, that every Ship hath to deliver unto him, that hath the Charge thereof, according to Uſe and Cuſtom.

Alſo I order and command, that there be a Care, that all Soldiers have their Room clean, and unpeſtered of Cheſts, and other Things, without conſenting in any Caſe to have Cards; and, if there be any, to be taken away preſently: Neither permit them to the Mariners; and, if the Soldiers have any, let me be advertiſed, that I may command them to be taken away.

And, for that the Mariners muſt reſort unto their Work, Tackle and Navigation, it is convenient, that their Lodgings be in the upper Works of the Poop, and Fore-caſtle, otherwiſe the Soldiers will trouble them in the Voyage.

The Artillery muſt ſtand in very good Order, and reparted amongſt the Gunners, being all charged with their Balls, and nigh unto every Piece his Locker, wherein to put his Shot and Neceſſaries, and to have great Care to the Cartridges of every Piece, for not changing, or not taking Fire; and that the Ladles and Sponges be ready at Hand.

Every Ship ſhall carry two Boats Lading of Stones, to throw to Profit, in the Time of Fight, on the Deck, Fore-caſtle, or Tops, according to his Burden; and ſhall carry two half Pipes, to fill them with Water in the Day o Battle, and repart them amongſt the Ordnance or other Places, as ſhall be thought neceſſary and nigh unto them, old Clothes, or Coverings which with Wetting may deſtroy any Kind o Fire.

That the Wild-fire be reparted to the People moſt expert, that we have for the Uſe thereof, at due Time; for that, if it be not overſeen, giving Charge thereof to thoſe that do underſtand it, and ſuch, as we know, can tell how to uſe it, otherwiſe it may happen to great Danger.

By the Commandment that no Ship ſhall go a Head the Admiral, at the leaſt in the Night, none ſhall tarry a Stern the Vice-Admiral, and every one to have a Care to the Trimming of his Sails, according to the Charge he hath, and the Sailing of his Ship; for the much that it importeth that all our Navy do go cloſe as poſſible as they may, and in this the Captains, Maſters, and Pilots muſt have ſuch great Care, as of them is hoped.

Theſe my Inſtructions are delivered unto every Ship, and have their Copy, firmed by my Hand, and regiſtered by my Secretary, the which ſhall be read by every Purſer of every Ship publickly, to come to the Note of all Soldiers and Mariners, whereby they may not pretend Ignorance: And to the ſaid Purſers I ordain and command, that, thrice in the Week, they be bound to read theſe my Inſtructions publickly, and that they take Witneſs of the Fulfilling hereof, upon Pain of him, that doth the contrary, ſhall receive Puniſhment to the Example of others.

All the above ſaid, we command to be manifeſted, and be kept without any Breach for the Service of his Majeſty, none to break them, or any Part thereof, in no Manner, upon Pain they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, every one according to his Eſtate and Offence; all others reſerved to our Diſcretion. Made in the *Gallion Saint Marten*, at the Road of *Belline* *, the twenty-eighth of *May*, 1588.

* A Village, three Miles below *Liſbon*.

A Diſcourſe, concerning the *Spaniſh* Fleet invading *England*, in the Year 1588, and overthrown by Her Majeſty's Navy, under the Conduct of the Right Honourable the Lord *Charles Howard*, High-Admiral of *England*; written in *Italian*, by *Petruccio Ubaldino*, Citizen of *Florence*, and tranſlated for *A. Ryther*; to be ſold at his Shop, being a little from *Leaden-hall*, next to the Sign of the *Tower*. MDXC.

The conſtant Attempts, which the Romiſh *Powers have made upon our Religion and Liberties; the many* Private Treaſons *they have fomented againſt our Eſtabliſhment in Church and State; their vaſt Armaments that have been made from Time to Time, ſince we forſook the Superſtition of* Rome, *and believed in the Goſpel only; and eſpecially the late* combined *Force of* France *and* Spain, *to ruin us by Sea and Land, calls upon us to be thankful to God, who ſtill continues to fight for us, as he did in the Infancy of the Reformation; as will better appear by comparing our preſent State with the following Account.*

The Pope had ſuffered ſo great a Loſs in his Revenue by the utter Separation of England *from his Authority, when Queen* Elizabeth *confirmed and eſtabliſhed the Reformation begun and continued by her Father and Brother, that he tried all Means to take her out of the Way; and working more eſpecially with the potent King,* Philip *of* Spain, *they both determined either to cut her off by private Artifices, or, if thoſe ſhould fail, to ſubdue the Nation by open Force. The Pope leads the Way. For, it being ſo ſhocking to human Nature, to contrive the Death, and to take away the Life of* God's Anointed, *or* the Governor *of his People, he, with his pretended diſpenſing Power, was to ſtrive to quiet the Conſciences of thoſe Bigots to be made Uſe of on that Occaſion. The firſt Step was to* excommunicate *the Queen and all her Council, and their Adherents; and then to* abſolve *all thoſe her Subjects, that were willing to be* Rebels *and* Traytors, *from their obligated* Allegiance. *Then He aſſumed a Right to* diſpoſe *of the Crown of* England; *gave it to the King of* Spain, *and exhorted* Philip, *to reduce it to his Yoke by Force of Arms; engaged other States, and largely aſſiſted him otherwiſe to enable him to make a ſucceſsful* Invaſion *and to* conquer, *and* decreed *it a Virtue and Merit, deſerving of Heaven, in thoſe* Engliſh *Subjects, that could be ſo cajoled to arm for* Spain, *and* rebel *againſt their lawful Sovereign.*—— Philip *of* Spain, *thus prompted and ſupported, reſolved upon the Execution of a Deſign that would, if ſucceſsful, add ſo much Power and Riches to his Crown: But ſtill he pretended Friendſhip, diſavowed his Intention, and ſolicited Queen* Elizabeth's *Reconciliation to the* Romiſh *Religion, that he might the better cover the wicked Deſign of taking away her Life* privately *or by* Treaſon. *For, in the Year* 1584, William Parry, *whoſe Trial*

is propoſed to be printed at large in this Collection, inſtigated by Benedicto Palmio *and* Chriſtophero de Salazar, *Secretary to King* Philip, *undertook to murder her Sacred Majeſty; and* Hanibal Codreto, *a* Spaniſh *Prieſt, approved the ſame diabolical Deſign. But this was providentially detected; and ſo her Majeſty eſcaped the bloody Hands of that Monſter of Ingratitude, whom ſhe had before ſaved from the Gallows; yet again, in the Year* 1586, Babington *and* Ballard *agreed with* Bernardin Menduza, *then the King of* Spain's *Ambaſſador, to* betray *the Land to a* Spaniſh *Invaſion, or to kill the Queen; but they were both preſerved from their Wickedneſs by the Almighty Power and Goodneſs of God. Thus* Philip *hoping for no Succeſs in this private Scheme, his Intentions being ſo often detected, and his Armaments already compleated, reſolved to* fight againſt God *and his Servants, by the Help of the Pope and the whole Strength of his own Power; and, in Conſequence of that Reſolution, in the Year* 1588, *he ſent from* Liſbon, *on the* 19*th of* May, *that Sea Armament, which he called,* The invincible Navy, *or, as the Pope* Sixtus the Fifth *termed it,* The great, noble, *and* invincible Army, *and* Terror *of* Europe, *conſiſting of* 134 *Sail of tall towering Ships, beſides Gallies, Galliaſſes, and Galleons, ſtored with* 22000 *Pounds of great Shot,* 40200 *Quintals or Hundred Weights of Powder,* 1000 *Quintals of Lead for Bullets,* 10200 *Quintals of Match,* 7000 *Muſkets and Calievers,* 1000 *Partizans and Halberts; beſides double Cannons, Mortars, and Field-pieces for a Camp, upon Diſembarking, and a great many Mules, Horſes, and Aſſes, with ſix Months Proviſion of Bread, Biſquet, and Wine;* 60500 *Quintals of Bacon,* 3000 *Cheeſe,* 12000 *Pipes of freſh Water, beſides a full Proportion of other Sorts of Fleſh, Rice, Beans, Peaſe, Oil, and Vinegar. To which he added a great Quantity of Torches, Lanthorns, Lamps, Canvas, Hides, and Lead, to ſtop Leaks,* &c. *according to ſome Accounts.*

The Engliſh *Fleet gave them ſuch a Reception, that, by the Bleſſing of God, it ſoon defeated and diſperſed that* invincible Navy, *and made it* vincible. *In Memory of which great and miraculous Deliverance from the* Spaniſh *and* Popiſh *Tyranny, there was a Day ſet a-part, by Authority, to be kept* holy, *throughout all her Majeſty's Dominions; and it is much to be regretted, that ſo great a Mercy and Duty ſhould be now laid aſide: For, as a certain great Writer obſerves, Doubtleſs, all Men and Women, who would not have bowed the Knee to* (Spaniſh) Baal, *had then been put to the Sword; their Children had been toſſed at the Pike's End, or elſe their Brains daſhed out by ſome ill-faced* Dons *or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that Time of* England's *Deliverance, amongſt whom I ſhall only mention the reverend and religious* Theodore Beza *(of pious Memory) whoſe pathetick* Poem-*gratulatory on that Occaſion, in* Latin, *inſcribed to the Queen, I ſhall give you here tranſlated by an excellent Pen into the Language of thoſe Days:*

Spain's King, with Navies huge, the Seas beſtrew'd,
T'augment, with *Engliſh* Crown, his *Spaniſh* Sway.
Aſk you, what caus'd this proud Attempt? 'Twas lewd
Ambition drove, and *Av'rice* led the Way.
'Tis well *Ambition*'s windy Puff lies drown'd
By Winds; and ſwelling Hearts, by ſwelling Waves.
'Tis well the *Spaniards*, who the World's vaſt Round
Devour'd, devouring Sea moſt juſtly craves.

But

But thou, O Queen, for whom Winds, Seas, do war,
O thou ſole Glory of the World's wide Maſs,
So reign to God, ſtill from Ambition far,
So ſtill, with bounteous Aids, the *Good embrace*,
That thou do *England* long, long *England* thee enjoy,
Thou Terror of all *Bad*, Thou every Good Man's Joy!

To the Reader.

Who liſt to hear and ſee what God hath done
For us, our Realm, and Queen, againſt our Foe,
Our Foe, the Spaniard *proud, let him o'er-run*
This little Book, and he the Truth ſhall know:
Which, when you read with Care, retain this Thought,
That, howſoe'er the Means deſerved well,
'Twas chiefly God, againſt our Foe, that fought,
And ſent them quick through Midſt of Sea to Hell.
Whither both quick, and thick, let them go down,
That ſeek to alienate the Title of our Crown.

T. H.

THE Queen's Majeſty having divers Ways underſtood the great and diligent Preparation of the King of *Spain*, in divers Parts both by Land and Sea, not only of the ſtrongeſt Ships of all Places within his Dominions; but alſo of all Sorts of Proviſion and Ammunition neceſſary for a mighty Fleet, which was to come from *Spain* and *Portugal* (for the Furniſhing and better Direction whereof he had drawn together, into the Places aforeſaid, the moſt principal and antient Captains and Soldiers, as well of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as of *Lombardy*, and other Parts of *Italy*, and the more remote Parts of *India*, as by every one was long before very evidently perceived, by Reaſon that the Preparation of theſe Things together with the Number of the Ships, Mariners, and Soldiers, the divers Sorts and Quantities of Victuals, the great Number and divers Kinds of Artillery, with the Sum of every ſeveral Kind, were ſufficiently ſpecified unto all Countries, by certain Pamphlets, laying forth at large his whole Intent; the which Pamphlets were printed and publiſhed in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and other Provinces of Chriſtendom, with this Title: *The moſt puiſſant and moſt happy Fleet of the King of* Spain, *againſt the Realm of* England:) Her Majeſty, I ſay, having in this Manner received ſo open and manifeſt Information hereof, as alſo certain Intelligence of Horſemen and Footmen, ſent in ſo great Number, that they were ſufficient for the furniſhing of divers Camps in the *Low Countries*, under the Government of the Duke of *Parma*, his Lieutenant-General for thoſe Provinces, and withal knowing the Multitude of the Ships of War, and the Poſſibility that the ſaid King had to tranſport his Soldiers out of *Flanders*, and land them in *England*, not ſparing to give out thereupon open and free Report, that all that Proviſion was for the Invaſion and Conqueſt of *England:* And for ſo much alſo as at the ſame Time the King himſelf, by Means of his aforeſaid General, the Duke of *Parma*, pretended a certain Treaty of Peace to be made with her Majeſty (albeit this Offer was in Truth known, in *England*, not to have been made, but only to take Advantage of the Time, and to make her Majeſty negligent in preparing for her Defence, although ſhe notwithſtanding deſirous openly to declare her good Inclination unto that, which is a juſt and Chriſtian Commendation in a prudent Princeſs) refuſed not in any Point this Treaty and Offer of Peace, greatly deſired of all Chriſtian People; and, therefore, for that Purpoſe gave Commandment to certain Noblemen of her privy Council and others, with certain Governors of her Forces in *Flanders*, to deal in this Matter with the Commiſſioners that ſhould be there appointed, in the Name and Behalf of the ſaid King; and our Commiſſioners after their Departure and manifeſt Declaration, that they began to parley to ſome Purpoſe concerning this Treaty, being driven off a long Time to ſmall Effect, and without any manifeſt Hope of Agreement likely to enſue, until ſuch Time as the *Spaniſh* Fleet was not only diſcovered in the *Engliſh* Channel, but alſo with-held and bridled from their Purpoſe, in joining with the Forces of the Duke of *Parma*, and tranſporting an Army into *England*; and, finally, until ſuch Time as it was inforced to withdraw itſelf,

ſelf, and ſeek ſome better Fortune in the Northern Seas, being every where elſe unable to make any forceable Reſiſtance. Therefore, her Majeſty as well to declare her propenſe Readineſs, if on their Part any ſincere Intent of Peace had been, as her vigilant Providence not to be deluded by ſo ſubtle and malicious an Enemy, furniſhed herſelf by Sea with a mighty Fleet, and by Land with a no leſs Diligence to reſiſt ſo great Forces, as by all Nations were reported to come againſt her. For it was never known in the Memory of Man*, that ſo great Preparation was ever heretofore at one Time made out, either by King *Philip* himſelf, or yet by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, his Father, although his Power were much more, and his Occaſions of War far greater.

The Diligence therefore of the *Engliſhmen*, anſwerable unto the Care of the Prince, was ſuch and ſo great, that her Majeſty was provided of a mighty Fleet to defend her by Sea from the Enemy, between the Firſt of *November*, 1587, and the Twentieth of *December* next enſuing, a Time in Truth very ſhort for ſuch a Proviſion, in Regard of ſo many Years ſpent by the ſaid King in Preparing of his Fleet, which notwithſtanding did ſhew of what Force it was, by Experience, afterwards made thereof againſt the *Engliſh* Navy, gathered together within fifty Days, and provided and moſt excellently furniſhed of all Things neceſſary for ſuch a Purpoſe. The Care and Charge of this Navy was commended unto the Right Honourable *Charles*, Lord *Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, who, for his Place and Office, noble Courage, Experience in martial Affairs, and Nobility of Blood and Deſcent, was thought moſt fit and worthy to be employed in that Service. He had in his Company a ſufficient Number of honourable, worſhipful, and valiant Perſonages, famous both in Reſpect of their Birth and the Gifts of Mind, deſirous to ſerve their Prince and Country in ſuch a Cauſe as this, being judged of the whole *Engliſh* Nation both juſt and neceſſary; likewiſe of Sea-faring Men and private Soldiers ſo competent a Number, as might be anſwerable unto the Power of ſo great a Prince in ſo weighty a Cauſe. The Lord High Admiral, therefore, with theſe Forces, keeping for a Seaſon the narrow Seas and Channel between *England* and *Flanders*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Knight, mentioned here alſo in Honour of his good Deſerts, was, by the Advice of the Lords of the Council and his Honour ſo commanding it, ſent towards the Weſt Parts with certain of the Queen's Ships and others from certain Ports of *England* thereabouts, being in all not above the Number of fifty Sail of all Sorts, there to attend the Lord High Admiral his Coming with greater Forces, if Occaſion ſhould ſo require. In the mean Seaſon the Lord Admiral with his Vice-Admiral, the Lord *Henry Seymer*, kept the narrow Seas, accompanied with twenty Ships more, very well furniſhed at the Charge of the Citizens of *London*, beſides many other from divers Parts on that Side of the Realm, that lieth from the Town of *Dover* up to the Northward, which met all together in good Order, and well appointed for the Wars.

And here the Lord Admiral underſtanding, for a Certainty, that the Fleet of the Enemy was already launched and at the Sea, he weighed Anchor, and leaving the Lord *Seymer* with ſufficient Forces of the Queen's Ships and other Veſſels to watch what the Duke of *Parma* would do, or was able to undertake by Sea, and parting from thence the Twenty-firſt of *May*, 1588, to the Weſtward with her Majeſty's Navy, and twenty Ships of *London*, with ſome others, he arrived at *Plymouth*, the Twenty-third of the ſame Month, where Sir *Francis Drake*, with fifty Sail which he had under his Charge, met with the Lord Admiral in very good Order. And then, the two Navies being joined together into one, the Lord Admiral made Sir *Francis Drake* his Vice-Admiral.

Arriving then at *Plymouth*, his Lordſhip preſently gave Order for Proviſion of Victuals for the whole Navy, that it might want nothing, that ſhould tend to the neceſſary Service enſuing. The whole Navy was at this Preſent about Ninety Sail of all Sorts.

This Proviſion being compleat, he reſolved with himſelf to put forth to the Sea again about the Thirtieth of *May* aforeſaid; but, the Wind not ſerving his Turn, he kept himſelf abroad, ſailing up and down within the Sleeve between *Uſhant* and *Silley*, attending ſome Sight or Report of the Enemies Fleet. Where having waited a certain Time, ſometimes drawing near to the Coaſt of *France*, and ſometimes to the Coaſt of *England*, he returned, being thereto inforced by a great Tempeſt, with his whole Navy into the

* See the Particulars above in the Introduction to this Tract, and in one of the ſucceeding Pamphlets.

Port

Port of *Plymouth*, the Sixth of *June*, to refreſh his Company there.

In the mean Seaſon, there were diſcovered, between *Uſhant* and *Silley*, certain Ships of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, not above the Number of fourteen, which, were known to be ſevered from the whole Fleet, by Violence of the aforeſaid Tempeſt. But, before they could be encountered withal by any of the *Engliſh* Navy, the Wind came about, whereby they had Opportunity to return back again, ſaving themſelves from all Perils in their Haven, called the *Croin*, into the which alſo the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleet was put to provide themſelves enough of other Things, which they wanted, and eſpecially of freſh Water. Of this Thing, the Lord Admiral had Intelligence and Advertiſement from ſundry Parts, as alſo that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was, by great Fortune, diſperſed and ſevered into divers Places, through Penury of many, and thoſe neceſſary Things, through Diſeaſes and Mortality of Men, although the Report hereof could not afterwards be verified, whereof the certain Truth was, that, being troubled with Tempeſt, they were commanded to come a Shore at the *Croin*.

The Lord Admiral therefore, ſeeing the Coaſt of *England*, and *France*, clear and free from all Danger, as, by diligent Search, it was underſtood, reſolved, by the Advice and Opinion of his Council, to take the Advantage of the next Wind, that ſhould blow from the *North*, that, paſſing to the Coaſt of *Spain*, he might find the Enemies Fleet ſo diſperſed in the *Croin*, and in other Parts of *Galatia*, where they had been driven by the Storm.

This was put in Execution, between the Eighth and Tenth of the ſame Month, the Wind being then at the North, which within a While changing unto the South, after that he was come within forty Leagues, or thereabout, of the Coaſt of *Spain*, made him to caſt a Doubt of that, which afterwards happened indeed. For laying this before him, as his principal Care, according to the Charge laid upon him by her Majeſty, to be diligent and careful for the Defence of the Coaſt of *England*, and conſidering that, with the Wind, which was now changed, and very good, to make for *England*, the Enemy might ſet out, and paſs for *England*, without Diſcovery of his Fleet, he returned back with the whole Navy, and the Twelfth of the ſame Month he arrived at *Plymouth*, there accordingly to provide himſelf of all that was neceſſary.

The Nineteenth of *June*, his Honour had Intelligence by a Bark, or Pinnace, whoſe Captain was *Thomas Fleming*, among other behind him in the Sleeve for Diſcovery, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was diſcovered near unto the Lizard, the Wind being then South, and by Weſt. And therefore albeit, that, by Reaſon of the great Number of *Engliſh* Ships, which were in *Plymouth*, it was, with that Wind, very hard to bring them forth from thence (as the Military Art of the Sea, and the Condition of their Affairs required) yet was there ſuch Diligence uſed by the Lord Admiral, and the reſt by his Example, as they endeavoured therein, with ſuch Advice and Earneſtneſs, that many of the Ships at the Length warped out of the Haven, as if the Wind had been wholly favourable unto them: Which Thing could not have fallen out, but through the long and certain Skill, which the *Engliſh* Maſters generally have in Marine Diſcipline. To the which Reaſon, this may be added, that they were all of one Nation, of one Tongue, and touched with a grievous and equal Hatred towards their Enemies, being mightily perſuaded of their Forces. Whereupon we may in ſuch Caſes aſſure ourſelves of what Importance it is, in Sea-faring Matters, for a Fleet of any Prince whatſoever, invading any foreign State or Kingdom, to encounter with a Fleet, ready for Defence in ſuch a Manner, as the *Engliſh* Navy was, for ſo much as the Fleet invading being provided diverſly of Maſters and Officers, differing one from another in Cuſtom, Language, and Conceit, cannot, in any Meaſure, give any aſſured Hope of certain Victory, how honourable ſoever the Commander be. Many of the Ships, therefore, came forth, by Reaſon that the Men were moved in the aforeſaid Reſpects to labour diligently, and ſo much the rather, by how much the Captains and chief Officers, both by Counſel and Hand, ſhewed themſelves more diligent and induſtrious.

By theſe Means, the Twentieth Day of *June*, the Lord Admiral, accompanied with fifty-four Ships, came forth with the ſame Wind that the Enemy had from the South-weſt: Which Thing certainly was not eſteemed a ſmall Thing to be done, in Regard as well of the Wind, as of the Narrowneſs of the Place itſelf.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet being manifeſtly diſcovered about a Hundred and forty Miles from *Edeſtone*,

and

and clearly ſeen of every one, towards the Weſt, and ſo far off from *Foy*, as the *Engliſh* Fleet was, that is twenty-five ordinary *Engliſh* Miles: The next Morning, being the twenty-firſt of *June*, all the Ships, which were now come out of the Haven, had gotten the Wind of the *Spaniards*, and, approaching ſomewhat nearer, found, that their Fleet was placed in Battle Aray after the Manner of a Moon creſcent, being ready with her Horns, and her inward Circumference, to receive either all, or ſo many of the *Engliſh* Navy, as ſhould give her the Aſſault, her Horns being extended in Wideneſs about the Diſtance of eight Miles, if the Information given have not deceived my Pen. The Reaſon of their arranging, in this Order, aroſe upon the Foreſight of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* General of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, who, approaching the Coaſt, ſent out a ſmall Ship, to eſpy ſomewhat concerning the *Engliſh* Fleet, and hearing by certain Fiſhermen taken Priſoners, that our Fleet was in *Plymouth*, he prepared himſelf as aforeſaid, for the Avoiding of all ſuch Chances as might after befal. Whereupon, about Nine of the Clock, before Noon, the Lord Admiral commanded his Pinnace, called the *Diſdain*, to give the Defiance unto the Duke of *Medina*: After which, he himſelf, in the Queen's Ship called the *Ark*, went foremoſt, as was convenient, and began hotly to fight with a great Ship, which was Admiral of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, in which Ship, he thought, by Reaſon of certain likely Conjectures, the Duke of *Medina* to be, conſidering alſo the ſaid Ship was ſo well accompanied by others. The Fight with her continued ſo long, and ſo hot, that divers other Ships, yea, the moſt Part of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, came to her Succour.

In the mean Seaſon, the Vice-Admiral Sir *Francis Drake*, with Maſter *John Hawkins* and Maſter *Martin Frobiſher*, fought with a Galleon of *Portugal*, wherein they thought *Don Martin de Ricaldes* the Vice-Admiral to be.

This Fight was ſo well maintained for the Time it continued, that the Enemy was inforced to leave his Place, and to give Way, gathering towards the Eaſt. In the which Point of Removing, a great Galleon, wherein *Don Pedro de Valdes* went as Captain, falling foul with another Ship of their Fleet, was deprived of her Foremaſt, ſo that ſhe could not follow the Body of the Fleet that forſook her, to the great Marvel of the *Engliſhmen* themſelves, whereby *Don Pedro* became Priſoner, as afterward ſhall be declared.

Furthermore alſo, there was, at this Time, a great Ship of *Biſcay*, about eight hundred Ton in Burthen, that was ſpoiled by Fire upon this Occaſion: The Captain of the Soldiers that went in her, having ſmall Regard (as is reported) of an orderly and civil Life, did inſolently beat a certain *Flemiſh* Gunner: What Cauſe he had, I know not, whether upon Occaſion of Words, touching his Charge, or by Means of the Gunner's Wife, whom he had abuſed, according to the Cuſtom of that Nation. Whereupon, the perplexed Man ſeeing himſelf among ſuch a Kind of People, as not only made him ſerve their Turns, at their own Pleaſure, but diſgraced him in as vile Manner, as if he were a Slave, deſpairing both of Life, Wife, and his young Daughter, and perchance rather moved with the Diſhonour of them, than by his own Misfortunes (which Mind is many Times in Men, even of mean Condition) he ſet himſelf on Fire, in a Barrel of Gunpowder, procuring thereby, through the Loſs of his own Life, and the extreme Hazard of thoſe that belonged unto him, and the Loſs of many Men's Lives beſides, a cruel Revenge of his Injuries received by one only Man. This Example may ſerve to inſtruct ſuch as command over others, how they ought to behave themſelves, with leſs Inſolency: Inaſmuch as the Mind of Man is always ready to revenge, after the Cuſtom of this our bloody Age, if he be not born utterly void of a quick Wit, and lively Spirit.

Through this Miſchance of theirs, all the upper Decks were blown up, all her Furniture marred, and much other Spoil done, beſides the Death and Maiming of her Men, ſo that, being utterly unable all that Night to help herſelf, ſhe was ſuccoured by the Galliaſſes, and, for the Time, ſaved in the Body of their Fleet.

But to return unto our Purpoſe. This firſt Skirmiſh continued not above two Hours, becauſe the Lord Admiral, conſidering, that he wanted as yet forty Ships, which could not ſo readily come forth of the Haven, thought he ſhould do better Service, if he ſtayed their Coming, before he proceeded any further, beating behind upon the Enemy, leſt he ſhould bring the reſt too much in Hazard, and, therefore, he thought it not profitable, too much, to embolden and prick thoſe forward that he had with him, in a Matter, that was not greatly convenient,

convenient, either for the Honour of the Realm, or his own Perſon; neither did the military Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Nation, purchaſed by long Experience at the Sea, give him Leave to do it. And, therefore, he put forth his Flag, to call the other Captains to Counſel; who, agreeing unto his Determination, received Inſtructions concerning the Order that they were to keep in following the *Spaniſh* Fleet. Then, having given Liberty to every Man to return to their Charge, he gave Order, likewiſe, to his Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, to appoint the Watch for that Night, and bear out the Light.

The ſame Night, the *Spaniſh* Fleet lay about fourteen Miles off from the *Start*. The next Day following, early in the Morning, it was under the Wind, not ſo far off as *Berry*.

In the mean Time, the *Engliſh* Fleet wanting Light, becauſe, the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, leaving his Place, to follow five Hulks, which were diſcovered in the Evening, very late, it came to paſs, that all the other Ships ſtaid behind, not knowing that they were to follow, or whither to direct themſelves: So that there might have followed ſome great Inconvenience, had they had to do with an Enemy more practiſed in our Seas. But as it ſeemed, by Report, the ſaid Vice-Admiral was moved to do this, by Means of a certain curious Diligence, and a military Suſpicion, growing in his Mind upon certain and very probable Conjectures, grounded on Circumſtances of Matter conſidered in his Mind: And, therefore, he gave them the Chace, thinking that they had been Enemies.

But, being overtaken, and their Officers examined, and being known to be Friends, or, at the leaſtwiſe, not Enemies, he permitted them to go their Way, returning himſelf unto the Fleet the Day following.

The Lord Admiral, notwithſtanding, accompanied with the *Bear* and the *Mary Roſe*, coming a little behind his Stern, by Reaſon of the Clearneſs of the Air (which, at that Time of the Year, is ordinarily very great throughout all *England*) followed the Enemy all that Night, within a Culverin-Shot. By Occaſion whereof, the reſt of the Fleet was caſt ſo far behind, that, the Morning after, the neareſt Part thereof could hardly deſcry the Tops of the other Ships, and many of them were clean out of Sight; ſo that with all the Force of their Sails, they could hardly come all together the whole Day following, until the Evening.

The next Day, the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, being in the Queen's Ship called the *Revenge*, having alſo the *Rebuke* and a Pinnace or two in his Company, took Don *Pedro de Valdes*, who, as was ſaid before, had loſt the Foremaſt of his Ship: And having received the ſaid *Valdes*, as his Priſoner, and certain other Gentlemen of moſt Account that were therein, he ſent the Ship, together with the Priſoners, unto *Dartmouth*, under the Conduct of the *Reebuck*, and he himſelf made toward the Lord Admiral, under whoſe Lee he came that Night.

The ſame Day, being the Twenty-ſecond of the Month, a little before the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, was returned unto the Fleet, the *Spaniards* forſook the Ship, which the Day before was ſpoiled by Fire. To the which Ship, the Lord Admiral ſent the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and with him, Mr. *John Hawkins*, who, being in the Cockboat of the *Victory*, went a-board her, and there found a lamentable Sight. For, all the uppermoſt Decks of her being torn and ſpoiled by the Fire, there were in her fifty Men miſerably burnt with the Powder. The Stink in her was ſo great, and the Ship itſelf ſo filthy, that the Lord *Howard* departed preſently from her: And returning, with Mr. *John Hawkins*, to the Lord Admiral, they informed him of that they found and ſaw there. For which Cauſe, there was preſently Commandment given, that the little Pinnace of Captain *Fleming* ſhould conduct her unto ſome Port of *England*, where they might moſt commodiouſly help themſelves. Whereupon, it was carried to *Waymouth*, the next Day following. For all the Miſhap that befel this Ship, they underſtood that the *Spaniards* had taken out of her all the beſt Things that they could, caſting off the Bulk of her, together with certain groſs Stuff therein, as for that Time altogether unprofitable.

About this Time, her Majeſty, ſeeing that all Hope of Peace was fruſtrate, called Home again her Commiſſioners from *Flanders*, who were, by the Duke of *Parma*, moſt courteouſly diſmiſſed, very honourably accompanied, and themſelves and their Carriages ſafe conducted to the Marches of *Calais*, which Way they took their Journey.

But to the Matter: The Night laſt before mentioned, there befel a great Calm, and thereupon four *Spaniſh* Galliaſſes ſevered themſelves from the reſt of their Fleet. This Thing made the *Engliſhmen* to doubt, that that Night they

had reſolved to give the Onſet upon ſome of their leſſer Ships, imagining that they might annoy them the rather, for that they were the Rereward of the Fleet. But afterwards the Galliaſſes (whatſoever the Occaſion was) enterpriſed nothing, either for that they ſaw they could not ſafely do it, or elſe becauſe their Minds were not thoroughly reſolved upon that which before they thought to do; a Thing many Times falling out in ſuch Perſons as are but poor in Counſel and Reſolution, that they continue in their perplexed Conceits, without any Effect or Commodity enſuing thereof.

The Morning following being *Tueſday*, the twenty-third of the Month, the Wind was at North-Eaſt, whereupon the *Spaniards* came back upon the *Engliſhmen*, with the Advantage of the Wind, directing their Courſe toward the Land; the which Courſe was not profitable for the *Engliſhmen*. Therefore, to take the Advantage of the Enemy, they caſt about toward the Weſt, with a reaſonable Compaſs, their Ships being very good both of Sail and Stirrage, that they might bring about their Purpoſe. Now the *Spaniards*, to hinder their Intent, after they perceived it, offered to come near a-board to fight with them, truſting in the huge Greatneſs and Height of their Ships. The which Offer of theirs the *Engliſhmen* refuſed not, but began preſently to bring themſelves into Battle Aray, which the Enemy perceiving, he alſo did the like.

In this Caſe the *Ark*, the *Lion*, the *Bear*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the *Victory*, and certain other Ships were content to follow the Ship, called the *Non Pariglia*.

In the mean Seaſon the *Triumph*, with other five Ships of *London*, namely the Merchant *Royal*, the *Centurion*, the *Margery Joan*, the *Mary Roſe*, and the *Golden Lion*, were ſo far to the Rereward, and ſo far ſevered from the reſt of the Fleet, that the Galliaſſes undertook to give them an hard Aſſault. But they were well entertained by the Ships, for the Space of an Hour and an Half, until at the Length, ſome of the Queen's Ships, coming to ſuccour the *Triumph* and the *Londoners*, dealt ſo well in the Matter, that the Galliaſſes were driven to retire. The Wind came about at this Preſent, to the South-eaſt, and afterwards, to the South-weſt and by South, at which Time a certain Number, or Squadron of the Queen's, together with other Merchants Ships, gave Aſſault unto the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and that, ſo furiouſly to the Weſtward of them, that the *Spaniards* were all inforced to give them Way: For which Cauſe, the Lord Admiral conſidering both the Diſcommodity and Danger, whereinto the *Triumph*, and the other five Ships were come, he called other of the Queens's Ships that were not far off, and gave them ſtraight Commandment to follow him, and to charge the Enemies which were to the Weſtward with all their Force; giving further Order to them all, not to diſcharge any one Piece of Ordnance, before they ſhould come within a Muſket-ſhot of the Enemy, inaſmuch, as that was the only Way to ſuccour the Ships of their Friends with the greater Damage of the Enemy. This was well performed by the *Ark*, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the Galleon *Leiceſter*, the *Golden Lion*, the *Victory*, the *Mary Roſe*, the *Dread-nought*, and the *Swallow*. Which Thing the Duke of *Medina* perceiving, he alſo came forth with ſixteen of his beſt Galleons, to hinder and impeach the *Engliſhmen* in the Defence of the *Triumph*, ſeeming in this Caſe to pretend, that the Reaſon of the Fight did ſo require; whereas the Regard of his Honour did no leſs inforce him unto it; becauſe it ſeemed unconvenient that he ſhould in every Thing be inferior to the *Engliſhmen*; and, therefore, he made large Promiſes unto thoſe, by whoſe Means the Victory ſhould be gotten. Howbeit that fell out in the End, that was prefixed by the Stars, that is, that the Succeſs of the Conflict falling out on his Side, as hardly, as in ſuch a Caſe might be, the *Spaniards*, in the End, were inforced to give Place, and to retire unto their Aray of Battle. In this Conflict, one *William Cocks*, Captain of a little Pinnace, called the *Violet*, belonging unto Sir *William Winter*, behaved himſelf very valiantly againſt the Enemy, in the greateſt Heat of this Incounter; but, within a little While after, he loſt his Delight, wherewith he was not very well acquainted, and his Life, by a great Piece of Ordnance, Fortune not being correſpondently favourable unto his Courage, which, therefore, was no whit profitable to the Perfection of his Purpoſe.

Toward the Evening, four or five *Spaniſh* Ships came out from the reſt of the Fleet, from the South-eaſtward, againſt whom, certain of the *Engliſh* Ships came, and namely, the *May-Flower* of *London*, which diſcharged certain Pieces upon the Enemy, with a very honourable Declaration of the Marine Diſcipline; and being accompanied by other Ships, that were there found, they all behaved themſelves no leſs diligently

diligently (which Thing was not at the firſt hoped for) ſhewing their Deſire tempered with a Wiſh of other Company. The Conflict continued from the Morning unto the Evening, the Lord Admiral being at all Times ready and vigilant, in all Adventures that might fall out: And, thereupon, he was ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs eager in the Conflict, as Neceſſity required, giving thereby evident Example, how others ſhould behave themſelves. It might well be ſaid, that, for the Time, it was not poſſible to ſee, before this Battle, in this Sea ſo hard a Conflict, nor ſo terrible a Spoil of Ships, by Reaſon of the *Pellets* * that flew ſo thick every Way: To conclude, there was never ſeen ſo vehement a Fight, either Side endeavouring through an headſtrong and deadly Hatred the other's Spoil and Deſtruction. For, albeit the Muſquettiers and Harquebuſiers were in either Fleet many in Number, yet could they not be diſcerned or heard, by Reaſon of the more violent and roaring Shot of the greater Ordnance, that followed ſo thick one upon another, and played ſo well that Day, on either Side, that they were thought to be equal in Number, to common Harquebuſiers in an hot Skirmiſh. The Battle was not only long, but alſo near at Hand, within half a Muſket-ſhot, and that to the great Advantage of the *Engliſhmen*, who with their Ships, being (as was aforeſaid) excellent of Sail and Stirrage, yet leſs a great Deal, than the *Spaniſh* Ships, and therefore, more light and nimble, fought not at all, according to their Manner otherwiſe, to board them, but keeping themſelves aloof at a reaſonable Diſtance, continually beat upon the Hull and Tacklings of their Enemies Ships, which being a great Deal higher, could not ſo conveniently beat the *Engliſh* Ships, with their Ordnance. This long Conflict being finiſhed, and every one retiring unto his Part, the next Day following (which was *Wedneſday*, the twenty-fourth of the Month) was paſſed without any Thing done, becauſe, by Reaſon of the Fight that Day before, there was ſpent a great Quantity of Powder and Shot; whereupon, the Lord Admiral ſent divers Barks and Pinnaces to the Shore, for a new Supply of ſuch Munition. For her Majeſty, prudently foreſeeing each Thing neceſſary for her Men, ordained that there ſhould be ſufficient Proviſion made, according as ſhould be needful, as well of Victuals as of Munition. It ſeemed moreover that Day, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was nothing grieved with that Day's Reſtate, but were all of them indifferently glad of that Breathing, inaſmuch as, thereby, they had good Opportunity to look to their Leaks, whereof no Doubt they had a great Number, for they had carried away many ſhrewd Stripes from their Enemies, their Hurts being of great Likelihood ſo much the more, in that the *Spaniards* were penned up in a narrow Room. This Day, the Lord Admiral, for certain convenient Reaſons, divided the whole Body of the Fleet into four Squadrons, by Means of which Diviſion the Enemy might be greatly, and more continually troubled. The firſt Squadron he kept for himſelf, the ſecond he aſſigned unto Sir *Francis Drake*, his Vice-admiral; the third to Mr. *John Hawkins*, the fourth to Mr. *Martin Frobiſher*, and after Noon he gave Order, that in the Night ſix of the Merchants Ships in each Squadron (for that, as they were of ſundry Parts of the Realm, ſo they were equally divided into each Squadron) ſhould charge the *Spaniſh* Fleet in as many Parts, at one and the ſame Time, that at Midnight the Enemy might be kept occupied. This Order taken (as it was very likely) might have had as good Effect, as it was wiſely given; but by Reaſon of a great Calm, which fell out, no Part of this Adviſement could be accompliſhed, Fortune interrupting good Counſel.

The next Day, being the twenty-fifth of the Month, and St. *James*'s Day, there was a great *Spaniſh* Galleon left behind her Company to the Southward, near to the Squadron of Maſter *John Hawkins*; ſo that the Barks, belonging unto the greater Ships, were within Muſket-ſhot of her. By Reaſon hereof, three of the Galliaſſes, and another Ship, that was in Manner of a Galleon, and well appointed, came from the *Spaniſh* Fleet to ſuccour this Galleon. Againſt whom went out the Lord Admiral in the *Ark*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, and drew ſo near, being towed by their Boats, that they did them much Harm, whereby one of them, requiring the Help of the reſt, being ſuccoured by them returned unto the Fleet: And from another, by Means of a Shot comming from the *Ark*, there was taken away her Light, and thrown into the Sea; the third loſt her Beck. Whereby theſe two Ships, the *Ark* and the *Golden Lion*, declared this Day to each Fleet, that they had moſt diligent and faithful

* *i. e.* Bullets.

Gunners, deſirous as well of the common Good, as of the private Honour of their Leaders, the Lord Admiral and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, which went in them; which Commendation might rightly be imparted with them, concerning this happy Event, becauſe the Calm was ſo great, that, albeit the two Fleets were well able to behold the Fortune of their Friends, yet, notwithſtanding, they could not help them at all; at the Length, the Wind beginning ſomewhat to ariſe, the *Spaniards* took the Opportunity thereof, and put themſelves forward to help thoſe of their Side, and ſuccoured them honourably. After this Time, the Galliaſſes, in whoſe Puiſſance the greateſt Hope of the *Spaniſh* Fleet was founded, were never ſeen to fight any more, ſuch was their Entertainment that Day.

The two Fleets, notwithſtanding, approaching nigh one unto another, began a Conflict, but they continued it but a While, except one Ship, called the *Non Pariglia*, and another, called the *Mary Roſe*, which, having taken in their Top-Sails, ſtaid themſelves there, to make as it were a certain Experience of their Manhood, upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, behaving themſelves honourably for a Seaſon. In which Time, the *Triumph*, being to the Northward of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, was ſo far off, that doubting, that certain of the *Spaniſh* Ships would aſſault her to the Windward, they ſuccoured her with divers Boats, that got the Wind eaſily; for the *Bear* and the *Elizabeth Jonas*, even at one Inſtant, having Knowledge of the Danger, wherein the other were, drew near unto them, deſiring both in Regard of the Honour of their Commonwealth, and alſo for the Preſervation of their Friends and Countrymen, to be Partakers of the like Danger and Difficulty.

Whereupon each Ship doing her Duty, they jointly ſaved the *Triumph* from all Harm, and recovered the Wind. And thus this Day's Work ended; whereof I may ſay, that the Conflict was no whit ſhorter than the Day itſelf.

At this Preſent, the *Engliſhmen* conſidering the great Waſte of Powder and Shot, that had heretofore been made, the Lord Admiral determined not to aſſault the Enemy any more, until he were come nigh unto *Dover*, in which Place, he knew, he ſhould find the Fleet under the Charge of the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter*, who were ready to join with him, that thereby he might both fortify himſelf with a greater Number of Ships, and in this Manner provide themſelves of Munition, from that Part of the Realm. Upon *Friday*, therefore, being the twenty-ſixth of the Month, ceaſing from Fighting, the Lord Admiral (as well for their good Deſerts and honourable Service, as alſo to encourage others to like Valour) was deſirous to advance certain Perſonages to the Degree of Knighthood, for that, behaving themſelves manfully as well with their Ships as their good Advice, they were worthy that Degree of Honour; and ſo much the more worthy, in that, being far ſeparated from all courtly Favour, which many Times imparteth the chiefeſt Honours unto the leaſt deſerving Men, they declared their Valour in the Eyes of either Fleet.

Therefore the two Lords, *viz.* the Lord *Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*: *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobiſher* were called forth, and the Order of Knighthood given them, by the Lord Admiral, as their General.

This Day there came to the Service of her Majeſty, in her Fleet, divers Gentlemen, honourable both by Blood and Place, but much more in Reſpect of their Courage and Virtue, for that, in theſe publick Affairs and ſo neceſſary Service of the Wars, they willingly offered their Service in the Defence of their Country and Honour of her Majeſty.

This Day alſo, and the next, being the twenty-ſeventh, the *Spaniards* followed their Courſe quietly, before the *Engliſh* Fleet. In which Time the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *George Cary*, Knight, and the Captains of the Forts and Caſtles thereabout, ſent their Men with Powder, Shot and Victuals, to the Lord Admiral, to aſſiſt and help the Army. The ſame *Saturday* towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* drew nigh to *Calais* under the Coaſt of *Picardy*, and there ſuddenly caſt Anchor, almoſt right againſt the left Hand of the Haven, to the Weſtward, a little leſs then five Miles from *Calais* Cliffs. The *Engliſh* Fleet alſo caſt Anchor, within a Culverin-ſhot of the Enemy to the Weſtward.

In the mean Seaſon, the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* joined with the Lord Admiral, whereby the *Engliſh* Fleet increaſed to the Number of one Hundred and forty Ships, of all Sorts. But the *Spaniards*, with all Speed, ſent Tidings unto the Duke of *Parma* of their Arrival, who at this Preſent was at *Bruges*; who, having retained with him all his Seafaring-Men, many Days before to this Purpoſe, yet proceed-

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ed no farther, in the Matter, for that Time, although, for ſuch Time, as the King had limited him, he for his Part took as much Care as might be looked for at his Hands. For, having already embarked a certain Number of his Soldiers, he was careful in like Manner to diſpatch the reſt, as ſoon as they ſhould be ready, that they might take Opportunity to come forth, furniſhing them abundantly with Victuals and Munition. But, in the mean Time, ſuch a Chance fell out, as made fruſtrate, not only his, but the Conceit alſo of the Duke of *Medina*, and wholly overthrew their Enterpriſe, in that her Majeſty was not a little careful and troubled in Mind, concerning the Succeſs of theſe Affairs, albeit ſhe herſelf had committed her whole Fortune into the Hands of Almighty God.

Moreover, alſo the Lord Admiral, having, by certain Notice, underſtood, that the Duke of *Parma* had prepared a great Number of Tuns of Water, and ten Thouſand choſen Footmen, to be embarked for the Joining with the Fleet, which could not be avoided, if the Duke of *Medina* were not compelled to avoid that Place; knowing alſo the evident Peril, that was to be feared, if the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſhould be ſuffered to refreſh itſelf, and to be furniſhed with ſo many Soldiers, he applied his Wits ſo, in the Deliberation of theſe Matters of Weight and Importance, having the Conſent of others more practiſed, that no Time might be loſt, for the Furtherance of this Service; and, for ſo much as the Forces of the Enemy were not yet united and joined together, therefore the twenty-eighth of this Month, at Midnight, he provided eight ſmall Ships, dreſſed with artificial Fire *, to the Intent to drive the ſame upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet. This Thing was diligently and effectually brought to paſs, under the Charge of Captain *Young* and Captain *Prewſe*, two valiant and courageous Men. By Reaſon hereof, the Enemy was not only inforced to break his Sleep, but, the Fire coming ſo ſuddenly upon him (not remembering himſelf, at the very inſtant Time, of any other Remedy, either more ſafe for himſelf, or more excuſable) to cut his Cables, to let ſlip his Anchors, and to hoiſt up Sails, as the only Way to ſave his Fleet from ſo imminent and unexpected a Miſchief. Furthermore, by Means of this Tumult and Confuſion (which, in Truth, was very great) the chief Galliaſs fell foul with another Ship, upon the Cable of whoſe Anchor, her Stern was ſet ſo faſt, that they could not looſe her all the Night long, ſo that the next Day following ſhe was inforced with her Oars to make toward the Land, and to draw nigh to the Haven's Mouth of *Calais*, to ſave herſelf in that Place; but, not knowing that Water, and having no profitable and convenient Counſel for the Time, ſhe fell upon a Shelf. This Thing being, in good Time, eſpied by the Lord Admiral, he ſent thither his greateſt Boat, under the Charge of *Amicus Preſton*, his Lieutenant, and together with him, *Thomas Gerrard* and Mr. *Harvie*, two of her Majeſty's Gentlemen and Servants, and others of the Court, and of his own Servants, who fought with her, but unequally, for that the Ship, being gravelled, could, with her Force, prevail but little. In this Conflict it chanced that a Muſket-ſhot ſtruck *Hugo de Moncada*, chief Captain of the Galliaſs, a noble and valiant Man, in the Head. The which Miſhap, joined with the Difficulty of ſtirring themſelves in their Defence, bred ſuch a Deſpair in every Man, that the greater Sort leaped into the Water, to ſave themſelves by ſwimming into the Haven, although many of them periſhed in the Water. By this Diſorder of the Enemy, the *Engliſhmen* being more ſecure, took her, and ſacked her to their great Commodity, above an Hundred Men being entered into her, and their Company increaſing more and more.

Whereupon *Monſieur Gordon*, Governor of *Calais*, a Man of good Eſtimation in Reſpect of his Prerogative in that Place, ſent his Nephew, to give the *Engliſhmen* to underſtand, that they ſhould content themſelves with the ordinary Spoil, and that they ſhould leave behind them the great Ordnance, as a Thing belonging unto him by Virtue of his Office. The which Embaſſage, ſent the ſecond Time unto Men more intentive unto their Prey than other Men's Reaſon, made the Gentleman to be evilly entertained by our Men, in ſuch Sort, that they would have forceably taken from him ſome trifling Things about him, thinking him to be a *Spaniard*. Whereat M. *Gordon*, being offended, cauſed certain Pieces of Ordnance to be diſcharged from the Town, and then the *Engliſhmen* departed, leaving the Galliaſs at his Pleaſure, after the Loſs of ſome Soldiers, having, notwithſtanding, ſacked 22000 Duckets of Gold, appertaining unto the King, and fourteen Coſ-

* This is the firſt Occaſion on which we read that Fire-Ships were uſed in a Sea-Fight.

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fers of Moveables of the Duke of *Medina*, with ſome other both Money and Moveables of other particular Men; and ſome Priſoners, among whom was Don *Roderigo* of *Mendoza*, and Don *John Gonzales de Solerzano*, Under-captain of the Galliaſs.

During the Time of Surpriſing of which Galliaſs, Sir *Francis Drake*, Vice-Admiral, being in the Ship called *The Revenge*, accompanied with *Tho. Fenner*, Captain of the *Non Pariglia*, with the reſt of that Squadron, ſet upon the *Spaniſh* Fleet, giving them a hot Charge. Within a While after, Sir *John Hawkins*, in the *Victory*, accompanied with *Edward Fenton*, Captain of the *Mary Roſe*, with *George Beeſton*, Captain in the *Dreadnought*, and *Richard Hawkins*, in the *Swallow*, with the reſt of that Squadron, put themſelves forward, and broke thro' the Midſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleet; where there began a vehement Conflict continuing all the Morning, wherein every Captain did very honourable Service. Among the reſt, Captain *Beeſton* deſerved ſpecial Praiſe. Unto this Fight came the Lord Admiral, accompanied with the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; and in that Place, where the Fight was made, and the Victory was gotten, they were publickly commended, that of their own Accord had made Shew of the Fruits anſwerable to the Hope before conceived of them. Not far from this Place there was a great *Spaniſh* Galleon ſeen, which was ſet upon on the one Side, by the Earl of *Cumberland* and *George Ryman*, in the *Bonaventure*, and on the other Side by the Lord *Seymer*, in the Ship called the *Rainbow*, and Sir *William Winter*, in the *Vanguard*, yet ſhe ſaved herſelf valiantly, gathering into the Body of the Fleet, although with ill Succeſs; for ſhe was ſo beaten, and ſo terribly rent and torn with our great Ordnance, that the Night following, in the Sight of her own Fleet, ſhe ſunk, her Men, as is thought, being ſaved. After this, Captain *Fenton*, in the *Mary Roſe*, and a *Spaniſh* Galleon met together, being Eaſt and Weſt one of another, yet no nigher then that her Shot could play ſafely, and fly between them without any great Hurt. Captain *Fenton*, notwithſtanding, and thoſe that were with him, were worthily commended for their Service begun and accompliſhed with ſuch proſperous Boldneſs. The ſame Day the Deeds of Sir *Robert Southwell* were evidently ſeen; for, being a Man born to Virtue and Commendation, and deſirous to purchaſe Honour, to the End that he might not make fruſtrate the Judgment of his Sovereign, who beforetime had made him a Knight, divining how much, in Time to come, he would further the Profit of the Commonwealth of *England*, he inforced himſelf not only to ſatisfy either in Counſel or Pains the publick Intent, but alſo the private Commodity of the Lord Admiral, his Father-in-Law, in that he had dutifully promiſed him ſure and faithful Service, whereupon for the ſame he received condign Praiſe of every Man. There was alſo particularly praiſed *Robert Croſs*, Captain, who in the Ship called, *The Hope*, gave a Sign of Fruit to be looked for in him, not inferior unto that which the Ship, wherein he went, did, by the Name it carried, cauſe us to hope for.

It fell out, alſo, the ſame Day, that the Lord *Henry Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* did ſo thoroughly beat two *Spaniſh* Galleons, although they were of the chiefeſt of them, and the beſt provided, that they were inforced to withdraw themſelves to the Coaſt of *Flanders*; where, foraſmuch as they were in a very evil Taking, as well in Reſpect of the Murder of their Men, as the manifold Leaks of their Ships, they were ſurpriſed, and, without Fight, rifled by the *Zeelanders*, and, with all the Men in them, carried as Priſoners unto *Fluſhing*. Among theſe, the Chiefeſt was *Don Diego Pimentello*, a Man very famous among his Country People.

It ſeemeth hereby that we may with Reaſon gather, that in theſe Conflicts many of the *Spaniſh* Ships periſhed, albeit that moſt Men think, that few of them miſcarried. After this Battle, which was made the Twenty-ninth of the Month, the Lord Admiral the thirtieth Day ordained, that the Lord *Seymer* and Sir *William Winter* ſhould return with their Fleet unto their appointed Office in the Channel, which was to keep the Coaſt from the Danger that the Duke of *Parma* ſeemed to threaten. The which Duke had already loſt the Opportunity of being able to do any Thing for the Accompliſhing of the common Intention of the *Spaniards*, or according to the Inſtructions received from the *Spaniſh* King, whatſoever they were; becauſe the ſudden and unlooked for Departure of the Duke of *Medina* with the whole Fleet, from the Coaſt of *Calais*, and his ſmall Abode upon any other Coaſt, cauſed the whole Care of the aforeſaid Duke, that he took upon the main Land, to become void, ſo that he did not embark the reſt of his Men to join with the Duke of *Medina*.

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The Lord Admiral, therefore, determined to follow the *Spaniſh* Fleet only ſo long until they might be ſhut up to the Northward, whither the *Spaniſh* Fleet directed her Courſe, but to what End it was not known. And that he with the ſame Wind might come to the *Firth*, which is upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, if ſo be that he ſaw the Enemy paſs thoſe Parts. Whereupon he thought moreover, that it was good to ſtay his Fleet from attempting aught upon the *Spaniard*, until he ſhould have good Intelligence of their Purpoſe, thereby to work a Mean utterly to diſperſe and overthrow them. But the *Spaniards* kept their Courſe about the Iſlands of *Orkney*, declaring thereby, that they minded to return that Way into *Spain*, along by the North-coaſt of *Scotland*, which, as ſkilful Men conjectured, would be to their evident Danger, as it fell out afterwards. Perceiving, therefore, the Purpoſe of the Enemy, when he was ſhut up fifty-five Degrees thirteen Minutes to the Northward, and thirty Leagues off from *Newcaſtle*, the Lord Admiral reſolved with himſelf to let the *Spaniſh* Fleet keep on her Way; albeit at the firſt he was minded to give them a ſtrong Aſſault upon the Second of *Auguſt*; but, perſuaded otherwiſe by a more ſafe Advice and Counſel, he wiſely ſtaid himſelf from that Action, leaving the Event that ſhould enſue unto Fortune, who might work ſome farther Matter upon them, ſeeing the Enemy had taken that Way to ſave himſelf. Moreover, he conſidered the Scarcity of Munition, whereof at that Preſent he had but little, and that upon this Occaſion, for that the Ships that lay on the Coaſt, appointed by Order from her Majeſty to carry ſuch Proviſion, knew not where to find our Fleet in Time convenient.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet, therefore, as for her own Welfare it was requiſite, having gone on far before, the Lord Admiral reſolved to put into the *Firth* in *Scotland*, as well to refreſh himſelf, with new Victuals, as alſo to diſpatch certain other Matters which he thought neceſſary. But, the Wind being much Weſtward and againſt him, the Day following he changed his Courſe, and returned to *England*, with his whole Fleet, the Seventh of *Auguſt*, although, by Reaſon of a Tempeſt which befel them, Part of the Ships put into *Dover*, Part into *Harwich*, and the reſt into *Yarmouth*.

Hitherto I have deſcribed, according to the Inſtructions and Directions which I received of thoſe Things that fell out between the *Engliſhmen* and the *Spaniards*, adjoining thereunto ſuch particular Diſcourſes as I thought to be neceſſary, and ſuch Ornaments of Speech as the Matter and the *Italian* Tongue did ſpecially require: Now, therefore, it remaineth for the Finiſhing of our former Diſcourſe, briefly and evidently to ſet down the Iſſue of all the Things before-mentioned.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet, paſſing, as aforeſaid, into thoſe Seas, which, for the moſt Part, are quiet and calm enough, whether it were driven to and fro in them with contrary Winds, or by ſome other fatal Accident that fell out, it continued therein toſſed up and down until the End of *September*, with fearful Succeſs and deadly Shipwrack along the whole Coaſt of *Ireland*, ſo that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* was inforced to leave there behind him about the Number of ſeventeen good Ships, beſides thoſe fifteen that were thought to be loſt in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*, and ſo to return into *Spain*.

The Perſons, loſt in *Ireland*, were eſteemed to be about 5500. So that, all being accounted together, it is certainly avouched, that all the Ships that were loſt amount unto the Number of thirty-two, and the Men accounted, one with another, ariſe to the Number of 13500 or more. The Priſoners alſo of all Sorts, in *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low Countries*, ariſe to the Number of 2000 and more. As for the Loſs of the Ordnance, and the common or private Treaſure, or whether the Duke, after he was preſerved from the former fearful and mortal Dangers loſt any more Ships, or no, or laſt of all, how many he brought Home with him again into *Spain*, I mean not to occupy or trouble my Pen with any ſuch ſuperfluous Curioſities, being willing to leave that Matter unto ſuch as have received certain Tidings thereof; becauſe I ſtudy (ſo far forth as is poſſible) for Brevity, without procuring unto any Man either Hatred or evil Report.

And, therefore, to knit up this preſent Treatiſe, this is reported, that, after her Majeſty was thoroughly aſſured of the Return of the Duke into *Spain*, and that her Seas were free and clear from all her Enemies, and having called Home the Lord *Seymer* with his Fleet, it ſeemed good unto her, as a convenient Thing, that her People ſhould render unto Almighty God as great Thanks as might be, for that it had pleaſed him thus to work and bring about the Deliverance of them all. And, therefore, the Nineteenth of *November*, by publick Edict and Order from her Majeſty, there was generally made, throughout

throughout the whole Realm, a moſt frequent Aſſembly of all Sorts of People publickly to give Thanks unto God all the Day long, for ſo ſingular a Benefit received, with this Intention, that the Remembrance of the ſaid Benefit ſhould, upon the ſame Day of every Year to enſue, be renewed in the Minds and Eyes of all Men throughout the whole Nation, with an evident and religious Acknowledgment, that the common Safety of them all was accompliſhed by the ſpecial Favour of God, the Father of all good Things.

Her Majeſty alſo, being afterwards deſirous, to do the like in her own Behalf (as it was convenient) came into St. *Paul*'s Church, in *London*, on *Sunday*, being the Twenty-fourth of the ſame Month, with a moſt decent Order, and Aſſemblies of all the Magiſtrates and Companies of the City ſtanding in a Rank in the Street, repleniſhed moſt abundantly with People, through which her Majeſty was to paſs, being accompanied with ſuch a princely Train of all thoſe that had been Inſtruments of that notable Victory, that it ſeemed her Majeſty, together with the reſt, having gotten the Victory, was deſirous in triumphing Manner to ſhew her thankful Mind unto the *Londoners* alſo, for the Charges and Pains they had undertaken all the Year before, in the Service of the Crown and the Commonwealth, together with the Increaſe of their own Reputation, being accounted the Foundation and chief Stay of all the other Parts of the Realm. Wherein her Majeſty followed the Example of divers Kings, her Predeceſſors, who upon ſpecial Favour, according as good Occaſions moved them thereunto, have given many large Privileges and Liberties unto the ſaid City, which at this Day is, doubtleſs, more populous, more wealthy, more mighty, and more free, than ever it was heretofore.

Certain Advertiſements out of *Ireland*, concerning the Loſſes and Diſtreſſes happened to the *Spaniſh* Navy, upon the Weſt Coaſts of *Ireland* *, in their Voyage intended from the Northern Iſles beyond *Scotland* †, toward *Spain* ‡.

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By the foregoing Accounts, it is viſible, that the whole Power of Spain, *and its* Popiſh *Allies, was ſent againſt us. But as the Greatneſs of any Armament does appear more intrinſically, by the certain Proofs of its Loſſes; I ſhall, for the greater Satisfaction of the Reader, ſubjoin the following Teſtimonies. Yet, before I conclude this wonderful Hiſtory, let me obſerve, that this* invincible Armada, *which had been ſome Years a preparing, with immenſe Labour and Coſt, was, by God's Arm, overthrown within a Month, and chaced away with the Loſs of many, both Men and Ships; whereas the* Engliſh *loſt but* one *Ship, and about* one hundred *Men only.*

* Where ſome were killed by the *Wild Iriſh*, and others by the Deputy's Command; leſt, coming on Shore, they ſhould join with the Rebels againſt the State; and the Remainder, taking to their Wracks and Boats, were moſtly drowned. † Seven hundred Men were ſaved alive wracked on this Coaſt, whom the King of *Scotland*, by the Queen's Conſent, ſent, at the Duke of *Parma*'s Requeſt, after one Year's Impriſonment, into *Flanders*. ‡ Without Glory.

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In this Diſtreſs, they were paſt all Hopes of returning by the Way they had entered the Channel, and forced to ſecure a Retreat through the dangerous and unknown Coaſts of Scotland, Orcades, *and* Ireland, *which compleated their utter Ruin. This is not only teſtified by the enſuing Informations, but confirmed by very late Diſcoveries made of their Wrecks on thoſe Coaſts.*

Upon this Occaſion, a univerſal Joy overſpread every true-born Engliſh *Countenance; and, after publick Thanks to God, the State endeavoured to perpetuate its Happineſs to Poſterity, by a Medal, repreſenting a* Navy flying away, *with the Inſcription,* Venit, Vidit, Fugit; *and by another, bearing* Ships on Fire, *and a Navy routed, with this Inſcription,* Dux Fœmina Facti; *aſcribing the firſt Invention of* Fire-Ships *to the Queen herſelf. For, as my Hiſtorian expreſly avoucheth, "By her Commandment, the Admiral took eight of the worſt Ships, and dreſſed them with a Wild-Fire, Pitch and Roſin, and filled them full of Brimſtone, and ſome other Matter fit for Fire; and theſe, being ſet on Fire were, ſecretly in the Night, by the Help of the Wind, ſet full upon the* Spaniſh *Fleet, as they lay at Anchor. Which ſo ſurpriſed the Enemy, that each Ship, ſtriving to ſecure itſelf from the Danger, broke looſe, and threw them all into Confuſion, and ſo ſeparated the whole Fleet, that they never more united to any Purpoſe." And certainly, had not that gracious Queen been fired with divine Zeal, ſhe could never have ſo effectually provided a Means to deſtroy that Part of the Enemies Fleet by Fire, of which God was determined to deſtroy the other Part by Water: Well then may we ſay,*

This was the Lord's Doing, and it was marvellous in our Eyes. *Pſalm* cxviii.

UPON *Saturday*, the Seventh of *September*, the Bark which was in Peril of Wreck in the Bay of *Trayley*, of between forty and fifty Tons, did render themſelves, in which there were twenty-four Men, whereof two were the Duke's own Servants, and two little Boys.

On *Tueſday* the Tenth of this *September*, there was a Frigate caſt off, as it ſeemeth, by this Name, which, as Sir *William Herbert* ſaith, wrecked upon the Coaſt of *Deſmond*.

On the ſame *Tueſday*, there wrecked, in the Sound of the *Bleſkeys*, a Ship, called, *Our Lady of Roſary*, of one-thouſand Tons. In this Ship was drowned the Prince of *Aſcule*, the King's baſe Son, one Don *Pedro*, Don *Diego*, and Don *Franciſco*, with ſeven other Gentlemen of Account, that accompanied the Prince. There was drowned, in her, alſo, *Michael Oquendo*, a principal Sea-man, chief Governor of the Ship; *Villa Franca*, of *Saint Sebaſtians*, Captain of the ſame Ship; *Matuta*, Captain of the Infantry of that Ship; Captain *Suares*, a *Portugueſe*; *Garrionerie*, *Ropecho de la Vega*, *Monteneſo*, and one *Franciſco Caſtilian*, Captains; one *John Ryſe*, an *Iriſh* Captain, *Francis Roch*, an *Iriſhman*, and about five-hundred Perſons, whereof one-hundred were Gentlemen, but not of that Reckoning as the former were; and only one *John Anthonio de Monona*, a *Genoeſe*, being the Pilot's Son of that Ship, ſaved.

The ſame *Tueſday*, it was advertiſed to the Vice-Preſident of *Munſter*, that there were loſt, upon the Coaſt of *Thomond*, two great Ships, out of which there were drowned about ſeven-hundred Perſons, and taken Priſoners about one-hundred and fifty.

About that *Tueſday* alſo, as appeareth by a Letter written to *Stephen White*, of *Limerick*, the Twelfth of this *September*, there was caſt, upon the Sands of *Ballicrahihy*, a Ship of nine-hundred Tons; thirteen of the Gentlemen of that Ship, as he writeth, are taken; and ſo writeth, that he heard the reſt of that Ship, being above four-hundred, have fought, for their Defence, being much diſtreſſed, to intrench themſelves.

He writeth, alſo, of another Ship which was caſt away at the Iſle of *Clare* in *Irriſe*, and that ſeventy-eight of the Men of that Ship are drowned and ſlain.

He writeth alſo, that there was, about the ſame Time, another great Ship caſt away in *Tirawley*, and that there are three Noblemen,

a Biſhop, and a Friar, and ſixty-nine other Men taken by *William Bourk*, of *Ardnerie*, and all the Reſidue of that Ship are ſlain and drowned; inſomuch, as he writeth, that one *Meleghlen Mac Cabb*, at *Galloglaſs*, killed eighty of them with his *Galloglaſs* Ax. *Wedneſday* the Eleventh of this *September*, ſeven of thoſe Ships, that then remained within the *Shannon*, departed out of that Road with an Eaſterly Wind, and, before their Going forth, they ſet on Fire one other very great Ship of their Company, which was one-thouſand Tons at leaſt.

It was informed from the Vice-Preſident at *Cork*, upon this Seventeenth of *September* laſt, that two other great Ships of that Fleet ſhould be loſt upon the Coaſt of *Connaught*.

The Admiral, called *John Martin de Ricalde*, came into the Sound of *Bleſkeys*, with one other great Ship, and a Bark, about the ſixth Day of this *September*, and remaineth there with one other Ship, of four-hundred Tons, and a Bark which came in ſince that Time, if they be not diſperſed or loſt, by the great Tempeſt that was the Seventeenth and Eighteenth of this Month: For the State of the Admiral, at his Coming in, was thus: The Ship had been ſhot through fourteen or fifteen Times, her Mainmaſt ſo beaten with Shot, as ſhe durſt not bear her full Sail, and now not ſixty Mariners left in her, and many of them ſo ſick, that they lie down, and the Reſidue ſo weak, that they were not able to do any good Service; and there are daily caſt over the Board, out of that Ship, five or ſix of the Company.

After this was printed thus far, as every Day bringeth more Certainty in Particulars of the Loſs of the Spaniards *in* Ireland, *theſe Reports, which follow, came from* Ireland, *being the Examinations of ſeveral Perſons there taken and ſaved.*

John Anthonio de Monona, *an* Italian, *Son to* Franciſco de Monona, *Pilot of the Ship, called,* Sancta Marie de la Roſe, *of a thouſand Tons, caſt away in the Sound of* Bleſkey, September 2, 1588.

EXamined, the Eleventh of *September*, ſaith, that he, and the reſt, parted from the *Engliſh* Fleet, as he thinketh, about the Coaſt of *Scotland*, and at that Time they wanted, of their whole Fleet, four Gallies, ſeven Ships, and one Galliaſs, which was the Captain Galliaſs; and there were then dead by Fight, and by Sickneſs, eight-thouſand Men, at the leaſt. Where he left the Duke *, he knoweth not; but it was in the North Seas, about eighteen Days ſithence; he ſaw then no Land, and therefore can name no Place; but they ſevered by Tempeſt, the Duke kept his Courſe to the Sea: We drew towards Land to find *Cape Clare*, ſo did divers other Ships, which, he thinks, to amount to the Number of forty Ships: With the Duke there went twenty-five Ships.

Hither he came round about *Scotland*; he thinks the Duke is, by this Time, near *Spain*; the Duke's Deſire was, after his Stay before *Calais*, to go to *Flanders*, but by Reaſon of the Contrariety of the Winds, the Shallowneſs of the Water (his Ships being great) he could not arrive there.

Beſides the Ships beforementioned, he remembereth, that two Ships were ſunk upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, by Reaſon of Shots received from the *Engliſh* Ships; the one called *Saint Matthew*, of five-hundred Tons, wherein were drowned four-hundred and fifty Men; the other Ship, a *Biſcayan* of *Saint Sebaſtians*, of four-hundred Tons, wherein were drowned three-hundred and fifty Men; and the Ship wherein he was, called *Saint Mary Roſe*, of one-thouſand Tons, wherein, of five-hundred, there eſcaped but himſelf; in which Ship, of principal Men, there were drowned theſe principal Men following: The Prince of *Aſcule*, baſe Son to the King of *Spain*, Captain *Matuta*, Captain *Convalle* a *Portugueſe*, *Rupecho de la Vego* of *Caſtile*, *Suryvero* of *Caſtile*, *Montaneſe* of *Caſtile*, *Villa Franca* of *Saint Sebaſtians*, Captain of the ſaid Ship: The General of all the Fleet of *Guipuſque*, called Don *Michael d'Oquendo*, twenty other Knights and Adventurers upon their own Charges.

He ſaith, that the Fleet was in great Want of freſh Water; and being examined, what Ordnance, Wines, or other Matters of Moment

* Of *Medina Sidonia*, the Chief Commander.

were

were in the Ship here caſt away, ſaith, there were fifty great braſs Pieces, all Cannons for the Field, twenty-five Pieces of Braſs and caſt Iron belonging to the Ship; there are alſo in her fifty Tons of Sack. In Silver, there are in her fifty-thouſand Ducats; in Gold, as much more, much rich Apparel and Plate, and Curs of Gold.

He ſaith alſo, that the Duke of *Medina* appointed all the Fleet to reſort and meet at the *Groyne*, and none of them, upon Pain of Death, not to depart there hence, afore they ſhould know his farther Pleaſure.

The Examination of Emanual Fremoſa, *a* Portugueſe, *September* 12, 1588.

HE ſaith he was in the Ship, called *St. John*, of the Port of *Portugal*, of one-thouſand one-hundred Tons. In which, *Don John Martin de Ricalde* is, who is Admiral of the whole Fleet, and is next under the Duke, who is General; in which Ship, at their Coming forth, there were eight-hundred Soldiers, and, for Mariners, ſixty *Portugueſe*, and forty *Biſcayans*; this is the greateſt Ship of the the whole Navy.

He ſaith, they were in all, at their Coming forth, a hundred and thirty-five Sail, whereof four were *Galliaſſes*, four *Gallies*, and nine of them were Victuallers.

They came from the *Groyne*, on the fifteenth Day, next after *Mid-ſummer* laſt paſt, by their Account.

He ſaith, they were directed to the Duke of *Parma*, and by him to be employed for *England*, at ſuch Time as *Parma* ſhould appoint.

He ſaith, after their Departure, from the *Groyne*, about eight Days, the Fleet came to the *Lizard*.

He ſaith, about that Place, the General ſtruck Sail, whereupon, they all ſtruck Sail all Night, and the next Morning they ſaw the *Engliſh* Fleet, whereupon they hoiſted their Sails.

He ſaith, they were before informed, that the *Engliſh* Fleet was in *Plymouth* and *Dartmouth*.

He ſaith, on the North-eaſt of the *Lizard*, the firſt Fight began between the Fleets, and, in that Fight, their Ship loſt fifteen Men.

He ſaith, that there were other Fights, within four or five Days after, along the Coaſts, in which the Ship, that this Examinant was in, loſt twenty-five Men; what were loſt in theſe Fights, out of the other Ships, he cannot tell; and, in theſe Fights, they loſt two Ships, in the one of which *Don Pedro* was, and one other that was burned.

They anchored at *Calais*, expecting the Duke of *Parma*; where, thro' the *Firing of the Engliſh Ships* *, they were driven to leave their Anchors, and to depart, ſo as each of the Ships loſt two Anchors at that Place; the next Morning, the Fight began about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, and continued, eight Hours, along the Channel to the North; all which Time, the *Engliſh* Fleet preſſed the *Spaniſh* Fleet, in ſuch Sort as if they had offered to board the *Spaniſh* Fleet; they ſaw their Admiral ſo fearful, that he thinketh they had all yielded.

He ſaith, that, in the ſaid Fight, the *Spaniſh* Fleet loſt one *Galliaſs*, which ran a Shore about *Calais*; two *Galleons* of *Liſbon*, which were ſunk, being the King's; and one *Biſcayan* Ship ſunk, of between four and five-hundred Tons, and one other Ship ſunk alſo; after which Fight, the General took Account of the whole Navy, and found that they were left about a hundred and twenty Sails of the whole Fleet, as was delivered by thoſe that came from the Top; but of his own Sight he ſaw not paſſing eighty-five Sail, or thereabout, but what was become of the reſt he cannot tell.

He ſaith, that there were alſo in that Fight three great *Venetian* Ships, which were in Danger of ſinking, being ſore beaten, and ſhot through in many Places, but were, for that Time, helped by the Carpenters, and as he hath heard, for that they were not able to keep the Seas, took themſelves towards the Coaſt of *Flanders*, but what is become of them he cannot tell.

He ſaith, they were purſued by ſome of the *Engliſh* Fleet, about five Days after this Fight, Northward, out of the Sight of any Land, and as he thinketh of the North-part of *Scotland*.

He ſaith, that, about four Days after the *Engliſh* Fleet left them, the whole Fleet remaining

* *Viz.* The eight Fire-Ships. *See* the Introduction to this Tract.

being towards one hundred and twenty Sail, as it was ſaid, came to an Iſland, as he thinketh, of the North Part of *Scotland*, where they ſtayed not, nor had Relief; but at this Place the General called all the Ships together, giving them in Charge, that they ſhould, with the beſt they could, haſte them to the firſt Place they could get to, of the Coaſt of *Spain*, or *Portugal*, for that they were in ſuch great Diſtreſs, through their great Wants of Victuals, and otherwiſe. He ſaith they came forth the worſe furniſhed thereof, for that they expected to be relieved of thoſe Things more amply by the Duke of *Parma*; he ſaith, that out of this Ship there died four or five every Day, of Hunger and Thirſt, and yet this Ship was one that was beſt furniſhed for Victuals, which he knoweth, for out of ſome of the other Ships ſome People were ſent to be relieved in this Ship.

After this, for ten Days, the whole Fleet remaining held together, holding their Courſe the beſt they could towards *Spain*.

He ſaith, that at the ſame Time, which is now about twenty Days or more paſt, they were ſevered by a great Storm, which held from Four of the Clock in the Afternoon of one Day, to Ten of the Clock in the Morning the next Day; in which Storm the Admiral came away with ſeven and twenty Sail, which this Examinant did tell, and that one of them was a Galliaſs of eight and twenty Oars on a Side; what is become of the reſt of the Navy he cannot tell.

He ſaith alſo, that, about ten Days paſt, they had another great Storm with a Miſt, by which Storm, they were again ſevered, ſo as, of thoſe twenty-ſeven Sail, there came into the Coaſt, by *Dingle Cuſhe*, but the Admiral, and another Ship of four-hundred Tons, and a Bark of about forty Tons; and what is become of the reſt of the twenty-ſeven Sail, he cannot tell, but of one great Hulk, of four-hundred Tons, which was ſo ſpoiled, as ſhe caſt towards the Shore, about twenty Leagues from *Dingle Cuſhe*, he knoweth not who was Captain of this Hulk; he ſaith, that of all Sorts, there be now remaining in the Admiral near about five-hundred, of which there be twenty-five *Biſcayans*, ſeventy *Portugueſe*, which are Mariners, the Maſter being very ſick, and one of the Pilots.

He ſaith, there be eighty Soldiers, and twenty of the Mariners in the Admiral, very ſick, and do lie down and die daily; and the reſt, he ſaith, be all very weak, and the Captain very ſad and weak; he ſaith, this Admiral hath in her fifty-four braſs Pieces, and about four-ſcore Quintals of Powder.

He ſaith, they were ſo near the Coaſt, before they found it, that, by Means of the ſtrong Weſterly Wind, they were not able to double out from it.

There are in the Admiral left but twenty-five Pipes of Wine, and very little Bread and no Water, but what they brought out of *Spain*, which ſtinketh marvellouſly, and their Fleſh-meat they cannot eat, their Drought is ſo great.

He ſaith, no Part of the Navy, to his Knowledge ever touched upon any Land, until ſuch Time as they came to this Coaſt at *Dingle Cuſhe*, nor hath had any Water, Victuals, or other Relief, from any Coaſt, or Place, ſithence the *Engliſh* Fleet left them.

He ſaith, that, when they lay before *Calais*, there came a Pinnace to their Fleet, from the Duke of *Parma*, who told them the Duke could not be ready for them, until the *Friday* following, but, by Reaſon of this Fight of the *Engliſh* Fleet with them, they were not able to tarry there ſo long.

He ſaith, that the Admiral's Purpoſe is, upon the firſt Wind that ſerveth, to paſs away for *Spain*.

He ſaith alſo, that it is a common Bruit amongſt the Soldiers, if *they may once get Home again, they will not meddle again with the* Engliſh.

He ſaith, there be of principal Men, in the Admiral's Ship, *Don John de Lina* a Spaniard, who is chief Captain of the Soldiers of that Ship; *Don Gomes* a Spaniard, another Captain; *Don Sebaſtian* a *Portugal* Gentleman, an Adventurer, and a Marqueſs an *Italian*, who is alſo an Adventurer, and one other *Portugal* Gentleman whom he knoweth not, but that they are principal Men, that have Croſſes on their Garments *; other mean Gentlemen there be alſo in the ſame Ship: He ſaith, all the Soldiers in this Ship were *Spaniards*; he ſaith there are in the ſmall Bark, that is with them, about five and twenty Perſons; how many are in the Hulk, that is there, he knoweth not.

* Knights of the *Cruzado*, or *Sancto Chriſto*.

He

He ſaith, he thinketh that the Duke is paſt towards *Spain*, for that he was ſome twelve Leagues more Weſterly, than the Admiral was, in the firſt Storm.

He ſaith, that the great Galleon, which came from the Duke of *Florence*, was never ſeen ſithence they were in the Fight at *Calais*: He ſaith, the People of the Galliaſſes were moſt ſpoiled by the *Engliſh* Fleet.

The Examination of Emanuel Franciſco, *a* Portugueſe, *September* 12, 1588.

Emanuel Franciſco, a *Portugueſe*, ſaith, in all Things, as the former Examinant, till the Fight at *Calais*; in which Fight, he ſaith, he knoweth there was loſt a Galliaſs, that ran a-ſhore at *Calais*; two Galleons of the King's, the one called *St. Philip*, of the Burden of ſeven-hundred, and the other called *St. Matthew* of eight-hundred; a *Biſcayan* Ship, of about five-hundred, and a *Caſtilian* Ship of about four-hundred Tons, all ſunk. This he knoweth, for that ſome of the Men of thoſe Ships were divided into the Admiral's Ship, in which this Examinant was.

He ſaith, after this Fight ended, it was delivered by him, at the Top, that there were one-hundred and twenty Sail left, of the *Spaniſh* Fleet; and ſaith, that thoſe were very ſore beaten, and the Admiral was many Times ſhot through, and one Shot in their Maſt, and their Deck at the Prow ſpoiled, and doth confeſs, that they were in great Fear of the *Engliſh* Fleet, and doubted much of boarding.

He ſaith, the Admiral's Maſt is ſo weak by Reaſon of the Shot in it, as they dare not abide any Storm, nor bear ſuch Sail, as otherwiſe he might do; and for the reſt he agreeth, in every Thing, with the former Examinant, ſaving that he ſaw not, or underſtood of any Pinnace, that came from the Duke of *Parma*, nor doth remember that he ſaw above twenty Sail with the Admiral, after the firſt Storm; and ſaith, that thoſe in the Ship, that he is in, do ſay that *they will rather go into the Ground themſelves, than come in ſuch a Journey again for* England; and ſaith, the beſt that be in the Admiral's Ship are ſcarce able to ſtand, and that if they tarry where they are any Time, they will all periſh, as he thinketh; and for himſelf he would not paſs into *Portugal* again, if he might chooſe, for that he would not be conſtrained to ſuch another Journey.

The Examition of John de le Conido, *of* Lekit *in* Biſcay *Mariner*, September 12, 1588.

JOHN de le Conido, of *Lekit* in *Biſcay* Mariner, ſaith he was in the Ship that the Admiral is in, and that he told the Navy, after the Fight ended at *Calais*, and that there were then remaining not paſſing a hundred and ten, or a hundred and twelve of the whole *Spaniſh* Navy; and ſaith, that a Leak fell upon one of the Galliaſſes about fifteen Days paſt, which he taketh to be fallen upon the North Coaſt of this Land; he ſaith, he doth not remember, that there were above twenty Sail left in the Company of the Admiral, after the firſt great Storm, which fell on them about thirty Days ſithence; he ſaith, the Duke did give them expreſs Commandment, that they ſhould not go on Land in any Place, without his Order; he confeſſeth, that the Navy, that remained after the laſt Fight, were marvellouſly beaten and ſhot through, and their Tackle much cut and ſpoiled with the Shot, and, for the reſt of the Matter, agreeth with the former Examinant, in every Point in Effect, and ſaith, there was an *Engliſh* Pilot with the Duke. He ſaith, that the *Scot*, that is taken, was taken in the North Part, after the *Engliſh* Fleet parted from them, in a Ship of fifty Tons, in which were about ſeven Men, which the Fleet hath carried with them, both the Ship and People, ſix of which *Scots* were a-board the Admiral, whereof one is he that is taken.

He ſaith, after the *Engliſh* Fleet parted from them, the *Spaniſh* Fleet caſt out all the Horſes and Mules into the Sea, to ſave their Water, which were carried in certain Hulks provided for that Purpoſe.

The

The Re-examination of John Anthonio, *of* Genoa, *Mariner*, September 15, 1588.

HE ſaith his Father and himſelf with others came into *Liſbon* in a Ship of *Genoa*, about a Year ſithence, where they were embarked by the King of *Spain*, that Ship was of about four-hundred Tons.

He ſaith his Father after this was appointed Pilot in the Ship called our *Lady* of the *Roſary*, of the Burden of a thouſand Tons, being the King's: He ſaith the Prince of *Aſcule* the King's baſe Son came in the Company of the Duke in the Duke's Ship, called the *Galleon of St. Martin*, of a thouſand Tons, but at *Calais*, when the *Engliſh* Navy came near them, this Prince went to the Shore, and, before his Return, the Duke was driven to cut off his Anchors, and to depart, whereby the Prince could not recover that Ship, but came into the ſaid Ship called our *Lady of the Roſary*, and with him there came in alſo one *Don Pedro*, *Don Franciſco*, and ſeven other Gentlemen of Account, that accompanied the Prince. He ſaith the Captain of this Ship was *Villa Franca*, of *St. Sebaſtians*, and *Matuta* was Captain of the *Infantry* of that Ship. There were alſo in her Captain *Suares*, a *Portugueſe*, and one *Garrionero*, a *Caſtilian* Captain, *Lopicho de la Vega*, a *Caſtilian* Captain, Captain *Montaneſe*, a *Caſtilian*, and one Captain *Franciſco*, a *Caſtilian*; and *Michael d'Oquendo*, who was General of this Ship. There was alſo in her one *Iriſh* Captain, called *John Riſe*, of about thirty Years of Age, and another *Iriſhman*, called *Francis Roche*. The Prince was of about eight and twenty Years of Age. He ſaith, there were other Gentlemen Adventurers in the Ship, but not of that Reckoning as the former were. He ſaith there were in all ſeven-hundred Men in this Ship at their Coming forth; he ſaith there were about five-hundred in this Ship at ſuch Time as ſhe ſunk, the reſt periſhed by Fight and by Sickneſs. He ſaith this Ship was ſhot thorough four Times, and one of the Shot was between the Wind and the Water, whereof they thought ſhe would have ſunk, and the moſt of her Tackle was ſpoiled with Shot; this Ship ſtruck againſt the Rocks in the Sound of the *Bleſkies*, a League and a half from the Land, upon *Tueſday* laſt at Noon, and all in the Ship periſhed, ſaving this Examinant, who ſaved himſelf upon two or three Planks that were looſe; the Gentlemen thinking to ſave themſelves by the Boat, it was ſo faſt tied as they could not get her looſe, whereby they periſhed; he ſaith, as ſoon as the Ship ſtruck againſt the Rock, one of the Captains *ſlew this Examinant's Father*, ſaying he did it by Treaſon. He ſaith there came in their Company a *Portugal* Ship of about four-hundred, who, coming into the ſame Sound, caſt Anchor near where they found the Admiral of the Fleet at Anchor, called *St. John*, in which *Don Martin de Ricalde* the Admiral was; he ſaith that, about two and twenty Days paſt, the Duke departed from them, and about five and twenty Ships in his Company, and about forty Ships were with the Admiral, but this Ship was not able to follow the Admiral, by Reaſon her Sails were broken, and for the reſt of the Navy that remained, they were ſo diſperſed, as he cannot tell what is become of them. He ſaith the Duke, being better watered than the others were, held more Weſterly into the Seas, and willed the Admiral with his Company, being in worſe Eſtate for Water, to ſee if he could touch with any Coaſt, to get freſh Water; ſithence which they have been ſevered by the Nights and by Tempeſt; he ſaith this Ship nor any other of the Ships touched upon any Land, nor had any Releaſe of Water or Victuals at any Place, ſithence they parted, but from two *Scots*, which they took upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, whoſe Fiſh and Victuals the Duke took, but paid them for it.

He ſaith, their Ships were ſo beaten, and the Wind ſo contrary, and the Shoals upon the Coaſt of *Flanders* ſo dangerous, as the Pilot, that was in the Duke's Ship, directed them this Courſe Northward as their ſafeſt Way. He ſaith, that, in one of the Days in which the Fight was between both the Navies, the Duke, ſeeing the *Engliſh* Fleet ſo hardily to purſue them, willed his Fleet, ſeeing no other Remedy, to addreſs themſelves to fight. He ſaith, that in that Day of the Fight at *Calais*, they loſt four-thouſand Men in Fight, one-thouſand were drowned in four Ships; he ſaith, the Maſter of the Cavalry of the *Tercii of Naples* and *Sicily* was ſlain in this Fight, by a great Piece that broke his Thigh, his Name he remembered not; at which Time alſo the Maſter of the Camp of the Horſemen,

and

and the Maſter of the Camp of the Footmen, were both ſlain, but their Names he remembereth not. He ſaith, the four Galliaſſes were of *Naples*. He ſaith, the four Gallies left the Fleet, before they came to the *Engliſh*, by well near forty Leagues. He ſaith, the *Florentine* Ship is gone with the Duke. He ſaith, there were fourteen *Venetian* Ships in this Fleet; two of the ſaid are drowned, what is become of the reſt he knoweth not, they ſerved the King only by Arreſt. He ſaith, there be three *Engliſhmen* Pilots in the Duke's Ship.

He ſaith, this Ship that is drowned hath in her three Cheſts full of Money. He doth not know what moved the Duke to command, that the whole Navy that remained ſhould repair to the *Groyne*, and not depart without his Direction, upon Pain of Death.

The Examination of John Antonio de Moneko, *thirty Miles from* Ganna, September 17, 1588.

HE ſaith, the Prince of *Aſcule* was a ſlender made Man, and of a reaſonable Stature, of twenty-eight Years of Age, his Hair of a brown Colour ſtroked upwards, of a high Forehead, a very little Beard, marqueſotted, whitely-faced with ſome little Red on the Cheeks; he was drowned in Apparel of white Sattin for his Doublet and Breeches, after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion cut, with Ruſſet-ſilk Stockings. When this Prince came into their Ship at *Calais*, he was apparelled in black raiſed Velvet laid on with broad gold Lace. He ſaith, that this Prince's Men, for the moſt Part, were in the Ship that this Examinant was in, from their Coming out of *Spain*; and, when they were at *Calais*, the Prince paſſed in a little Felucca with ſix others from Ship to Ship, to give Orders to them, and ſome ſaid he went to the Shore at that Time.

He ſaith, it was thought to be about ſixty Leagues Weſt from the Northweſt Part of *Ireland*, that the Duke departed from the reſt of the Company. He ſaith, they parted by a Tempeſt growing in the Night, and that, about ſix Days after, a *Portugal* Galleon overtaking this Ship told unto thoſe of this Ship, that there were twenty-five Ships of the whole Navy paſſed away with the Duke, and that the reſt, then remaining of the whole Navy, were diſperſed by this Tempeſt, ſome eight in one Company, and four in another; and thus diſperſedly paſſed on the Seas. But how many Ships remained after their Departure from the Coaſt of *Scotland*, of the whole Navy, this Examinant cannot tell. He ſaith, that after this firſt Tempeſt, which was about twenty-five Days now paſt, growing of a South-weſt Wind, they had ſundry Tempeſts, before they they were loſt, with variable Winds, ſometimes one Way, and ſometimes another.

The Re-examination of Emanuel Fremoſa, September 17, 1588.

Emanuel Fremoſa, Mariner, examined the ſame Day, ſaith that the Day next before the great Tempeſt, in which the Duke was ſevered from them, being a very calm Day, himſelf counted the Navy then remaining, which then were but ſeventy-eight Sail in all; when they were fartheſt off in the North, they were at ſixty-two Degrees Northward, and were then about four-ſcore Leagues and ſomewhat more from any Land, and at the North-weſt Part of *Scotland*, Cape *Clare* being then from them South and by Weſt; and this was about four or five Days before the ſaid great Tempeſt; and, from that Time until the ſame Tempeſt, they had the Wind moſt Weſt, and Weſt South-weſt, and ſometimes Weſt North-weſt, but that not very long; he ſaith that it was known to very few of the Navy that the Prince, the King's baſe Son, was in in this Navy, until they came unto *Calais*, where this Prince, about the Time of the Fight, was ſaid to take himſelf into a little Boat upon the Coaſt of *Calais*; but before that he kept himſelf as private in the Duke's own Ship, as it was ſaid, and not noted or ſpoken of in the Navy until then. But he ſaith, there was a great Prince, an *Italian*, that was a chief Man in a great *Argoſy*, very well furniſhed,

niſhed, who, before their Coming to the *Engliſh* Coaſt, did very often banquet the Duke and the other great Men of the Navy. This *Argoſy* was called the *Ratte*. He ſaith, he did not perceive if this Ship were in this Fleet the Day before the ſaid Tempeſt or not, but he ſaith, this being a famous Ship, it was often demanded, if ſhe were in their Company, and it was anſwered, that ſhe was. He ſaith, the chiefeſt of the Treaſure, that ſerved for the Pay, was, as he heard, in the Galliaſs that drove on the Shore at *Calais*, and in a Ship of *Sevil*, made in *Galicia*, called the *Gallega*, of about ſeven-hundred Tons, in which Don *Pedro de Valdez* was, which was taken on the South Coaſt.

The Examination of Pierre Carre, *a* Fleming.

HE ſaith, that in the Ship that he came hither in, called St. *John*, a Galleon of nine-hundred Tons, beſides *John Martin de Ricalde*, there are five Captains, Don *John de Lune*, Don *Gomes de Galanezar*, Don *Pedro de Madri*, the Count of *Paredes*, Don *Felice*, and there is alſo an *Italian* Marqueſs of *Piedmont*, called the Marqueſs of *Faruara*.

He ſaith alſo, that the Admiral, after ſuch Time as the Fight was at *Calais*, came not out of his Bed, until this Day Sen'night in the Morning that they ran upon the Shore. He ſaith, his Admiral is of *Biſcay*, either of *Bilboa* or *Allerede*, and of ſixty-two Years of Age, and a Man of Service. He ſaith, that there were in this Navy of the old Soldiers of *Naples*, under the Conduct of Don *Alonſo de Sono*, and of the old Soldiers of *Sicily*, under the Conduct of Don *Diego de Piementelli*, whoſe Ship was loſt near *Calais*. There was alſo Don *Alonſo de Leva*, Maſter of the Camp of the Cavalry of *Milan*. He ſaith, there is a Baſtard Son of King *Philip*, of twenty-eight Years of Age in this Fleet in the Ship with the Duke, called the Prince of *Aſcule* in *Italy*, who paſſed from them in a Pinnace about *Calais*, as he took it.

By other *Advertiſements* of the Fourteenth of *September*, it is certified to the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, from the Earl of *Tyrone*, being at his Caſtle of *Dongannon*, that, upon Intelligence brought to him of the Landing of certain *Spaniards* in the North of *Ireland*, he ſent two *Engliſh* Captains with their Bands towards them, to the Number of one-hundred and fifty; who found them at Sir *John Odoghertie*'s Town, called *Illagh*, and there, diſcovering their Number to be above ſix-hundred, did that Night incamp within a Muſket-ſhot of them, and, about Midnight, did ſkirmiſh with them for the Space of two Hours, in which Skirmiſh the *Spaniſh* Lieutenant of the Field and twenty more of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, beſides many that were hurt.

The next Day following they did offer Skirmiſh again to the *Spaniards*, whereupon they all yielded, and ſo, as Priſoners, were carried to *Dongannon* to the Earl, who meant to ſend them to the Lord Deputy, being judged to be Men of good Value, and one thought to be a Man that hath had ſome great Charge and Conduct of Men for many Years, whereof the Lord Deputy will give Knowledge, as ſoon as they ſhall be brought to *Dublin*.

There may be ſome Errors in the Spaniſh *Names in* Engliſh, *becauſe the ſame are written by Way of Interpretation, but there is no Error in the Numbering of the Perſons that are either dead or alive.* Sept. 26, 1588.

Ships and Men ſunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon the Coaſt of Ireland, *in the Month of* September, 1588.

In *Tyrconnel*	In *Loughfoyle*	1 Ship	1100	Men, of that Ship and others that eſcaped.
In *Connaught*	In *Sligo* Haven	3 great Ships	1500	
	In *Tirawley*	1 Ship	400	
	In *Clare* Iſland	1 Ship	300	
	In *Finglaſs*	1 Ship	400	
	In *Oſtarty*	1 Ship	200	
	In *Irriſe*	2 Ships		The Men fled into other Veſſels.
	In *Galway* Bay	1 Ship	70	

In

In *Munſter*	In the *Shannon*	2 Ships	600	
	In *Traylie*	1 Ship	24	
	In *Dingle*	1 Ship	500	
	In *Deſmond*	1 Ship	300	
	In the *Shannon*	1 Ship burnt		The Men embarked in another Ship.
	Total 17 Ships		5394 Men.	

Before the Loſs of the aforeſaid ſeventeen Ships in Ireland, *there periſhed, in* July *and* Auguſt, *fifteen other great Ships in the Fight betwixt the* Engliſh *and* Spaniſh *Navies in the narrow Seas of* England.

Firſt Gallies	4 Ships	1622 Men	
Near *Ediſton*, by *Plymouth*, at the firſt Conflict	1	0000	
The ſame Time was diſtreſſed and taken Don *Pedro de Valde's* Ship	1	422	Theſe two remain in *England*.
At the ſame Time by Fire a great *Biſcay* Ship	1	289	
Before *Calais*, ſpoiled the principal Galliaſs of *Naples*	1	686	
In the Conflict was ſunk a great *Biſcayan*	1	000	
The Galleon St. *Philip*	1	532	Theſe two forced into *Fluſhing* being ſore beaten by the *Engliſh* great Shot.
St. *Matthew*	1	397	
A *Biſcayan* wrecked before *Oſtend*	1	000	
The Day after the Fight there ſunk two *Venetians*	2	843	
A great *Biſcayan* forced by two of the Queen's Ships to periſh at *Newhaven*	1	000	
Total	15 Ships	4791 Men	
The above Loſs	17	5394	
Total of both theſe Loſſes	32 Ships	10185 Men, whereof there are Priſoners in *England* and *Zeland* at leaſt 1000, beſides a great Multitude of Men not here accounted, that were ſlain in the Fight, and that have died of Famine, as by the Examinations aforeſaid appeareth.	

Beſides many Ships not yet heard of, thought to be loſt.

The Copy of a Letter ſent out of *England* to Don *Bernardin Mendoza*, Ambaſſador in *France* for the King of *Spain*, declaring the State of *England*, contrary to the Opinion of Don *Bernardin*, and of all his Partiſans, *Spaniards* and others; found in the Chamber of one *Richard Leigh*, a *Seminary Prieſt*, who was lately executed for High-Treaſon; with an Appendix.

Imprinted at *London*, by *J. Vautrollier*, for *Richard Field*. MDLXXXVIII.

In this Letter we not only find a Confirmation of the foregoing Hiſtory; but we alſo learn the Sentiments of our Enemies concerning the moſt likely Methods to enſlave us, and the only Means to preſerve our preſent Eſtabliſhment.

The Author, a Papiſt, *and in the* Spaniſh *Intereſt, informs the King of* Spain, *that the Hopes of a foreign Invaſion did not only depend on a large Army to be tranſported, but on a ſtrong Party ready in* England *to join the foreign Forces at their Landing.*

He adviſes to act more politically than by Excommunication *of the Prince, and the Pope's uſurped Power to abſolve Subjects from their Allegiance, and to diſpoſe of Kingdoms by Violence, Blood, Slaughter, and Conqueſt; as alſo to conceal their Intentions, till the Time came of ſtriking the Blow effectually. For, ſays he, when theſe Things were publiſhed without Reſerve, the Queen endeavoured to ſtrengthen her Kingdom. The* Militia *of the Inland-towns provided for their own Safety, and the Places on the Coaſt, where a Landing might be ſuſpected, were well guarded. Beſides, every Nobleman, Knight, and Gentleman of Fortune immediately took the Alarum, and thought it Time to provide for their own and the publick Safety, by arming their Servants and Dependents.*

He ſhews the Error of the Popiſh *States, who confide on the Numbers of thoſe that profeſs Popery in* England, *and clears the Laws of the Land from the Imputation of puniſhing any Prieſt, or Jeſuit, or other Recuſant for his Religion only.*

He blames and explodes thoſe lying Accounts publiſhed in France, *of Victories gained over us when we at the ſame Time have intirely routed the Enemy; yet this, as well as many other of their ſtale Politicks, is conſtantly practiſed in the ſame Place. And then diſſuades them from the like Attempt, and propoſes the beſt Means to maintain Popery in* England.

MY Lord Ambaſſador, though at the Time of my laſt large Writing to you of the State of this Country, and of our long-deſired Expectation of Succours promiſed, I did not think to have had ſuch a ſorrowful Occaſion of any ſecond Writing, as now I have, of a lamentable Change of Matters of Eſtate here; yet I cannot forbear (though it be with as many Sighs as Lines) to advertiſe you of the Truth of our miſerable Condition, as now to me and others of our Party the ſame appeareth to be; that by comparing of all Things paſt in Hope, with the Preſent now in Deſpair, your Lordſhip, who have had the principal Managing, hitherto, of all our Cauſes of long Time, both here and there in *France*, betwixt the Catholick King aſſiſted with the Potentates of the holy League, and all our Countrymen which have profeſſed Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, may now fall into ſome new and better Conſideration, how our State, both for ourſelves at Home, and our Brethren Abroad, now at this preſent fallen, as it were, into utter Deſpair, may be revived and reſtored to ſome new Hope, with better Aſſurance of Succeſs, than hath happened hitherto. For which Purpoſe I have thought it neceſſary to advertiſe you in what Terms this Country now ſtandeth, far otherwiſe than, of late, both we at Home, and others Abroad, did make Account of.

You know, how we have depended in firm Hope of a Change of the State of this Country, by the Means of the devout and earneſt Incitations of the *Pope's Holineſs*, and the *Catholick King*, and of other *Potentates* of the *Holy League* *, to take upon them the Invaſion and Conqueſt of this Realm; and, by your Aſſurances and firm Promiſes, we were now of a long Seaſon paſt perſuaded, that the *Catholick King* had taken upon him the ſame glorious Act, and thereof, from Year to Year, we looked for the Execution, being continually fed and nouriſhed from you to continue our Hope, and ſundry Times ſolicited by your earneſt Requeſts, and Perſuaſions, to encourage our Party at Home not to waver, as many were diſpoſed, by Sight of continual Delays, but to be ready to join with the outward Forces that ſhould come for this Invaſion. Nevertheleſs, the Delays and Prolongations of Times appointed for the Coming of the King's Forces, eſpecially by Sea, have been ſo many, as, until this laſt Spring, we were in Deſpair; at what Time you advertiſed us with great Aſſurance, that all the King's Preparations, which had been in making ready theſe three or four Years together, were now in full Perfection, and without Fail would this Summer come into our Seas with ſuch mighty Strength, as no Navy of *England*, or of Chriſtendom, could reſiſt or abide their Force; and for more Surety, and for avoiding of all Doubts, to make the intended Conqueſt ſure, the ſame ſhould alſo have joined to it the mighty Army, which the Duke of *Parma* † had made ready, and kept in Readineſs in the *Low Countries* all this Year paſt, wherewith he ſhould land, and ſo, both by Sea and Land, this Realm ſhould be invaded, and a ſpeedy Conqueſt made thereof, to the which were always added ſundry Reaſons; whereupon was gathered, that, neither by Sea nor by Land, there would be any great Reſiſtance found here, but a ſtrong Party in this Realm to join with the foreign Force. For otherwiſe than with ſuch Helps, to be aſſuredly had from hence, I know, it was always doubted, that no foreign Force could prevail againſt this Realm, being, as it is, environed by Sea, and notably repleniſhed with more mighty and ſtronger People than any Country in Chriſtendom. But with the Hope of the Landing of theſe great Armies, and our Aſſiſtance in taking Part, we here continued all this Year paſt in aſſured Hope of a full Victory, until this laſt Month. But, alas! and with a deadly Sorrow, we muſt all, at Home and Abroad, lament our ſudden Fall, from an immeaſurable high Joy, to an unmeaſurable deep Deſpairand; that ſo haſtily fallen out, as, I may ſay, we have ſeen in the Space of eight or nine Days, in this laſt Month of *July*, which was from the Appearance of the Catholick great Navy upon the Coaſt of *England*, until it was forced to fly from the Coaſt of *Flanders* near *Calais*, towards the unknown Parts of the cold North, all our Hopes, all our Buildings, as it now appeareth but upon an imagined Conqueſt, utterly overthrown, and, as it were, with an Earthquake, all our Caſtles of Comfort brought to the Ground, which now, it ſeemeth, were builded but in the Air, or upon Waves of the Sea; for they are all periſhed, all vaniſhed away from our Thoughts.

* So called by the *Papiſts*, becauſe combined to deſtroy all *Proteſtants*. † The King of *Spain*'s General.

And herewith I am aſtoniſhed what I may beſt think of ſuch a Work, ſo long Time in Framing, to be ſo ſuddenly overthrown, as by no Reaſon could proceed of Men, or of any earthly Power, but only of God. And if ſo it be (as no body can otherwiſe impute this late Change and Fall from our expected Fortune, but to God Almighty (then ſurely our Caſe is either dangerous or doubtful how to judge thereof, whether we have been theſe many Years in the Right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good and wiſe Men, which of long Time have ſecretly continued in moſt earneſt Devotion to the Pope's Authority, begin now to ſtagger in their Minds, and to conceive that this Way of Reformation intended by the Pope's Holineſs is not allowable in the Sight of God, by leaving the ancient Courſe of the Church by *Excommunication*, which was the Exerciſe of the ſpiritual Sword, and in Place thereof to take the temporal Sword, and put it into a Monarch's Hand to invade this Realm with Force and Arms, yea to deſtroy the Queen thereof, and all her People addicted to her; which are in very Truth now ſeen, by great Proof this Year, to be in a Sort infinite, and invincible, ſo as ſome begin to ſay that this Purpoſe by Violence, by Blood, by Slaughter, and by Conqueſt, agreeth not with Chriſt's Doctrine, nor the Doctrine of *St. Peter*, or *St. Paul*. And to tell your Lordſhip truly, I find preſently a great Number of wiſe and devout People, though they continue in their former Religion, yet do they ſecretly condemn this intended Reformation by Blood and Force. Inſomuch that I heard a good Divine alledge a Text out of *St. Gregory* in theſe Words, **Quid de Epiſcopis, qui Verberibus timeri volunt, Canones dicunt, benè Paternitas veſtra novit, Paſtores ſumus non Percuſſores, Nova enim eſt Prædicatio quæ Verberibus exigit Fidem.* This Sentence I obtained of him, becauſe it ſeemeth to be charitably written. But, leaving this Authority among Doctors, I muſt needs ſay that, in very Truth, no one Thing hath done at this Time more Hurt to the Action, than the untimely haſty Publiſhing abroad in this Realm, before this Army of *Spain* was ready to come forth to the Seas, of ſundry Things written and put in Print, and ſent into this Realm, to notify to the People, that all the Realm ſhould be invaded and conquered, that the Queen ſhould be deſtroyed, all the Nobility, and Men of Reputation, of Honour, and Wealth that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withſtand the Invaſion, ſhould be with all their Families rooted out, and their Places, their Honours, their Houſes and Lands beſtowed upon the Conquerors: Things univerſally ſo odiouſly taken, as the Hearts of all Sorts of People were inflamed; ſome with Ire, ſome with Fear, but all Sorts, almoſt without Exception, reſolved to venture their Lives for the Withſtanding of all Manner of Conqueſt, wherewith every body can ſay this Realm was not threatened theſe five-hundred Years and more.

Theſe Reports were brought to this Realm, with good Credit, not in ſecret, but in publick Writings and Printings, and took deep Root in all Kinds of People of this Land; and indeed was of the more Credit, *firſt*, by Reaſon of a new *Bull*, lately publiſhed at *Rome*, by the Pope's Holineſs, which I have ſeen, with more Severity than other of his Predeceſſors, whereby the Queen here was accurſed, and pronounced to be deprived of her Crown, and the Invaſion and Conqueſt of the Realm committed, by the Pope, to the *Catholick King*, to execute the ſame with his Armies both by Sea and Land, and to take the Crown to himſelf, or to limit it to ſuch a Potentate as the Pope and he ſhould name. And, *ſecondly*, there followed a large Explanation of this *Bull*, by ſending hither a Number of *Engliſh* Books printed in *Antwerp*, even when the Navy of *Spain* was daily looked for, the Original whereof was written by the Reverend Father *Cardinal Allen*, in *April* laſt, called in his own Writing the *Cardinal of England*; which Book was ſo violently, ſharply, and bitterly written, yea (ſay the Adverſaries) ſo arrogantly, falſly, and ſlanderouſly, againſt the Perſon of the Queen, againſt her Father King *Henry* the Eighth, againſt all her Nobility and Council, as in very Truth I was heartily ſorry to perceive ſo many good Men of our own Religion offended therewith, in that there ſhould be found in one accounted a Father of the Church, who was alſo born a Subject of this Crown (though by the Adverſaries reported to be very baſely born) ſuch foul, vile, irreverent, and violent Speeches,

* What ſay the *Canons* of thoſe Biſhops, who would force themſelves to be feared, you know right well: *We are Shepherds, and not Strikers.* For it is a new Way of Preaching, that would *convert* us by Blood and Force.

ſuch

ſuch ireful and bloody Threatenings, of a Queen, of a Nobility, yea of the whole People of his own Nation.

Sorry, and moſt ſorry, I am to report the general evil Conceit of thoſe unordinate and unadviſed Proceedings of this Cardinal, of whoſe raſh Choice to ſuch a Place, the World ſpeaketh ſtrangely, as though he came to it, through Corruption of the Pope's Sifter, without Liking of the College of Cardinals, where, otherwiſe, the bleſſed Intention of our holy Father, and the Deſire alſo of the ſaid Cardinal, might, without ſuch fatal bloody Premonitions and Threatenings of future Invaſions and Conqueſts by the *Catholick* King's noble Forces, have taken better Place.

There was alſo, to add the more Credit to theſe terrible Prognoſtications, ſuch Kind of other Books printed in *Spain*, and tranſlated into *French*, (as it is ſaid by your Lordſhip) containing particular long Deſcriptions and Catalogues of *Armadas* of *Caſtile*, of *Andaluſia*, of *Biſcay*, of *Guipuſque*, of *Portugal*, of *Naples*, of *Sicily*, of *Raguſa*, and other Countries of the *Levant*, with a Maſs of all Kinds of Proviſions, beyond Meaſure, for the ſaid *Armadas*, ſufficient, in Eſtimation, to be able to make Conqueſt of many Kingdoms or Countries. And one great Argument is publiſhed by the Adverſaries to ſtir up the Minds of the Nobility of *England*, againſt the *Spaniards*, which is very maliciouſly invented, to ſhew the Intention of the Conqueſt not only of *England*, but of the whole Iſle of *Britain*; moving all Men eſpecially to mark by the Deſcription of the *Armada*, that there are eſpecially named ſuch a Number of Noblemen, as Princes, Marquiſſes, Condes and Dons that are called *Adventurers*, without any Office or Pay, and ſuch another Number alſo of Men with great Titles of Honour, and many of them named Captains and *Alferez* *, without Office, but yet in *ſold* †, and therefore called *Entertenidos* ‡, as all thoſe, being for no Service in the *Armada*, may be well preſumed (ſay they) to have come to have poſſeſſed the Rooms of all the Noblemen in *England* and *Scotland*: And this Fiction hath taken more Place than it is worth. And, though theſe Armies were, indeed, exceeding great and mighty, yet they were ſo amplified, beyond all Meaſure, in theſe Books, as in no Preparation of Chriſtendom, in former Times, againſt the *Saracens* or *Turks* could be greater. By this Means, this Queen and her Realm, being thus forewarned and terrified, took Occaſion with the Aid of her People, being not only firmly (as ſhe was perſuaded) devoted to her, but thoroughly irritated, to ſtir up their whole Forces for their Defence, againſt ſuch prognoſticated Conqueſts, as, in a very ſhort Time, all her whole Realm, and every Corner were ſpeedily furniſhed with armed People on Horſeback, and on Foot, and thoſe continually trained, exerciſed, and put into Bands, in warlike Manner, as in no Age ever was before, in this Realm. Here was no Sparing of Money to provide Horſe, Armour, Weapon, Powder, and all Neceſſaries, no nor Want of Proviſion of Pioneers, Carriages, and Victuals, in every County of the Realm, without Exception, to attend upon the Armies. And to this general Furniture every Man voluntarily offered, very many, their Service perſonally, without Wages; others Money for Armour and Weapons, and to wage Soldiers; a Matter ſtrange, and never the like heard of, in this Realm or elſewhere: And this general Reaſon moved all Men to large Contributions, that to withſtand a Conqueſt, where all ſhould be loſt, there was no Time to ſpare a Portion.

The Numbers made ready in the Realm I cannot affirm, of mine own Knowledge; but I have heard it reported, when I was grieved to think the ſame to be ſo true, that there was, through *England*, no Quarter *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North* and *South*, but all concurred, in one Mind, to be in Readineſs to ſerve for the Realm: And, that ſome one Country was able to make a ſufficient Army of twenty-thouſand Men, fit to fight, and fifteen-thouſand of them well armed and weaponed; and in ſome Countries the Number of forty-thouſand able Men.

The maritime Countries from *Cornwall*, all along the Southſide of *England* to *Kent*; and from *Kent* Eaſtward, by *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk* to *Lincolnſhire* (which Countries, with their Havens, were well deſcribed unto you, in perfect Plots, when *Francis Throgmorton* firſt did treat with your Lordſhip about the ſame) were ſo furniſhed with Men of War, both of themſelves, and with Reſort of Aid from their next Shires, as there was no Place to be doubted for landing of any foreign Forces, but there were, within eight and forty Hours, to come to the Place above twenty-thouſand fighting Men

* Enſigns. † Part of the Corps. ‡ Volunteers.

on

on Horſeback, and on Foot, with Field Ordnance, Victuals, Pioneers and Carriages, and all thoſe governed by the principal Noblemen of the Countries, and reduced under Captains of Knowledge.

And one Thing, I heard of, that was very politickly ordered and executed, at this Time, as of many late Years was not uſed: That, as the Leaders and Officers of the particular Bands were Men of Experience in the Wars, ſo, to make the Bands ſtrong and conſtant, Choice was made of the principal Knights of all Countries, to bring their Tenants to the Field, being Men of Strength, and landed, and of Wealth; whereby, all the Forces, ſo compounded, were of a reſolute Diſpoſition to ſtick to their Lords and Chieftains, and the Chieftains to truſt to their own Tenants. And to remember one ſtrange Speech, that I heard ſpoken, may be marvelled at, but it was avowed to me for a Truth, that one Gentleman, in *Kent*, had a Band of one hundred and fifty Footmen, which were worth, in Goods, above one hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds ſterling, beſides their Lands: Such Men would fight ſtoutly before they would have loſt their Goods, and, by Likelihood at this Time, many other Bands were made of ſuch principal Men, both of Wealth and Strength. Of theſe Things, I am ſorry to have Cauſe to write in this Sort: Becauſe you may ſee how heretofore you have been deceived with Advertiſements of many, which had no Proof to know the Truth thereof, and ſo I confeſs myſelf in ſome Things to have erred, namely, in imagining that, whenſoever any foreign Power ſhould be ſeen ready to land in any Part of this Realm, there would have been found but a ſmall Number reſolute to withſtand the ſame, or to defend the Queen, but that the ſame would have been very unable for the Wars, untrained, raw, and ignorant in all warlike Actions, without ſufficient Armour and Weapons: And that alſo the Noblemen and Gentlemen that were in this Realm of our Religion, whereof, you know, we made Account when you were here in *England* of very many, although many of them be dead ſince that Time, but at this Time there are not ſo many Tens, as we accounted Hundreds, whom we thought would have ſhewed themſelves like Men of Courage for our common Cauſe, and would have ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Houſes, Families, and Strength of the *Hereticks* and Adverſaries.

But now, ſuch is our Calamity, that it hath pleaſed God, as I think, for our Sins, or elſe for confounding of our bold Opinions, and Preſumptions, of our own Strength, to put in the Hearts of all Perſons here one like Mind, and Courage to withſtand the intended Invaſion, as well in ſuch as we accounted Catholicks, as alſo in the Hereticks; ſo has it hath appeared manifeſtly that for all earneſt Proceeding for Arming, and for Contributions of Money, and for all other warlike Actions, there was no Difference to be ſeen betwixt the Catholick, and the Heretic. But in this Caſe to withſtand the threatened Conqueſt, yea, to defend the Perſon of the Queen, there appeared ſuch a Sympathy, Concourſe, and Conſent of all Sorts of Perſons, without Reſpect of Religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight, againſt all Strangers, as it were with one Heart and one Body. And, though ſome few principal Gentlemen, of whom heretofore you have had the Names in ſuch Catalogues of Catholicks, as you have been acquainted withal, were lately, upon the Report of the Coming out of the Army to the Seas, ſent to the Iſle of *Ely*, there to remain reſtrained of their former Liberty, during the Expectation of this intended Invaſion; yet, it hath appeared, that they were not ſo reſtrained for any Doubt, that they would, with their Powers, have aſſiſted our Army, but only thereby to make it known to all our Friends and Countrymen in *Spain*, and *Flanders*; yea, even to yourſelf (for ſo I heard it ſpoken, as accounting you to have been the moſt principal Author and Perſuader of this Action) that there ſhould be no Hope to have any of them, or of their Friends, to aſſiſt theſe great Armies. And, in very Truth, I ſee now, whoſoever of our Friends in *Spain*, or in *Flanders*, or elſewhere, made any ſuch Account of any Aid againſt the Queen, or againſt her Party here, they ſhould have been deceived, if the Army had offered to have landed. For I myſelf have heard, that the beſt of thoſe, that were ſent to *Ely*, did make Offers, yea, by their Letters to the Council here, ſigned with their Hands, that they would adventure their Lives, in Defence of the Queen, whom they named their undoubted *Sovereign Lady* and *Queen*, againſt all foreign Forces, though the ſame were ſent from the Pope, or by his Commandment: Yea, divers of them did offer, that in this Quarrel of invading the Realm with Strangers, they would pre-

preſent their own Bodies, in the foremoſt Ranks, with their Countrymen againſt all Strangers. Whereupon I heard alſo, by a ſecret Friend of mine in the Court, that it was once in ſome Towardneſs of Reſolution amongſt the Counſellors, that they ſhould have been returned, and put to their former Liberty. But the Heat of the War being kindled, with the Knowledge of the King's *Armada*, being at that Time come to the *Groyne*, and the Duke of *Parma*'s Readineſs with ſo great an Army and Shipping in *Flanders*, daily looked for to land in *England*, yea to come to *London*, and a general Murmur of the People, againſt ſ[illegible] *Recuſants* of Reputation, was the Cauſe of the ſtaying of theſe Gentlemen at *Ely*, notwithſtanding their Offers of their Service to the Queen; and ſo they do remain in the Biſhop's Palace there, with Fruition of large Walks about the ſame, altogether without any Impriſonment, other than, that they are not ſuffered to depart into the Town, or Country; and yet, for their Religion, I think ſurely they do, and will, remain conſtant to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*; for the which, nevertheleſs, they are not impeached to any Danger of their Lives, but only charged with a Penalty of Money, becauſe they will not come to the Churches; whereby, by the Law, a Portion of their Revenue is allotted to the Queen, and the reſt left to the Maintenance of them, their Wives, and Children.

By which Kind of Proceedings our Adverſaries here do pretend, that both theſe Gentlemen, and all other of their Qualities, are favourably uſed, that they are not purſued to Death for their Religion, as, they ſay, it was uſed in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and as it is daily uſed (as they ſay) moſt rigorouſly and barbarouſly in *Spain*, againſt the *Engliſhmen* that come thither, only in Trade of Merchandize. And yet, I and others ſometimes, privately ſpeaking with ſuch our Adverſaries, as we think are not maliciouſly bent to have Men proſecuted to Death, only for their Religion (for to ſay the Truth, and as the Proverb is, *not to bely the Devil*, very many of our Contraries are, in that Point, not uncharitable) we do object to them the Executions, by cruel Torments and Deaths, of very many, both here about *London*, and other Parts of the Realm, whom we account as Martyrs, in that they do witneſs, by their Death, their Obedience to the Pope, and the Catholic Church of *Rome*.

To which, theſe our Adverſaries, pretending ſome ſmall Drops of Charity, do anſwer us, that no Execution hath been of any, to their Knowledge, for their Religion, or for Profeſſion thereof; but, for that they, which have been executed, have been found to have wandered in the Realm ſecretly, and in a diſguiſed Manner, which the Adverſaries ſcornfully term as Ruffians, with Feathers, and all Ornaments of light-coloured Apparel, like to the Faſhion of Courtiers, and do uſe many Means to entice all People, with whom they dare adventure to ſpeak, not only to be reconciled to the Pope, and Church of *Rome*, but to induce them by Vows and Oaths to renounce their Obedience to the Queen; to deny her to be their Sovereign, and themſelves to be diſcharged of their Allegiance; and to repute all Magiſtrates under her to be unlawful, and in Conſcience not to be obeyed, with many more ſuch Matters (which I nevertheleſs count to be very vain Calumiations) tending to make the Facts of all ſuch holy Prieſts, as are ſent with Commiſſion to win Men's Souls, to be direct Treaſons againſt the Queen, and the State of the Realm.

Theſe Defenders of theſe Judgments and Executions, contend, and do moſt earneſtly maintain, that all ſuch Prieſts, Jeſuits, Seminaries, and others, ſo perſuading the People againſt the Queen, the Laws, the Government, and State of the Realm, and all others, that are ſo perſuaded by them, are manifeſt Traytors; and ſo they ſay, that their Indictments, and all Proceſs of Law, extended and purſued againſt them, do manifeſtly declare the ſame. Wherein, theſe our Adverſaries do ſometimes, for Maintenance of their Arguments, ſhew the very Copies of their Indictments and Judgments, wherein there is no Mention made of charging them with their Religion, but that they have attempted to perſuade the Queen's Subjects to forſake their Allegiance, and conſequently to be Rebels to their Queen and Sovereign.

In this Sort, theſe Men, for their Advantage, do at all Times, with theſe and many like earneſt Arguments, maintain their Proceedings againſt the holy Prieſts and Jeſuits, that have ſuffered Death for their Conſciences, as juſt and neceſſary. And though, where I and others may reply, without Peril to ourſelves (as ſurely in ſome ſmall Companies we may, uſing modeſt Words) we object the Confeſſion of the Catholick Faith, by the Parties, at their Death, and

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that with great Conſtancy, which our Adverſaries cannot deny, ſo as it may ſeem they die for their Religion, yet is it on the other Part againſt us alledged, and maintained, that they are neither indicted, condemned, nor executed, for their Religion; or for offering of themſelves to die for their Religion, but only for their former Treaſons in conſpiring againſt the Queen, and State of the Realm; no otherwiſe, than of late Time *Babington* and all his Complices, who were condemned for their Attempt to have raiſed War in the Realm, and to have murdered the Queen, and to have ſet up the Queen of *Scots*, all which the ſaid *Babington* and all his Complices voluntarily confeſſed, and were condemned and executed, only for thoſe their great Treaſons; and yet divers of them, at the Place of their Execution, did make Confeſſion of their Catholick Faith, with Offer to die for the ſame, and yet (ſay our Adverſaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that *Babington* and his Complices were put to Death for Religion, but for their Treaſons.

And, for further Maintenance of the coloured Arguments, wherewith I, and others my good, faithful, and Catholick Brethen, are often troubled how to anſwer them, it is alledged, that the great Number of Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, yea, ſome of honourable Calling, and of other meaner Degrees, are known manifeſtly to be of a contrary Religion to the Laws of the Realm, both near the Court and far off, and yet they are never purſued by any Form of Law, to put their Lives in Danger, or queſtioned, or impriſoned, for their Opinions in Religion, whereby to bring them in any Danger. Only ſuch as are preſented or complained of, by the Pariſhioners where they dwell, for never coming to any Church, by the Space of certain Months in a whole Year, are thereof indicted, and afterward being called to anſwer thereto, if they can ſhew no ſuch lawful Excuſe, as the Law hath provided, they are then condemned to pay a Penalty, out of their Goods and Lands, if they have any, and not otherwiſe puniſhed, nor yet, by Inquiſition, any of them examined of their Faith. But yet ſay theſe Defenders, if they ſhew themſelves, by their open Deeds and Facts, to be reconciled from their Allegiance and Obedience to the Queen, and that they will therein perſiſt, then they are therewith charged, and puniſhed according to the Laws, therefore provided.

Theſe Arguments in their Defence I do not repeat as allowing of them, but yet ſurely they do move me, and ſome others that are wiſe, to think, that, indeed, the Raſhneſs of divers comming ſecretly into the Realm, and profeſſing themſelves to be Prieſts, many of them being both very young, unlearned, and of light Behaviour, hath done great Harm to the Goodneſs of our common Cauſe; and if they, and ſuch others, could have temperately and ſecretly inſtructed the People, and uſed more Circumſpection in their own Living and Behaviour, there would have been a greater Increaſe of Numbers, perſuaded in Conſcience to have joined with us in our Profeſſion. Whereof I am the bolder to write to you, my Lord, that you may confer with our Countrymen, that have Acceſs unto you, and that they alſo may deal with the Fathers of the *Jeſuits*, that more Care and Choice be had of ſuch *Engliſhmen*, as are hereafter to be ſent into *England*, and not to ſend every young Man, that hath more Boldneſs, than Learning and Temperance, for ſuch a Function.

In the former Part of this my Declaration to you, of the univerſal Concurrence of all Men of Value, Wealth, and Strength, in the Body of the Realm, to ſerve and defend the Queen and the Realm, I forgot to report unto you the great Numbers of Ships of the Subjects of the Realm; as of *London*, and other Port-towns, and Cities, that voluntarily, this Year, were armed, able to make a full Navy of themſelves for an Army, and all at the proper Coſts of the Burgeſſes, for certain Months, with Men, Victuals, and Munition, which did join with the Queen's own Navy, all this Summer; a Thing never in any former Age heard of, otherwiſe than, that ſuch Ships were always hired, waged, and victualled by the Kings of the Realm; which argued, to the Grief of me and ſome others, a moſt vehement and unaccuſtomed Affection and Devotion in the Cities and Port-towns, ſuch, as they ſhewed themſelves therein ready to fight, as it had been, *pro aris & focis*; i. e. *For their Religion and Liberties.*

Of the Number and Strength of the Queen's own Ships of War, I think you have been ſufficiently informed many Times heretofore. But yet I will make you a true Report of the State of them this preſent Summer, what I have credibly heard thereof; becauſe I have been very ſorry to hear how you and others have been

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therein abuſed; and that not only in this Matter of the Queen's Ships, but in ſome other Things alſo of late, whereof ſome Part hath been here by very many, maliciouſly, and in common Speeches, imputed to your own Invention and Publication: Whereof, in a few Words, I will make ſome Digreſſion, before I ſhall ſhew the Eſtate of the Queen's Navy.

In this Summer paſt, there was printed in *Paris*, by your Direction (as it was reported) a notable Untruth, which I did ſee, and read: That the King of *Scots* had beſieged *Berwick*, and had won it by Aſſault, and poſſeſſed it quietly: Whereof no Part was true, nor any Cauſe to imagine the ſame, though I wiſh it had ſo been: But not for any good Will that I now bear to that King, but for the Trouble to this Queen. For, in Truth, there is no Good for us to be hoped for from the King of *Scots*, howſoever the *Scottiſh* Biſhops in *France* have ſought to make you believe otherwiſe, who is rooted in the *Calviniſt* Religion, as there is never Hope that he can be recovered to the Church of *Rome*: And ſo I think you are of late duly informed, and by his violent Actions againſt divers Catholicks, and againſt all that favour the *Spaniards*, may certainly appear.

And, likewiſe, another great Untruth was lately printed (as your Enemies ſay) by your Direction alſo, in *Paris*, that now in *July* laſt, when the *Spaniſh* Fleet and *Engliſh* had met and fought, betwixt *France* and *England*, the *Spaniards* had then a great Victory, wherein they had ſunk the Lord Admiral of *England*, with ſixteen of the Queen's great Ships, into the Bottom of the Sea, and that all the reſt were driven to fly with the Vice-Admiral *Francis Drake*. Upon theſe two ſo notable Untruths, which the Adverſaries ſpightfully called Don *Bernardin Mendoza*'s *Mendacia* *, many who honour you were right ſorry, that you ſhould give ſo haſty Credit, to publiſh the ſame (as your Enemies ſay) you did: Though I have to my Power, for Clearing of your Honour, given it out, that theſe, and ſuch like, have proceeded of the Lightneſs of the *French*, who commonly print more Lyes than Truths, in ſuch doubtful Times, and not of you, whoſe Honour and Wiſdom I thought would not be juſtly touched with ſo great Untruths and Lyes: Conſidering always, a ſmall Time will diſcover Things that are in Facts reported untruly, and bringeth the Authors to Diſcredit and Infamy. There hath been a Speech alſo reported here, to have proceeded from you in *France*, that hath cauſed a great Miſliking of you in *Scotland*; which is, that you ſhould, in open Aſſembly, and in a Bravery ſay, that the young King of *Scots* (whom you called, in your Language, a Boy) had deceived the King your Maſter: But, if the King's Navy might proſper againſt *England*, the King of *Scots* ſhould loſe his Crown: And of this the King of *Scots* hath been advertiſed out of *France*, and uſeth very evil Language of you, which I will not report.

But now to leave this Digreſſion, and to return to let you know the Truth of the State of the Queen's Navy this Summer: The fame was in the Beginning of the Year, when the Bruit was brought of the Readineſs of the King's *Armada* in *Liſbon*, and of the Army by Land, upon the Sea Coaſts in *Flanders*, with their Shipping, divided into three Companies: The greateſt under the Charge of *Charles* Lord *Howard*, High Admiral of *England*, whoſe Father, Grandfather, Uncles, great Uncles, and others of his Houſe, being of the noble Houſe of the Dukes of *Norfolk*, had alſo been High Admirals afore him, whereof both *France* and *Scotland* have had Proof.

Another Company were appointed to remain with the Lord *Henry Seymour*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*, that was Protector in King *Edward*'s Time, and Brother to the now Earl of *Hertford*: And theſe Companies, for a Time, continued in the narrow Seas, betwixt *England* and *Flanders*, under the Charge of the ſaid High Admiral, to attend on the Duke of *Parma*'s Actions.

A third Company were armed in the Weſt Part of *England*, towards *Spain*, under the Conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*; a Man by Name and Fame known too too well to all *Spain*, and the King's *Indies*, and of great Reputation in *England*: And this was compounded, partly of ſome of the Queen's own Ships, and partly of the Ships of the Weſt Parts.

But, after that it was certainly underſtood, that the great Navy of *Spain* was ready to come out from *Liſbon*, and that the Fame thereof was blown abroad in Chriſtendom, to be invincible, and ſo publiſhed by Books in Print; the Queen and all her Council, I am ſure (whatſoever good Countenance they made) were not a little perplexed, as looking certainly for a dangerous Fight upon the Seas, and after that, for a Landing and Invaſion. Whereupon, the Lord Admiral was commanded to ſail with the greateſt

* *i. e.* Sir *Bernardin Mendoza*'s Lyes.

Ships, to the Weſt of *England*, towards *Spain*, to join with *Drake*, whom he made Vice-Admiral, and to continue in the Seas betwixt *France* and *England*, to ſtop the Landing of the Navy of *Spain*. And, with the Lord Admiral, went in certain of the Queen's Ships, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son to the laſt Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lord *Sheffield*, Son to the Admiral's Siſter, who is Wife to the Queen's Ambaſſador in *France*, with a great Number of Knights of great Livelode: And at that Time the Lord *Henry Seymour* was left with a good Number of Ships in the narrow Seas, upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, to attend on the Duke of *Parma*.

Whilſt theſe two Navies were thus divided, I confeſs to you, that I, and others of our Part, ſecretly made full Account that none of all theſe *Engliſh* Ships durſt abide the Sight of the *Armada* of *Spain*: Or, if they would abide any Fight, yet they ſhould all be ſunk at the firſt Encounter. For ſuch conſtant Opinion we had conceived, by the Reports of the World, that the Greatneſs and Number of the Ships, and the Army of *Spain*, being the choſen Veſſels of all the King's Dominions, was ſo exceſſive monſtrous, beyond all the Navies that ever had been ſeen in Chriſtendom (not excepting the *Armada* at *Lepanto*) that no Power could abide in their Way. But how far deceived we were therein, a very ſhort Time, even the firſt Day, did manifeſtly, to the great Diſhonour of *Spain*, diſcover. For when the Catholick Army came to the Coaſt of *England*, which, indeed, the *Engliſh* confeſs, did ſeem far greater than they looked for, and that they were aſtoniſhed at the Sight of them: Yet the Lord Admiral and *Drake*, having but only fifty of the *Engliſh* Ships out of the Haven of *Plymouth*, where the reſt remained for a new Revictualling, without tarrying for the reſt of the Navy that was in *Plymouth*, they did offer preſent Fight, and furiouſly purſued the whole Navy of *Spain*, being above one-hundred and ſixty Ships: So as the ſame with the furious and continual Shot of the *Engliſh* one whole Day, fled without any returning. And after, the *Engliſh* Navy, being increaſed to an hundred great and ſmall, renewed their Fight with terrible great Shot all the whole Day, gaining always the Wind of the *Spaniſh* Navy. And as I am ſorry to remember the Particularities, which the *Engliſh* have largely written to their own Praiſe: So to ſpeak all in one Word, for nine Days together, they ſtill forced them to fly, and deſtroyed, ſunk, and took, in three Day's Fight, divers of the greateſt Ships: Out of which, eſpecially out of the principal great Ship of *Andaluſia*, and out of the *Admiranta* * of *Guipuſque*; and thirdly, out of the principal great Galliaſs of *Naples*, great Numbers were brought (beſide many more killed and drowned) to *London*, and to ſundry other Ports of the Realm, to the great Diſhonour of *Spain*: Amongſt which Priſoners were a great Number of Captains, both for Land and Sea. And beſides that, which deeply blemiſheth the Honour of *Spain*, and vexeth me at my Heart, to conſider the Inequality of Fortune, it is vaunted by our Adverſaries, that, in all the Time of theſe Fights ſo many Days, the *Spaniards* did never take, or ſink, any *Engliſh* Ship or Boat, or break any Maſt, or took any one Man Priſoner. A Matter, that, indeed, theſe *Spaniards*, which are taken, do marvel at greatly, and chafe thereat: So as ſome of them, in their Anguiſh of Mind, let not to ſay, that, in all theſe Fights, Chriſt ſhewed himſelf a *Lutheran* †.

And though ſuch Speeches be unadviſed, and not to be regarded, yet ſurely it is moſt manifeſt, that in all this Voyage, from the Coming of the Navy out of *Liſbon*, even to this Hour, God did ſhew no Favour to ours any one Day, as he did continually to theſe *Lutherans*: Which, perchance, may be done for our Good, to correct us, as putting our Truſt wholly in our worldly Strength, and to the Confuſion hereafter of the *Lutherans*, by puffing them up, being his Enemies, with Proſperity for a Time, to be afterwards the Cauſe of their Ruin. And amongſt other Things reported, to the Diſhonour of the Duke of *Medina*, who, it is ſaid, was lodged in the Bottom of his Ship for his Safety, and to a great Touch to the Commanders of the *Spaniſh* Navy, that they never would turn their Ships, nor ſtay them, to defend any of their own Ships that were forced to tarry behind, but ſuffered divers to periſh, as are good Witneſſes thereof the three great Veſſels, one wherein Don *Pedro de Valdez* was taken; another Galleon of *Guipuſque*, that was ſpoiled by Fire, and

* Admiral's Ship. † Note, that all the foreign *Papiſts* ſcarce know any other Diſtinction in the Reformed Churches, than *Lutheran* and *Calviniſt*, and generally ſuppoſe the Church of *England* to be a *Lutheran* Church.

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the noble Galliaſs, wherein *Hugo de Moncada* was ſlain: Of which Lack of Care, by the Duke of *Medina*, theſe *Spaniards*, that are taken, give very evil Report. The like is ſaid in *Zeland*, by the *Spaniards* there, that were ſaved with *Diego de Pimentelli*, though the Galleon, wherein he was, being beaten with the *Engliſh* Shot, and not ſuccoured by the Navy of *Spain*, did there periſh in their Coming to *Fluſhing*, and ſo alſo did another likewiſe periſh for Lack of Succour, before *Oſtend*.

And now I muſt needs think that you are ſtricken with ſome Grief of Mind, or rather with ſome Anger towards me, to hear from me ſo much of thoſe adverſe Things, although they are too true: And, therefore, I alſo imagine you may be deſirous, for your better Contentation, to underſtand what Opinions we that are here have, being thus fruſtrate of our expected Delivery, by the Defeat of this Enterpriſe: Whether we do comfort ourſelves with a Conceit that this Action may be, by any Probability, once again renewed this next Year, for the Recovery of our loſt Hope this Year, famouſly ſpoken of by the Number of *Eighty-eight*, and ſo verified, to the Loſs of all Catholicks. Wherein, ſurely, for our own Parts, as by ſecret Conference, I find, with many with whom I have ſecretly, of late, upon this unfortunate Accident, conferred, we cannot judge of any Likelihood of good Succeſs for any long Time: And if there ſhould any be hoped for, ſurely the Sea-forces of the Catholick King muſt of Neceſſity be more increaſed, and better alſo governed than they were this Year. For this we here do conſider, that this Enterpriſe of Invaſion and Conqueſt, was always principally grounded upon many probable Opinions of the evil State of the Realm *.

Firſt, of the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh* Navy; for ſo, you know, you were divers Ways this laſt Year advertiſed from hence; and ſo, alſo, many of us here did conceive the ſame: Wherein we ſee, by all this Year's Service with theſe Ships, we did all notably err.

Next, of a ſuppoſed evil Contentment of a Number of People in this Land to ſerve the Queen, and her Government, againſt her Enemies.

Laſtly, and moſt principally, of a great, ſtrong Party that would be found here in the Favour of us for the Catholick Religion, that ſhould take Arms againſt the Queen, upon the firſt Sight of the Catholick Navy on the Coaſts of *England*. Of all which Opinions, ſettled in good Men's Minds, in Manner of Judgments, we know that none in the World did more conſtantly aſſure the King thereof, than you: Which, as the Matters have evil ſucceeded, may, I fear, bring you in Danger of his Indignation, although I know you meant very well therein.

And as theſe three Opinions have all failed this Year, ſo I aſſure you, though ſome of ours on that Side the Seas may perſiſt in their former Opinions againſt the Experience lately ſeen (as it is likely they may be forced to do, to maintain themſelves in Credit, for continuing their neceſſary Relief from the Pope, and the King, having no other Means to keep them from Starving or Begging) yet, becauſe I would not have you further deceived by them, who have not been preſent in the Realm, to ſee ſuch contrary Proofs againſt all their Conceits, as I and others have done: I will ſhew you a great Number of manifeſt Arguments, though I am ſorry at my Heart to remember them, whereby you, in your Wiſdom (if you be not blinded by others) ſhall ſee it moſt certain, that theſe former Opinions, for Comfort to be had from hence, will prove the next Year as ſtrong againſt us, and, in ſome Part, more ſtrong than they proved this Year, if any Account ſhould be made thereof.

Firſt, for the Navy of *England*, which hath this Year, to the Sight of the World, proved to be of great Force and Value, for thoſe Seas, and able to overmatch, in their Manner of Fight, double to their Number, of the great Galleons, Carracks, Galliaſſes, or Gallies, it is certain that it will be greatly increaſed this next Year: For, I know, that, within theſe few Days, Bargains are already made, and Impreſt of Money delivered, and certain ſent into the *Eſtlands*, for great Store of all maritime Proviſions. And, as for the Increaſe of the Number of good Ships for the Queen's proper Uſe, there is already a great Quantity of Timber ready, and Order given to fell more in *November* and *December* next, in the Countries near both to the Sea, and to the *Thames*, to build a Number of Ships of War, equal to thoſe whoſe Service was ſeen this Year, to have overmatched the great *Armadas* and Caſtles of *Spain* and *Italy*. And, furthermore, to join with the

* This ought to be well remarked; and it is upon theſe Suppoſitions, that the Enemy did ever attack us.

Navy of *England*, this Year following, not only the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, but alſo Ships of *Denmark*, and other Parts of *Eſtland*, will certainly be had in great Numbers, whereof there was none at all required this Year paſt, to join with the Navy of *England*; only certain *Hollanders* and *Zelanders* offered their Service (according as they are bound) in the End of this Summer, ſince the Conflict near *Calais*, to join with ſome of the *Engliſh* Navy in the narrow Seas, to defend the Iſſuing of the Duke of *Parma* out of the Ports of *Flanders*: And in that Service, at this Time, there are above forty and ſix good Ships of War, with the Vice-Admiral *Juſtinian*, of *Naſſau*, a Man that agreeth too well with the *Engliſh* Nation, and is a ſworn Enemy to all *Spaniards*, and Catholicks: And as it is reported, for certain, there are threeſcore more coming out of *North-Holland* to the Seas, for the ſame Purpoſe: So as it is to be doubted, that this Realm, this next Year, will be double as ſtrong as it was this laſt Year.

As to the *ſecond* Branch of our Hope depending upon Opinion of ſome great Miſcontentment of ſundry Perſons againſt the Queen, the Proof of the Contrary ſo appeared this Year, both of her Actions, to maintain the Liking of all her People, and of the general earneſt Devotion ſhewed to her by all Eſtates, Noble and Mean, Rich and Poor, as I think no Prince chriſtened ever had greater Cauſe of Comfort in her People; which I may judge to breed a Pride in her. And, to recompenſe the ſame, ſhe did moſt notably ſhew herſelf in this Time, even when moſt Danger was threatened, in all her Actions towards her People, as careful for their Weal, and for the Safety of her Realm, without any ſpecial or particular Proviſion, or Regard to her own Perſon, as ever any Prince could do. Firſt, to let her People underſtand what Care ſhe had to make her Realm ſtrong againſt Invaſion, ſhe politically, yea moſt carefully, by her own frequent Directions, cauſed her whole Realm to be put in Arms; ſhe took Account thereof herſelf by monthly Certificates, from ſuch as were made her Lieutenants, in every Shire of her Realm; ſhe cauſed Armour, Powder, Weapons, to be ſent to all Countries, and Ordnance to all Maritime Countries: There were alſo ſundry Armies deſcribed, to defend every Coaſt of the Sea, and as I heard it reported, by ſome that did know the Secrets of the Court, was importunate with her Council to leave no Day unoccupied, to bring theſe Services to Effect; and yet ſhe did ſtill continue her Commiſſioners, in the *Low Countries*, to treat of Peace, which ſurely, ſhe deſired to have obtained, ſo that ſhe might have had the ſame, with certain Conditions. So as to content her People, ſhe did both treat and deſire Peace, and did not, in the mean Time, neglect to make her Realm ſtrong for Defence, if Peace could not be gotten. But in the End, when her Demands were wholly refuſed (whereof we and all Catholicks were moſt glad) and that ſhe underſtood very certainly, that the Army of the Duke of *Parma* ſhould come firſt to deſtroy the City of *London*, ſhe revoked her Commiſſioners, approached *London* in Perſon, and did lie, as it were, in the Suburbs of the ſame, whereby they of the City took great Comfort, having daily in Shew and Muſter of their own ten-thouſand Men armed and trained of very able Men of the City, and in Readineſs thirty-thouſand more, able to fight.

She cauſed alſo an Army to be brought to incamp, near the Sea-ſide, upon the River of *Thames*, betwixt the Sea and the City, twenty Miles beneath the City; and, after the Army was come thither, ſhe would not by any Advice be ſtayed, but for Comfort of her People, and to ſhew her own Magnanimity of Heart (as ſhe ſaid, ſhe would ſo do, though ſhe was a Woman) ſhe went to that Army lying betwixt the City and the Sea, under the Charge of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, placing herſelf, betwixt the Enemy and her City, and there viewed her Army, and paſſed though it divers Times, lodged in the Borders of it, returned again, and dined in the Army: And firſt, ſaw the People as they were, by their Countries, lodged and quartered, in their ſeveral Camps, which ſhe viewed, from Place to Place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into Battles, ready, as it were, to fight with any Enemy, ſhe rode round about them, and did view them curiouſly, being accompanied only but with the General, and three or four others attending on her: But, yet to ſhew her State, I well marked it, ſhe had the Sword carried before her, by the Earl of *Ormond*.

There ſhe was generally ſaluted with Cries, with Shouts, with all Tokens of Love, of Obedience, of Readineſs and Willingneſs to fight for her, as ſeldom hath been ſeen, in a Camp and Army, conſidering ſhe was a Queen; and all tended to ſhew a marvellous Concord, in a mutual Love, betwixt a Queen and her Subjects; and

and of Reverence, and Obedience of Subjects, to a Sovereign; all which ſhe acquitted with very princely Thanks, and good Speeches. I could enlarge this Deſcription, with many more Particularities of mine own Sight, for thither I went, as many others did; and all that Day, wandering from Place to Place, I never heard any Word ſpoken of her, but in praiſing her for her ſtately Perſon, and princely Behaviour; and in praying for her Life and Safety, and curſing of all her Enemies, both Traytors, and all Papiſts, with earneſt Deſire to venture their Lives for her Safety.

And, beſides ſuch particular Acclamations, the whole Army, in every Quarter, did devoutly at certain Times ſing in her Hearing, in very tunable Manner, divers *Pſalms*, put into Form of *Prayers* in Praiſe of Almighty God, no ways to be miſliked, which ſhe greatly commended, and with very earneſt Speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be ſure, I do not with any Comfort, but to give you theſe manifeſt Arguments, that neither this Queen doth diſcontent her People, nor her People do ſhew any Diſcontentation, in any Thing that they be commanded to do, for her Service, as heretofore hath been imagined. She had alſo an Army of about forty-thouſand Footmen, and of ſix-thouſand Horſemen, under the Charge of the Lord *Hunſdon*, Lord Chamberlain, as Lieutenant of that Army, made ready from the Inland Parts of the Realm, to be about her own Perſon, without diſarming the Maritime Countries; ſo as many marched out of ſundry Countries, towards her, at the very Time that ſhe was in the Camp; ſome came to the Suburbs, and Towns, near *London*, whom ſhe remanded to their Countries, becauſe their Harveſt was at Hand, and many of them would not be countermanded, but ſtill approached onward on their own Charges (as they ſaid) to ſee her Perſon, and to fight with them that boaſted to conquer the Realm. But, though the greateſt Number of the ſaid Soldiers were compelled to return, yet the Captains, Leaders, and the principal Knights and Gentlemen came to the Court, to offer their Service; and thoſe were graciouſly accepted of her, with many Thanks, and are now for the more Part returned with a full Determination, and firm Promiſe to continue their Bands in ſuch Readineſs, as, upon a few Hours Warning, they will aſſuredly return with them in good Array.

Beſide theſe foreſaid Arguments to diſprove the Opinion of Diſcontentment of the People, which heretofore hath been thought a great Furtherance to this honourable Action, I will alſo remember you ſome other more notable Actions, to prove both Contentation and Readineſs, in all the Nobility of the Realm at this Time, that were not tied to abide in their Countries by Reaſon of their Offices, as Lieutenants and Governors there, for martial Services. For, as ſoon as it was heard that the Queen was come near *London*, and that the Armies were in gathering to come out of the Countries, for Defence of all Invaſions, and Reports brought from the Sea-coaſts of the Appearance of the *Spaniſh* Navy, all the Noblemen in the Realm, from Eaſt and Weſt, from North and South, excepting only ſuch great Lords as had ſpecial Governments in the Countries, that might not lawfully be abſent from their Charge, and ſome few that were not able to make Forces according to their Deſire, came to the Queen, bringing with them, according to their Degrees, and to the uttermoſt of their Power, goodly Bands of Horſemen, both Lances, Light-horſemen, and ſuch other as are termed *Carbines* or *Argeletiers* *, lodging their Bands round about *London*, and maintaining them in Pay at their own Charges all the Time, until the Navy of *Spain* was certainly known to be paſſed beyond *Scotland*. And of theſe Noblemen, many ſhewed their Bands of their Horſemen, before the Queen, even in the Fields afore her own Gate, to the great Marvel of Men of good Judgment (as I heard reported) for that the Number of them was ſo great, and ſo well armed, and horſed, as knowing that they were no Parcel of the Numbers of Horſemen limited in every Country, and put into Bands with the Armies deſcribed, it was thought, before they were ſeen, that there had not been ſo many ſpare Horſes of ſuch Valour in the whole Realm, excepting the North Part of *England*, towards *Scotland*, whoſe Forces conſiſt chiefly of Horſemen.

The firſt that ſhewed his Bands to the Queen, was that noble, virtuous, honourable Man, the Viſcount *Montague*, who, howſoever Men do judge of him for Opinion in Religion, yet, to tell you the Truth, he is reported always to

* Troopers.

have

have profeſſed, as now alſo at this Time he did profeſs and proteſt ſolemnly, both to the Queen, and to all her Court, in open Aſſemblies, that he now came, though he was very ſickly, and in Age, with a full Reſolution to live and die in Defence of the Queen, and of his Country, againſt all Invaders, whether it were Pope, King, or Potentate whatſoever; and, in that Quarrel, he would hazard his Life, his Children, his Lands and Goods. And, to ſhew his Mind agreeably thereto, he came perſonally himſelf before the Queen, with his Band of Horſemen, being almoſt two-hundred; the ſame being led by his own Sons, and with them a young Child, very comely ſeated on Horſeback, being the Heir of his Houſe, that is, the eldeſt Son to his Son and Heir: A Matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend the ſame, to ſee a Grandfather, Father, and Son, at one Time on Horſeback, afore a Queen, for her Service; though, in Truth, I was ſorry to ſee our Adverſaries ſo greatly pleaſed therewith. But I cannot conceal it from your Lordſhip's Knowledge, becauſe I think this Nobleman is known unto you, having been uſed as an Ambaſſador to the Catholick King many Years paſt by this Queen (as I have heard) to require Confirmation of the Treaties of Amity, betwixt both their Fathers. And of this Nobleman's Conditions, I think, there be ſome others, of whom there is no Account to be made, that they will give Favour to any Attempt againſt the Queen, or to any Invaſion of the Realm.

There were alſo many, at the ſame Time, that made Shews of great Numbers of ſerviceable Horſes, whereof, though it be no Comfort for you to hear, yet it is good that you be not abuſed for Lack of Knowledge, how the preſent State is here; that you may better judge hereafter, what may be done to recover this late Loſs and Diſhonour. At this Time the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Windſor*, with ſome Knights and Gentlemen with them, ſhewed their Bands, as the Lord *Montague* had done; and, after them, the Lord Chancellor ſhewed goodly Bands of Horſemen and Footmen at his own Houſe, very many and ſtrong. And, within one or two Days after, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Compton*, and, in the End of the Day, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the Lord *Rich*, beſides ſundry Knights of the Realm, ſhewed every of them ſeveral ſtrong Bands of Horſemen, to the great Liking of the Queen, and of all the People that were there, being many Thouſands. And, within two Days after that, the Earl of *Eſſex*, being Maſter of the Queen's Horſe, with certain principal Gentlemen, his Servants, Friends, and Followers, ſhewed before the Queen above three-hundred Horſes of all Service, and a great Number of *Carbines*, and a fair Band of Footmen, all Muſqueteers.

This Shew exceed in Number any other particular Band, and the Earl himſelf, with a great Number of Lances, horſed and armed, did run very many Courſes, and eſpecially with the Earl of *Cumberland*, as they call it, the *Courſe of the Field*, which I had never ſeen before; and did alſo himſelf, and his Company, *tournay* on Horſeback a very long Time, and cauſed alſo his *Carbines*, and his Footmen, to make many Skirmiſhes there, to the great Liking of the Queen, and of the Multitude of People, which were many Thouſands. Amongſt whom I heard many vehement Speeches againſt all *Engliſh* Papiſts, calling them all Traytors, wiſhing alſo, that the *Spaniards* had been there in that Field with treble the Number, to make Proof of the Value of *Engliſhmen*; all which I heard to my great Grief, with many Curſes againſt all their Countrymen, ſaying, that they, as arrant Traytors to their native Country, had villanouſly ſold, as far as in them did lie, the Liberty of their own Country to *Spaniards* and other Papiſts. It behoved me not there to have contraried any of them, for ſurely, if I had, their Rancour was ſo ſtirred up, by the Comfort of theſe fair Shews of Horſemen, as they would there in the Field in their Rage have killed me, and cut me in a thouſand Pieces.

Beſides theſe Lords above-named, there were brought to the Town other fair Bands, by the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord *Audley*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Dacres*, Lord *Lomley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Lord *Sturton*, Lord *Darcy*, Lord *Sands*, Lord *Mordaunt*, and by every one that were of the Privy Council; ſo as, by Eſtimation, there were about *London*, at that Time, above five-thouſand Horſes ready to ſerve the Queen, beſides all the Horſemen that were raiſed in all other Countries for the Armies and the Sea Coaſts. And beſides theſe, I heard in a very good Place, where I was ſilent, that there were, by Account, twice as many in Readineſs, with the Noblemen that were abſent, attending on their Charges in their ſeveral Lieutenancies. As the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, one counted

counted to be the ſtrongeſt Man of his own Furniture for Horſe and Armour, who is Lieutenant of *Hampſhire*, with the Earl of *Suſſex*, Captain of *Portſmouth*, and Lieutenant alſo of *Dorſetſhire*. Next to him is in Account the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, Lieutenant of a great Number of Counties, and of great Power of his own, both for Horſemen and Footmen, beſides the Power of the Lord *Talbot* his Son. The Earl of *Darby* alſo, though he was in *Flanders*, from whence he came lately, yet his Son, the Lord *Strange*, Lieutenant of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, in his Abſence, is ſaid to have raiſed a great Power of Horſemen. And to ſhew the popular Affection to this Earl in his Country, I heard it for certain reported, that, when the Earl continued longer in *Flanders* than they liked, and doubting of his Return, for that they ſuppoſed the Duke of *Parma* would ſtay him, and the other Commiſſioners there, the People of his Country, in a Generality, did amongſt themſelves determine, that the Lord *Strange*, the Earl's Son, and all the Manhood of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, would go over the Seas and fetch the Earl Home. A Matter for no Purpoſe to be ſpoken of, but to note the Force of the Love which the People do bear to the Earl, who, with his Son, is firmly bent againſt the Pope.

The Earl of *Bath* alſo, Lieutenant of *Devonſhire*, had, as is ſaid, great Forces of his own ready to have impeached the Landing of any Strangers in *Devonſhire*. The Earl of *Pembroke* alſo, being Lieutenant of *Somerſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire*, and Lord Preſident of all *Wales*, was ready to have come to the Queen with three-hundred Horſeman, and five-hundred Footmen, all of his own Retinue, leaving all the Countries under his Charge fully furniſhed.

I omit here to ſpeak of the Bands of Horſemen, belonging to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, which though they were ready to have been ſhewed at the ſame Time; yet the Earls, hearing of the *Spaniſh* Army approaching, went voluntarily to the Sea-ſide in all Haſte, and came to the Queen's Navy before the Fight afore *Calais*. Where they, being in ſeveral of the Queen's Ships, did, with their own Perſons, valiant Services againſt the King's *Armada*. And to ſhew the great Readineſs in a Generality of ſundry others at the ſame Time, to adventure their Lives in the ſaid Service, there went to the Sea at the ſame Time divers Gentlemen of good Reputation, who voluntarily without any Charge, and without Knowledge of the Queen, put themſelves into the Queen's Navy in ſundry Ships, wherein they ſerved at the Fight before *Calais*; of which Number, being very great, I remember that the Names of ſome of them were theſe: Mr. *Henry Brook*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Cecil*, Son and Heir to the Lord Treaſurer, Sir *William Hatton*, Heir to the Lord Chancellor, Sir *Horatio Pallavicino*, a Knight of *Genoa*, Maſter *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Brother to the Lord *Mountjoy*. But much Speech is of two Gentlemen of the Court that went to the Navy at the ſame Time, whoſe Names are *Thomas Gerard*, and *William Hervy*, to me not known, but now here about *London* ſpoken of with great Fame. Theſe two adventured out of a Ship-boat, to ſcale the great Galliaſs, wherein *Moncada* was, and entered the ſame only with their Rapiers; a Matter commonly ſpoken, that never the like was hazarded before, conſidering the Height of the Galliaſs compared to a Ship-boat.

And yet, to make it more manifeſt, how earneſt all Sorts of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, were to adventure their Lives in this Service, it is reported that the Earl of *Oxford*, who is one of the moſt antient Earls of this Land, went alſo to the Sea to ſerve in the Queen's Army. There went alſo, for the ſame Purpoſe, a ſecond Son of the Lord Treaſurer, called, as I can remember, *Robert Cecil*: There went alſo, about that Time, to the Seas, the Lord *Dudley*, an antient Baron of the Realm, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Gentleman of the Queen's Privy Chamber, and in his Company a great Number of young Gentlemen, amongſt whom I remember the Names of the Heir of Sir *Thomas Cecil*, called *William Cecil*, of *Edward Darcy*, *Arthur George*, and ſuch others; with the Rehearſal of whom I do not comfort myſelf, but only to ſhew you, how far we have been deceived, to think that we ſhould have had a Party here for us, when, as we ſee both by Land and Sea, all Sorts of Men were ſo ready of their own Charges, without either Commandment or Entertainment, to adventure their Lives in Defence of the Queen and the Realm.

And for the Earl of *Huntingdon*'s Forces, being Lieutenant General in the North, it is reported, that he hath put in Readineſs for an Army in *Yorkſhire*, and other Countries commonly limited to ſerve againſt *Scotland*, to the Number of forty-thouſand well-armed Footmen, and near

Hand

Hand ten-thouſand Horſemen, to come to him, if any Occaſion of Invaſion ſhould be in the North Parts, to whom are joined with their Forces three Lords in the North, the Lord *Scroop*, Lord *Darcy*, and Lord *Euers*.

There are alſo divers other Lords that are Lieutenants of Countries, that have in Readineſs of their proper Charges good Numbers of Horſemen: As the Earl of *Kent*, Lieutenant of *Bedfordſhire*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, Lord Chamberlain, Lieutenant of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Cobham*, Lieutenant of *Kent*, the Lord *Gray* of *Buckinghamſhire*, the Lord *North* of *Cambridgeſhire*, Lord *Chandos* of *Glouceſterſhire*, Lord *St. John* of *Huntingdonſhire*, Lord *Buckhurſt* of *Suſſex*; and ſo, by this particular Recital not unmeet for your Knowledge, it is to be noted what Diſpoſition the Nobility of the Realm had, at this Time, to have withſtood all Invaſion. And, if perchance you ſhall peruſe your ordinary Catalogue of the great Lords of the Realm, you ſhall find, that theſe are the Subſtance of all the great Lords, ſaving three young Earls within Age, *Rutland*, *Southampton*, and *Bedford*; all three brought up in perverſe Religion. And ſo remaineth to be ſpoken of the Earl of *Arundel*, who is in the Tower, for attempting to have fled out of the Realm, by Provocation of him that now is Cardinal *Allen*; who, howſoever he may be affected to the Catholick Religion, yet I hear moſt certainly that he offereth his Life in Defence of the Queen againſt all the World.

And where Account was made to have a Party in this Realm, which by theſe former Relations appear could not be poſſible, the whole Nobility being aſſured to the Queen, and the Force of the People not violently bent that Way; in this very Time was offered to the Queen as great a Party for her, to come to her Service, and Defence of the Realm, as, out of all Chriſtendom, ſhe ſhould not have to all Reſpects a ſtronger: Which was the King of *Scots*, who, hearing of the intended Invaſion of the Realm, ſent a Gentleman to the Queen, with his Letter, as I credibly heard, to offer her all the Power that he had to defend her and her Realm; and, if ſhe ſo would, he would come in his own Perſon and hazard his own Life to defend this Realm againſt all Invaders for Religion, or any other Pretence whatſoever. So by this you may ſee, what Account may be made of any vain Promiſes, made in the Name of this King.

And, becauſe you ſhall perceive that I have good Means to have Intelligence of any other Forces of the Realm for Defence thereof, it is moſt certain, as I hear, and I have ſeen a Liſt or Roll of a great Number both of Horſemen and Footmen, which the Biſhops of the Realm have of their own Charges, with the Contribution of the Clergy, raiſed up in Bands of Horſemen and Footmen, which are to be led by noble Gentlemen at the Queen's Nomination; and theſe Bands muſt be vainly termed, *Milites Sacri*; i. e. *Holy Knights*.

As to the *laſt* Point of the *three* Foundations of the principal Hope conceived, whereupon the Invaſion was chiefly grounded and taken in Hand, which was moſt certainly and generally believed, that there ſhould be found here in the Realm a ſtrong Party of Catholicks, againſt the Queen, to join and aſſiſt the Invaders, upon the Appearing of the *Spaniſh* Navy; by my former Relations of the general, great, and fervent Love of the People towards the Queen, and of the great Offers of Service now made by the whole Nobility of the Realm, this their Foundation may appear to have been wrong laid, only by vain Imaginations, as it were, upon a Quickſand, or rather as flying in the Air. And yet it appeareth very truly that no ſmall Account was made hereof by the King of *Spain*, and by his principal Miniſters; for there is nothing at this preſent more univerſally, with one lamentable Voice, ſpoken of, by all the Multitude of the *Spaniards*, now here Priſoners, yea by the chiefeſt of them, than that they now evidently ſee, that the King their Maſter was with ſuch Informations greatly abuſed, yea rather betrayed. For they ſay, there was no Man of Value in all this Army, but he heard it conſtantly affirmed, and ſo delivered for Comfort of all that ſerved therein, before they were ſhipped, that they ſhould not be afraid of any Reſiſtance to land in *England*, for that there was good Aſſurance given to the King, that they ſhould find a ſtrong Army of Catholicks ready in their Favour, as ſoon as ever their Navy ſhould be ſeen upon the Seacoaſt, and ſo they all here ſay they were encouraged to come to this Journey; otherwiſe, many of them ſwear they would never have come of Ship-board; ſo unlikely, they ſay, it was, and againſt all Reaſon, to invade a Realm, with Opinion to conquer it, without both ſome Title of Right, and a Party alſo, but eſpecially without a good ſure Party.

And

And, therefore, now finding this Report very falſe, many of theſe Priſoners do by Name curſe you, as being the King's Ambaſſador; as him, they ſay, who, upon the Opinion of the Knowledge which you had gotten in *England*, was therein more credited than any other, and had theſe many Years together tempted the King, their Maſter, upon Hope, and other ſuch like Perſuaſions, to attempt ſuch a Matter as this was; being utterly in all Wiſdom to have been condemned, without ſome Certainty of this latter Part, eſpecially to have had a ſtrong Party here. They alſo curſe all ſuch *Engliſhmen*, as have fled out of this Country, whom they ſpare not to call *arrant Traytors*, for offering the Sale of their Country to the Pope and the King of *Spain*. And theſe Priſoners add alſo, that they were borne in Hand, that this Country was ſo open to march in, and ſo weak to withſtand any Force, and the People ſo miſerable, as they thought the Conqueſt thereof had been of no more Difficulty, than the Overcoming of a Number of naked *Indians* was at the Beginning of the Conqueſt thereof by King *Ferdinand*.

And now, for Strength of this Country and People: Many of theſe Priſoners having been brought from the Sea-coaſts hither to *London*, whereby they have obſerved the Country and the People, do ſpeak marvellouſly thereof, counting the ſame invincible, otherwiſe than by Treaſon of ſome great Party within the Realm. But whether all theſe Speeches, which are commonly reported of them, proceed from their Hearts, or that they ſpeak thus to pleaſe the *Engliſh*, becauſe they are well uſed by them, who alſo are eaſily deceived with Flattery, I know not; but ſure I am they do thus ſpeak daily, with outward Shew of great Paſſions againſt ſuch as have been Perſuaders to the King for this Journey. Divers of them alſo which are of good Judgment, and have heard of ſuch of the *Engliſh* baniſhed Men as have been in *Spain*, and have known ſome of them there (as of long Time, Sir *Francis Engleſield*, and of late, the Lord *Paget* and his Brother) have curiouſly inquired, of what Power they were and Credit here, to have a Party. They alſo inquired of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*; although of him they confeſs he is a Man but of ſmall Government. But our Adverſaries here have ſo abaſed theſe and all the reſt, to have been of no Credit to carry any Numbers of Men, but by the Queen's Authority, when they were at their beſt; as their Priſoners wonder how the King could be ſo deceived to give them Penſions, otherwiſe than for Charity, becauſe of their Religion. But they confeſs they have often heard in *Spain*, how the King was once notably deceived, when one *Thomas Stukeley*, a private *Engliſhman*, who fled out of *Ireland* for Debt and other lewd Actions into *Spain*, not being worth one Penny, his Debts being paid, and but the ſecond Son of a mean Gentleman, pretended, and was believed in *Spain* (by ſo intitling himſelf) to be a Duke, a Marquis, and an Earl of *Ireland*, and ſo was a long Time entertained, as a Man that could do great Service againſt the Queen of *England*; until, at length, the King underſtood his Falſhood, and baniſhed him out of *Spain*. And after, repairing to *Rome*, was by the Pope alſo maintained for a Time, until he was diſcovered even by ſome good Catholicks, that could not endure the Pope's Holineſs to be ſo groſly mocked; of whom, ſome of the Priſoners, uſing merry Speeches, how both the Emperor *Charles*, and afterwards this King and the Pope, were ſo notably deceived by this *Stukeley*, do conclude merrily, that they think ſome of theſe *Engliſh*, that have thus abuſed the King, have followed *Stukeley*'s Steps. And, in very Truth, I and many others have been very often aſhamed to hear ſo broad Speeches of the King and of the Pope, yea of the Emperor *Charles*, whom ſuch a Companion, as *Stukeley* was, could ſo notably deceive; and it was the more to be marvelled, how he could deceive the Catholick King, conſidering he was known to many of his Council, at the King's being in *England*, to have been but a vaunting Beggar, and a Ruffian, and, afterwards, a Pirate againſt the *Spaniards*.

Now, my Lord Ambaſſador, by theſe my large Relations of the evil Things paſt, and of the Opinions of ſuch as I have lately dealt withal, with mine own Conceit alſo, which I do not vainly imagine, your Lordſhip may ſee, in the *firſt Part*, our preſent Calamity, and miſerable Eſtate: In the *ſecond Part*, the State of this Queen, her Realm, her People, their Minds, their Strength, ſo far contrary to the Expectation of the Pope's Holineſs, the King Catholick, and eſpecially of you (my Lord) and all others that have been in Hand theſe many Years with this Action, as I know not what Courſe ſhall, or may be thought meet to take, ſeeing it is ſeen by Experience, that by Force, our Cauſe cannot be relieved. Neither will any Change amend the Matter, when this Queen ſhall end her Days,

as all Princes are mortal. For both the Univerſality of the People, through the Realm, are ſo firmly and deſperately bent againſt our Religion, as nothing can prevail againſt their united Forces: And whoſoever ſhall by Right ſucceed to this Crown, after the Queen (who is likely to live as long as any King in Chriſtendom) if the Crown ſhould come to the King of *Scots*, or to any other of the Blood Royal, as there are very many, within this Realm, deſcended both of the Royal Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, there is no Account to be made, but every one of them, that now live at this Day, are known to be as vehemently diſpoſed to withſtand the Authority of the Pope, as any of the moſt earneſt Proteſtants or Hereticks in the World. So as to conclude, after all Circumſtances well conſidered, for the preſent, I know no other Way, but to commit the Cauſe to Almighty God, and to all the Saints in Heaven, with our continual Prayers; and in Earth, to the holy Counſels of the Pope, and his Cardinals, with our Supplications to relieve the afflicted Number of our exiled Brethren, and to ſend into the Realm diſcreet, holy, and learned Men, that may only, in ſecret Manner, without intermeddling in Matters of Eſtate, by teaching us, confirm us in our Faith, and gain, with charitable Inſtruction, others that are not rooted in Hereſy.

And for Relief of ſuch as are forced to pay yearly great Sums of Money out of their Revenue, becauſe they forbear to come to the Church, it were to be charitably conſidered, whether there might not be ſome Diſpenſation from the Pope's Holineſs, for ſome few Years, to tolerate their Coming to the Church, without changing of their Faith: Conſidering a great Number do ſtand therein, not for any Thing (as they ſay) uſed in this Church, that is directly contrary to God's Law, but for that the Rites and Prayers (though they are collected out of the Body of the Scripture) are not allowed by the Catholick Church, and the Head thereof, which is the Pope's Holineſs: And for that Cauſe juſtly, all true Catholicks account this Church to be ſchiſmatical: By which Remedy of Toleration, a great Number of ſuch, as will be perpetually Catholicks, might enjoy their Livings and Liberty; and, in Proceſs of Time, the Catholick Religion (by God's Goodneſs) might, with more Surety be increaſed, to the of Honour God, than ever it can be by any Force whatſoever. For ſo did all Chriſtian Religion, at the firſt begin, and ſpread itſelf over the World; not by Force, but only by Teaching, and Example of Holineſs in the Teachers, againſt all human Forces. And ſo I will end my long Letter, with the Sentence which King *David* uſed four Times in one of his Pſalms. *Et clamaverunt ad Dominum in tribulatione eorum, & de anguſtia eorum liberavit eos* *: And ſo muſt we make that for our Foundation to lay our Hope upon, for all other Hopes are vain and falſe.

At *London*, the of
Auguſt, 1588.

* And they cried unto the Lord in their Trouble, and he delivered them out of their Diſtreſs.

The

The APPENDIX.

AFTER that I had made an End of this my Letter, which I found, by Peruſal thereof, to have been at more Length, than I looked for, although the Matters therein contained, did draw me thereto, and that I had made Choice of a Friend of mine, who had more Knowledge in the *French* Tongue, than I, to turn the ſame into *French*: My Miſhap was, that when he had done ſome Part thereof, he fell ſick of a burning Fever, whereby my Letter remained with him, upon Hope of Recovery, for ten or twelve Days: And ſeeing no Hope thereof, I intreated another very truſty and ſound Catholick, having perfect Knowledge in the *French* Tongue, who took upon him to put it into *French*, wherein was alſo longer Time ſpent: So as my Letter being written in the Midſt of *Auguſt*, I am forced to end it in *September*. And, thereupon, I thought good, whilſt my former Letter was in Tranſlating, to add ſome Things happened in the mean Time, meet for your Knowledge.

About the Seventh of *Auguſt*, the Lord Admiral returned with the Navy, having followed the *Spaniſh* Navy (as they reported) as far as the 55th Degree Northwards; the *Spaniſh* Navy taking a Courſe either to the furtheſt Parts of *Norway*, or to the *Orcades*, beyond *Scotland*; which, if they did, then it was here judged that they would go about *Scotland* and *Ireland*: But if they ſhould go to *Norway*, then it might be, that if they could recover Proviſions of Maſts, whereof the *Engliſh* Navy had made great Spoil, they might return. But I, for my Part, wiſhed them a proſperous Wind to paſs Home about *Ireland*, conſidering I deſpaired of their Return, for many Reſpects, both of their Wants, which could not be furniſhed in *Norway*, and of the Lack of the Duke of *Parma*'s Ability, to bring his Army on the Sea, for Want of Mariners. Nevertheleſs, upon Knowledge from *Scotland*, that they were beyond the *Orcades*, and that the King of *Scots* had given ſtrict Commandment upon all the Sea-coaſts, that the *Spaniards* ſhould not be ſuffered to land in any Part; but that the *Engliſh* might land, and be relieved of any Wants: Order was given to diſcharge all the Navy, ſaving twenty Ships, that were under the Lord *Henry Seymour*'s Charge, to attend upon the Duke of *Parma*'s Attempts, either towards *England*, which was moſt unlikely, or towards *Zeland*, which began to be doubted. But within three or four Days after this, ſuddenly there came Report to the Court, that the *Spaniſh* Navy had refreſhed itſelf in the Iſlands beyond the *Orcades*, both with Water plentifully, and with Bread, Fiſh, and Fleſh, as for their Money they could get; and would return hither once again, to attend on the Duke of *Parma*'s Army, to conduct it by Sea into *England*. Whereupon grew ſome Buſineſs here, wherewith, I know, the Queen and her Council were not a little perplexed what to do; but, in the End, Order was given to ſtay the Diſarming of her Navy, and ſo the whole Navy was very ſpeedily made ready again, only upon the former Reports; wherewith I, and many others, were very glad, to ſee them thus newly troubled, and, upon every light Report, put to great Charges. But this laſted not paſt eight or ten Days; for, upon more certain Knowledge, by two or three Pinnaces that were ſent to diſcover where the *Spaniſh* Fleet was, which certified, that they were beyond the *Orcades*, ſailing towards the Weſt, in very evil Caſe, having many of their People dead in thoſe North Parts, and in great Diſtreſs for Lack of Maſts, and alſo of Mariners, a new Commandment was given to diſſolve the Navy, ſaving that which ſhould attend on the Duke of *Parma*: And ſo the Lord Admiral returned, with the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Henry Seymour*, Lord *Sheffield*, Sir *Francis Drake*, with all the Captains to the Court, ſaving ſuch as had Charge of the Fleet that was under the Lord *Henry*. And, upon the Return of theſe Seamen to the City, there are ſpread ſuch Reports, to move the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all other vulgar People of all Sorts, into a mortal Hatred of the *Spaniards*, as the poor *Spaniſh* Priſoners were greatly afraid to have been all maſſacred: For that it was publiſhed, and of many believed, that the Lords of *Spain*, that were in the Navy, had made a ſpecial Diviſion, among themſelves, of all the Noble-

men's Houſes in *England*, by their Names, and had, in a Sort, quartered *England* among themſelves, and had determined of ſundry Manners of cruel Death, both of the Nobility, and the reſt of the People. The Ladies, Women, and Maidens, were alſo deſtined to all Villany: The rich Merchants Houſes in *London* were put into a Regiſter, by their very Names, and limited to the Companies of the Squadrons of the Navy for their Spoil. And to increaſe more Hatred, it was reported, that there were a great Number of Halters brought in the *Spaniſh* Navy, to ſtrangle the vulgar People, and certain Irons graven with Marks, to be heated, for the Marking of all Children in their Faces, being under ſeven Years of Age, that they might be known hereafter, to have been the Children of the conquered Nation. Theſe were commonly reported by thoſe that came from the *Engliſh* Navy, as having heard the *Spaniards* confeſs the ſame; ſo as for a Time, there was a general Murmur, that theſe *Spaniſh* Priſoners ought not to be ſuffered to live, as they did, but to be killed, as they had purpoſed to have done the *Engliſh*. But the wiſer Sort of Men, and ſuch as had the Charge of the Priſoners, having no Commandment from the Council, did ſtraightly look to the Safety of the Priſoners, as a Matter not to be ſo raſhly ſuffered. But, to content the People with ſome other Matter, there was, upon *Sunday* laſt, at the Requeſt of the Mayor, and his Brethren, a great Number of Banners, Streamers, and Enſigns, which were won from the *Spaniſh* Navy, brought to *Paul*'s Church-yard, and there ſhewed openly in the Sermon-time, to the great Rejoicing of all the People. And afterwards they were carried to the Croſs in *Cheap*, and afterwards to *London-bridge*; whereby the former Rage of the People was greatly aſſwaged, the Fury generally converted into Triumph, by boaſting in every Place, that this was the Act of God, who had heard the fervent Prayers of the People, and was pleaſed with their former Prayers and Faſtings, to have ſuch Banners, and Streamers, which the *Spaniards* meant to have brought and ſet up in all Places of the City, as Monuments of their Triumphs, by his good Providence, in puniſhing the Pride of the *Spaniards*, now to be erected by the *Engliſh*, as Monuments of their Victories, and of perpetual Shame to the *Spaniards*. Upon theſe Shews, great Rejoiceing followed: And as in *June* and *July* paſt, all Churches were filled daily with People exerciſed with Prayers, and Shews of Repentance, and Petitions to God for Defence againſt their Enemies: And in many Churches, continually thrice in the Week, Exerciſes of Prayers, Sermons, and Faſtings, all the Day long, from Morning to Evening, with great Admiration to ſee ſuch general Devotion (which I, and others, do judge to proceed more of Fear than of Devotion) ſo now, ſince the *Engliſh* Navy is returned, and the *Spaniſh* Navy defeated, and Intelligence brought of the Diſorders in *Flanders*, of the Diſſenſions betwixt the *Spaniards* and the other Soldiers, of the Contempt of the Duke of *Parma* by the *Spaniards*, being hereto maintained by a Duke, called the Duke of *Paſtraw*, the Catholick King's Baſtard, and of the Departure and Running away of the Duke's Mariners, here is a like Concourſe of the People to Sermons in all Churches; wherein is remembered the great Goodneſs of God towards *England*, by the Delivery thereof from the threatened Conqueſt, and Prayers alſo publickly, to give Thanks to God for the ſame.

At *London*, this of
September, 1588.

An

An Exhortation, to ſtir up the Minds of all her Majeſty's faithful Subjects, to defend their Country, in this dangerous Time, from the Invaſion of Enemies. Faithfully and zealouſly compiled, by *Anthony Marten*, Sewer of her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Chamber.

MELIORA SPERO.

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The following Tract was written, immediately after the Nation's Deliverance from the Spaniſh *Invaſion, in the Year* 1588, *with that Judgment, Juſtice, Zeal, and Elegancy of Stile, that at once it perpetuates the juſt Commendation of the Author, diſplays his Eloquence, and confirms his ſeaſonable Loyalty to his Sovereign, his Religion, and his Country.*

The ſeveral Branches of this Exhortation are ſo well united in the moſt ſolid Reaſon, that neither Time nor deceitful Politicks are able to withſtand their Force; and ſo well adapted to the general Foible of Mankind, that it may be accounted a ſtanding Exhortation on the like Occaſions, whenever God permits any ſuch Calamities to befall us. For here every one may ſee his Duty, and are inſtructed as well to avoid the Misfortunes that ruin a Nation, as the Means, which, by God's Bleſſing, fruſtrate and rout our Enemies, and maintain our juſt Rights and Religion, Laws and Liberties.

ALbeit (my dear Countrymen, and well beloved in the Lord) your faithful and willing Minds were lately ſhewed, by an earneſt Deſire of venturing your Lives for Defence of your Country; yet, becauſe the ſame then happened in a Fury againſt your Enemies, and, as it were, in the Fear of final Deſtruction; and that the Trial of your valiant Courages, and Proof of your warlike Furnitures, was prevented by the great Mercy of God, and the provident Foreſight of her excellent Majeſty; ſo as God himſelf hath ſtricken the Stroke, and ye have but looked on, I am not now to ſpeak of any late Acts, atchieved by your Proweſs and Courage, but to ſet before your Eyes the great and wonderful Cauſes you have, to arm your Bodies, to prepare your Minds, and to ſharpen your Swords againſt your Enemies. Not as your Forefathers, againſt ſome one particular Prince in *France*, in *Spain*, or in *Scotland*. Neither for Lands, for Honour, or Conqueſt, which by Battles one or twain might be decided, and the Quarrel ended; but ye muſt ſtrengthen yourſelves againſt that *horrible Beaſt* *, who hath received Power from the Dragon. Againſt *the Princes of the Nations* *, which have entered into League with the *Whore of* Babylon †, who hath ſworn your Deſtruction; and will not be ſatisfied with the Blood of many Days Battle, nor with the Lands which you hold, nor with the Goods which ye poſſeſs, nor with the fair Houſes which ye have

* The whole Power of *Popery* uniting to deſtroy the *Proteſtant* Intereſt. † The *Pope*.

builded,

builded. Neither are they minded to carry you away, as the *Aſſyrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Romans* did the *Iſraelites*, into Captivity. But, after they have taken their vile Pleaſure of your Wives, your Sons, and Daughters, they will utterly deſtroy you, that the Name of our Nation ſhall be no more remembered upon the Earth. *Whoſoever*, ſay they, *falleth not down and worſhipeth that* Golden Image *, *ſhall be caſt the ſame Hour into the hot fiery Furnace* †. They will no more ſuffer you to try the Truth by Teſtimony of the Scriptures, nor to plead for yourſelves the moſt antient Fathers. But, having prevailed againſt you, they will execute their Malice upon you without Judgment, and deſtroy you without Mercy. They have already caſt Lots for your Inheritance, and have given Sentence upon the ſacred Perſon of the Queen ‡. They will make no Difference of Degrees, but the Queen and the Commons, the Noble and Ignoble, the Learned and Unlearned, the Prieſt and the People, the Poor and the Rich, the Old and the Young, have all one Puniſhment allotted unto them. Was there ever any Nation in the World ſo barbarous, or People ſo bloody, or Prince ſo cruel before this Time, whether he warred for Greedineſs, or Malice, or Revenge, or Conqueſt; but he ſatisfied himſelf with the Blood and Captivity of them that offended him; ſparing the Nation, and them that were innocent in the Action.

Again, was there ever any King or Prince, or Magiſtrate, whether he were godleſs or religious, whether *Idolater* or *Chriſtian*, but, if he minded to revenge againſt any other Nation, he would plead the Cauſe by Meſſengers ‖, according to the Law of Nations; and not purpoſe a ſudden Deſtruction before a perfect Examination? What *Barbarian*, *Turk*, or *Tyrant*, would ſeek to conquer his Neighbour by Fraud, to gain to his Sect by Falſhood, to bereave a Princeſs of her Kingdom, by Villany; of her Subjects, by Diſloyalty; of her Life, by Treachery; and of all their Lives and Souls, by Hypocriſy? Is this the Spirit of him that rebuked his Diſciples when they would have called for Fire from Heaven to have conſumed them, which would not receive him? *No*, ſaith he, *ye muſt be of another Spirit; I am not come to deſtroy Men's Lives, but to ſave them.*

Good King *David*, albeit he were already anointed King of *Iſrael*, in the Life-time of *Saul*, and had his ſaid Enemy many Times alone, where he might have ſlain him, and ſo have poſſeſſed the Kingdom quietly, would not attempt ſo great a Treachery.

What ſhall we ſay of the *Roman* Captain, *Camillus*, that, while he lay at the Siege of a City, called *Falliſcus*, there came ſecretly to him, out of the City, a Schoolmaſter with his Scholars, offering him to betray the Town into his Hands. No, ſaith *Camillus*, I will win it honourably, and thou ſhalt be ſent Home with Shame; and, ſo delivering Rods into the Hands of his own Scholars, they whipped their Maſter Home into the City.

Is it not that Beaſt of the bottomleſs Pit that worketh all theſe Tragedies? Hath he not made drunk the Princes of the Earth, with the Cup of his Fornication, even the bloody Woman, that ſitteth on the bloody-coloured Beaſt? That exalteth himſelf above all the Princes, and maketh himſelf equal with God?

Was there ever any Prince or Monarch of the World before this petty God ſprang up; nay, did ever all the Princes of the World ſeek to *deprive* any one abſolute Prince of his Kingdom, and entitle the ſame unto another, without an expreſs Commandment of God, unleſs it were by honourable Conqueſt or juſt Victory? *By me*, ſaith God, *Kings reign, and Noblemen of the Earth do bear Rule.* Where is there any Example in the Old Teſtament, that any Prieſt did ever depoſe any Prince? (For *Athaliah* was but an Uſurper, and was ſlain by Conſent both of Prieſt and People as a Murdreſs of her own Children; and *Joaſh* the right Heir was eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom) Was not *Peter*, in the New Teſtament, greater than any Pope on the Earth? And yet ſo far from depoſing of Princes, as he himſelf of all other was moſt obedient to ſecular Power, and gave the ſame Leſſon unto others? But was not *Chriſt* himſelf the Prince of all Princes; and yet, ſeeing his Kingdom was ſpiritual, was he not obedient to all Government, commanding all Manner of Obedience and Humility to all his Diſciples?

Now let us ſee more at large, by whom, againſt whom, and for what Cauſes this War, or rather cruel Proſcription, groweth. That, theſe Things being plainly ſet down before your Eyes, not

* *Potery.* † Perſecuted with Fire and Sword. ‡ See Pope *Sixtus* V's Bull of Excommunication againſt the Queen, and his Letter to the King of *Spain*. ‖ Ambaſſadors.

only

only they that be of the poorer Sort (which, having excellent Courages, will ſet to their Hearts and Hands to defend their *Prince*, their *Country*, and *Religion*, if they may be enabled thereunto) but chiefly thoſe that have Subſtance, Lands, and Living, which God hath given them, not to conſume in their own Pleaſures and Vanities, but eſpecially to theſe Ends and Purpoſes, may be perſuaded with a full and perfect Reſolution (forſaking the Pomps and Vanities of this Life) to live frugally, honeſtly, and temperately, as ſhall beſt become the loyal Servants of ſo godly a Prince, and the valiant Defenders of ſo *Chriſtian* a Commonweal; and henceforth be ready, not alone with their Lands and Goods, but alſo with their Bodies and Lives to defend ſo juſt, ſo godly, and ſo holy a Cauſe.

What Time as it pleaſed our moſt merciful and heavenly Father, in this our Age, to diſcover unto his Church, by certain Preachers of great Courage and Magnanimity, the manifold Abuſes and Heap of Traditions, which the Biſhops of *Rome*, by their Letters, Decrees, and Canons, have brought into the Church, by little and little, from the ſecond Age of *Chriſt* unto that Time: (Whereby the ſincere and plain Religion of *Chriſt*, pronounced, written, and eſtabliſhed by his Apoſtles over all the World, was ſo corrupted and overſhadowed, as even unto this Day, unleſs it be thoſe, whoſe Minds God hath lightened with the bright Beams of his Spirit, Men can hardly remove that Vale of Vanities from their Heart:) Even then alſo, it pleaſed his fatherly Goodneſs, to open the Eyes of that noble Prince of everlaſting Memory, King *Henry the Eighth*, Father to her excellent Majeſty; that he plainly ſaw how long the Princes and People had been abuſed, and, as it were, bewitched, with that ungodly *Antichriſt* of *Rome*. Who being puffed up with certain liberal Donations of ſome well-minded Princes, by little and little, became, of the pooreſt of all human Creatures, the moſt mighty *Pope* and Primate and Commander of all *Chriſtian* Princes. Wherefore, by the Advice of his moſt prudent and godly Council, with the Aſſent of the whole Realm in Parliament, he diſcharged himſelf of the *Romiſh* Yoke, which many of his Progenitors, the Kings of *England*, for Fellowſhip of other Princes had ſo long ſubmitted themſelves unto. And therewithal, delivering to all his Subjects the Law of the Lord * in their own Mother Tongue, ſo many Years excluded from them, gave Power unto godly Preachers to publiſh the Truth, maugre all the Enemies of the ſame.

Whoſe godly Example, his virtuous and prudent Son, King *Edward the Sixth*, faithfully following, utterly chaced away in one Moment all the Remnant of Traditions, that Men had been ſo long in deviſing, and reſtored Religion to the ſelf-ſame Form, that the holy Apoſtles left the ſame.

According whereunto our moſt gracious Sovereign, leading us out of the Captivity of *Babylon* (where God for our manifold Sins made us by the Space of ſix Years, or thereabout †, to ſerve under Antichriſt, till we were returned unto him by Prayer and Amendment of Life) perfectly reſtored us again to all thoſe heavenly Gifts which her Royal Father and Brother had beſtowed upon us.

Wherefore, theſe Things being thus godly and ſincerely taken in Hand, the Pope in his Greatneſs ſore appalled; fearing at the very firſt, that, if theſe Things ſhould proſper and have good Succeſs, he and his whole Religion ſhould be overthrown, and himſelf caſt down from that high Dignity of a Pope, to the poor Degree of *Peter*; from being carried on Men's Shoulders to be ſent abroad to preach in his own Perſon; from the wearing of *Paul*'s Sword, to be obedient to Princes Laws; from being ſerved as a King at his Table, to ſerve as a Miniſter in the Church; and from being an *univerſal Head*, to be content with his own City of *Rome*. He at the very firſt, in a great Fury, perſuaded the *Chriſtian* Princes, that were taking in Hand a noble Action againſt *Infidels*, to turn their Forces againſt ſuch their own Neighbours as were Enemies to his Superſtition.

So, then, it is the *Romiſh Antichriſt* that hath blown the Trumpet of this cruel Sedition. It was that Man of Sin, which cauſed the Commotion of the North againſt King *Henry the Eighth*. It was he that raiſed up divers Rebellions againſt that virtuous young Prince, King *Edward the Sixth*, and alſo againſt her Majeſty. It was he that curſed the Queen our Sovereign, and, in his own fond Imagination, depoſed her Royal Perſon from her Crown and Dignity; and of his own free Gift (forſooth) beſtowed

* The Holy Bible. † During the *Popiſh* Reign of Queen *Mary*.

the

the ſame upon others, *but never durſt give Livery and Seiſin* of the ſame himſelf. He it is that flatly againſt the Word of God (wherein it was ſaid: *Let every Soul ſubmit itſelf to the King as to his Head.**) diſcharged all her Majeſty's Subjects of their due Obedience towards her, and ſent in Swarms of falſe Hypocrites, to ſteal away the Hearts of the ſimple People from her, and to carry away their Conſciences Captive unto Satan. He it is, that hath ſundry Times laid Plots for the Deſtruction of her Royal Perſon; and, ſo far as in him lay, committed cruel Murder by aſſenting unto vile Perſons to ſlay her, and by giving them Pardons beforehand for their Villanies. Finally, he it is, that hath ſown Sedition in the Kingdom; that hath driven Men, Women, and Children from true Religion to Perdition; from ſincere Worſhiping to damnable Superſtition. And he it is, that hath made not the Holy, but the Helliſh League, with the great and mighty Princes of his Religion, to devour and conſume us. But God be bleſſed for evermore, which hath lately delivered us, and turned ſome of their own Weapons, prepared againſt us, into their own Bowels, and hath drowned *Pharaoh* and his Horſemen in the Sea. *For, though the* Spaniſh *King lately approached to the Kingdom with wonderful Force and Preparation to have conquered the ſame, yet was he but a Deputy therein to the Pope, and ſhould have taken Poſſeſſion but of that which he gave unto him,* and have held the ſame of him, much like *as* Charles *the Earl of* Anjou *and* Provence *held from him the Kingdom of both* Sicilies. Ye ſee, therefore, who is Author, Deviſer, and Maintainer of all theſe Miſchiefs.

Now let us conſider, againſt whom this holy Father and his Adherents have raiſed up ſo ungodly and ſo unnatural a War.

This famous and noble Kingdom of *England* (as teſtify all the beſt Writers old and new) was not the ſlackeſt among other Nations that received the Goſpel. For if *Paul* himſelf, or ſome other of the Apoſtles, were not the firſt that planted *Chriſtian* Religion in *England*, yet it is certain, that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, with his Fellows, preached the Goſpel unto us within leſs than *eighty Years* after *Chriſt*. And, in the *One-hundred and eightieth Year* of our Lord, *Lucius*, the King of *England*, received new Preachers; and not only was himſelf the firſt or the ſecond King that received Baptiſm in all the *Chriſtian* World; but he alſo cauſed all his Kingdom to do the like, and publickly to receive the Goſpel. A principal Teſtimony hereof may be, that the Kings of *England* have either the *firſt or the ſecond Place in general Councils.*

Afterwards, about the ſix-hundreth Year of *Chriſt*, they received *Auguſtine* and his Fellows, ſent from *Gregory* the Pope, and rather left the more ſincere Worſhip of *Chriſt*, taught them by *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, in the Time of King *Lucius*, and to make no Commotion for the Loſs of four-hundred *Engliſh* Chriſtians, cruelly murdered at *Bangor*, by the Procurement of the ſame *Auguſtine*, than to raiſe any Schiſm or Diviſion in the Church.

If none of all theſe moſt antient Merits (for the which *England* might both be called and reputed the *moſt Chriſtian* † *Kingdom* of all other) will move them to take Pity upon us, becauſe Antiquity of Time breedeth Coldneſs and Oblivion. Let them remember, that though we be here removed in a Corner from the reſt of the World, and may be meaſured with a Span, in Compariſon of all Chriſtendom beſides; yet have we been ever as ready, as any other of the mightieſt and richeſt Kingdoms, to travel over Sea and Land, to ſpend our Lives, Lands, and Goods, to reſiſt the Fury and Invaſion of the *Turks*, and other *Heathen* Nations: Whereas we ourſelves, being an Iſland, and defended by the Ocean Sea, had leſs Cauſe than any other to fear the Infidels, being ſo far remote from us.

An Example hereof may be *Richard the Firſt*, who behaved himſelf ſo nobly in Service, againſt the Pagans, that he obtained the Name of *Cieur de Lion*, that is, Richard *with the Lion's Heart*. Is this then the Reward that we receive for ſo great Deſert? Is there no other City, nor Kingdom, nor Country that is fallen from them but we? Or be we the firſt *that muſt be ſacrificed by the Leaguiſts, in Example of all others*; becauſe we moſt ſincerely profeſs the Truth, and moſt defend them that are oppreſſed for the Goſpel?

But is it our Queen, the Lanthorn and Light of true Religion, that they ſo much envy, becauſe ſhe hath reformed the Church in her own Kingdom? Hath ſhe done any Thing elſe than did thoſe good Kings of *Iſrael*, *David*, *Hezekiah*, and *Jehoſhaphat*? Hath ſhe fought any other Way than her moſt Royal Father, and her

* 1 *Pet.* ii. *Rom.* xiii. † The Title aſſumed by the *French* King.

virtuous

virtuous Brother, as an Inheritance left unto her, together with the Kingdom? Or any other Way than Queen *Mary* her Siſter ſometimes followed, and, no doubt, but would have ſo continued, if ſhe had not been ſeduced by by certain Paraſites of that ſinful Man; and, perhaps, *by ſome corrupt Pool*, that came from the River* Tiber? Let them ſhew me, if it be not the ſelf-ſame Way, that the moſt Chriſtian King, *Lucius*, her antient Predeceſſor, received from *Eleutherius*, fourteen-hundred Years paſt; which *Eleutherius* had received the ſame from them which heard the Apoſtles? Have not we ſhewed and proved, a thouſand Times a Thouſand, by Writing, by Diſputation, by Preaching, by Conference, and many other Ways, the Perſons by whom, the Times wherein, and the Matters whereof, every particular Piece and Patch of their Religion is framed? Which Things (with the preſumptuous Affirmation of their vain Opinions lately deviſed, either by curious Heads, or by Emulation of the Learned, or of a fond Zeal without Knowledge, or for the Increaſe of Pomp and Riches) laid a-part from our Religion, they ſhall find themſelves unawares, in the ſelf-ſame Truth which we profeſs.

Wherefore, then, are they of the *Holy League* † ſo deeply offended with the Government of ſo excellent a Princeſs, that they ſhould ſeek to bereave her of her Kingdom, before they have well examined the Queſtion, and to repute her as a Schiſmatic, before they well know her Religion? No Doubt, but ſhe daily ſpeaketh unto God, and ſaith: *Plead thou my Cauſe (O Lord) and fight thou with them that fight againſt me.* For ſhe carrieth the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, that ſhe ſeeketh no Glory nor Praiſe unto herſelf, but Peace and Tranquillity unto the Church; ſhe ſeeketh not the Dominions of other Princes, but a juſt Defence of her own; nor to ſhed any *Chriſtian* Blood, but to ſave the poor afflicted Souls which cry unto her. Hath ſhe ever broken any League with Chriſtians, or made any Covenant with Infidels? Hath ſhe not always laboured for Peace between Chriſtian Princes, and travailed therein to her exceeding Charges? She never endeavoured, by any ſecret or ſubtle Means, to circumvent her Neighbours, but what ſhe meant to execute, in Deed, that ſhe profeſſed unto the World. She bare not Men in Hand that ſhe prepared againſt the *Turk*, or for the *Indies*, when ſhe meant to invade her Neighbours; neither did ſhe make any Semblance of Peace, till ſhe might be fully prepared unto Battle: But ſhe hath always dealt plainly and valiantly, and honourably with all Promiſe. She never omitted any good and friendly Means to Pacification, while any Hope of Friendſhip remained. But, when all Hope of Intreaty was quite extinguiſhed, ſhe fled unto the next Remedy, truſting that the mighty God of *Jacob*, which had many Times delivered her, would now alſo be her Defender and Keeper.

Alas! What Honour ſhall it be for ſo great and mighty a Princeſs, to bend their Force againſt ſo godly and peaceable a Queen, that confeſſeth, as much as they, one and the ſelf-ſame God in Trinity of Perſons, and Unity of Subſtance; that hath one and the ſelf-ſame Baptiſm; that looketh to be ſaved by one and the ſelf-ſame Death; that hopeth for the ſame Reſurrection of the Body; that confeſſeth one and the ſame Goſpel; and that believeth in the ſelf-ſame Book of Canonical Scriptures? It had been far more for their Honour and Credit, and for the Profit of all Chriſtendom, they having ſuch Store of Men and Wealth, if they would have ſought firſt to enlarge the Kingdom of Chriſt, by compelling *Turks* and *Infidels* to the Faith, rather than to ſpoil themſelves of their Riches, and their Dominions, of Chriſtian Soldiers, by making War againſt a maiden Queen. By the Charges and Blood of which unnatural War, they might, perhaps, have gained many thouſand Infidels to the Faith of Chriſt. No, forſooth, They would not ſeem to war with a Woman, but to prepare ſo *invincible* ‡ Force againſt her, as might devour her and her whole Kingdom in one Day, without any War at all. But God, who ſitteth above, caſteth out the Counſels of Princes, and bringeth their Devices to none Effect. For he hath deſtroyed their Forces, and ſunk in the Sea their huge and ſtrong Veſſels; ſeeing there is no Wiſdom, no Policy, no Counſel, no Strength, againſt the Lord of Hoſts.

* Cardinal *Pole*, who was ſent from *Rome*, which is ſituate on the River *Tiber* in *Italy*.
† Thoſe Popiſh Princes, who had combined with the *Pope*, to extirpate Proteſtants.
‡ Alluding to the fore-mentioned *Armada*.

We ſee now, by whom, and againſt whom, this War is made. It remaineth to declare briefly the Cauſes thereof. Which, though they have in ſome Part been touched, yet will I more expreſly ſet forth the ſame. That it may appear, what are the lawful Cauſes of War, and how juſtly we take in Hand to defend ourſelves.

Wars (ſaith *Cicero*) *muſt be taken in Hand, to the End we may live in Peace, without taking Wrong.* Which Rule, no Doubt, is very good, and agreeable to our Religion, and to the Law of Nature.

For why elſe did the Lord promiſe Victory unto *Ahab*, by the Prophet, in Defence of *Samaria*, and to many other Kings of *Iſrael*, when they were aſſailed and beſieged by their Enemies? Neither have we, in any of our Actions, ſtepped one Jot from the ſame Rule. For when the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom had, with one Conſent, conſpired with the See of *Rome*, to make War upon all the Profeſſors of the Goſpel, and to reduce them again to their abominable Idolatry, or elſe ſo to deſtroy them, that their Name ſhould be no more remembered upon the Earth, but eſpecially perceiving the Queen's Majeſty to be moſt zealous of the Truth, and the principal Pillar, on whom the Church of *Chriſt* did depend, they deviſed many Ways how to deprive her of her Life and Kingdom. *Come* (ſay they) *this is the Heir, let us ſlay her, and the Inheritance ſhall be ours.* Then, her Majeſty, knowing, from whence the chief Cauſe of their Malice proceeded; and that the Matter, moſt of all, concerned the Glory of God, and next unto that, the Life of her own ſelf, and of infinite thouſands of her Subjects: She hath, ſince that Time taken into her Poſſeſſion (though not the hundredth Part of that, which ſhe might, and hath been offered her) yet ſome Part of her Enemies Weapons, as lawful was for her to do, for the better Defence of her Kingdom, and more Safety of the Church of *Chriſt*: Since, without thoſe Helps, ſhe had no ſafe Way to defend herſelf. Yet have theſe Things been done of her Majeſty, with ſuch Deliberation, Adviſement, and long Protracting of Time, as it might be evident unto all the World, that ſhe ſought nothing more, than to have her Enemies, by ſome Means or other, reconciled unto her, before ſhe would enter into any new Action, for her own Defence. And undoubtedly, but that it ſo much concerned the Cauſe of God, and the Kingdom of her antient Allies; all which, ſhe was born to defend, when ſhe took upon her the *Imperial* Crown; and that ſhe ſaw, that, if ſhe did take whole Kingdoms from her Enemies by Violence, they could never have enraged more againſt her, than before; ſhe would rather have loſt a thouſand Lives, in her own Perſon, than to have touched any Thing, that ſhould offend her Neighbours, or might ſeem to belong to another. But when ſhe ſaw that no good ordinary Means would prevail; when her Highneſs perceived, that *Turks*, *Jews* and *Infidels*, were ſuffered to live quietly among them, without Compulſion of Conſcience, but her poor Subjects brought into Servitude, unleſs they would ſubmit their Souls to the Power of *Antichriſt*; when, for a moſt courteous Entertainment of all their Subjects, within her Dominions, all hers, among them, were either made Gally-Slaves, or elſe brought within the Compaſs of their cruel Inquiſition, when neither her own friendly Letters might be received, as they ſhould, nor her Meſſengers of Account, regarded as they ought: Finally, when they had decreed, that *no Faith* * *was to be kept with us*, and made us worſe than *Infidels*, becauſe we have fled from their Superſtition, and followed the ſincere Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*: Then her Majeſty, with all princely Courage and Magnanimity, began to ſtretch forth her Power to defend the Cauſe of God, and her own Right. And, theſe be the ſtrong Cauſes of their tragical Dealings againſt us!

Awake now, therefore, my Countrymen; Pluck up your Spirits, ye that have Courage in you: Advance yourſelves, which have ſo long lain in Security. If ever you were forced but for a Seaſon to ſhew the Strength of your Bodies, now have you Cauſe to join therewith the Courage of your Minds. They have ſounded their Trumpet, and made ready unto Battle. What they have, theſe many Years, deviſed againſt you, now they do put in Practice. Their Standard is advanced, they are in Arms to aſſail you. Be ye valiant to reſiſt, and prepare you to the Fight. It muſt be no more with you now, as it was in Times paſt, when you had ſudden Expeditions againſt the *French* and *Scottiſh* Nations; when you thought it ſufficient, to prepare for forty Days Victuals and Muniti-

* Or ſolemn Promiſes, Treaties or Engagements.

on,

on, and for one Day's Action, and ſo to return Home to your wonted quiet Reſt, and careleſs Cuſtom; fearing no more till a new Alarum.

For ye deal not now with ſuch Nations, which either for their Poverty could not, or for Lack of Courage durſt not, or for Want of ſtayed Minds would not; but ye encounter with them that are rich, hardy, reſolute, and frequented with daily Victories, which neglect no Opportunity nor Advantage; which deſire not to be Lords To-Day, and Loiterers To-Morrow; which, if they ſet in one Foot, are ready to enter in with both. But on the other Side, *We*, of all Nations, have been noted *invincible*, if we encounter with our Enemies, *while our Spirits be ſharpened* againſt them, while *the Cauſe is yet freſh in our Memory*: And that we, at the *firſt*, run unto all great Attempts with greedy Deſire, but *after* a While grow cold, negligent and careleſs: That, which we, now willingly enterpriſe with the Loſs of our Lives, within few Days, we let ſlip by a careleſs Negligence. And this Report (no Doubt) hath been too much verified by us in *France*, *Normandy*, *Gaſcoyne*, *Aquitain*, and in innumerable other Places; gained in ſome Time, with wonderful Honour, and loſt upon the ſudden, with great Diſhonour.

But far be theſe *old* careleſs Minds from *new Engliſh* Hearts; and when we have the true Knowledge of God, Experience of our Enemies, Riches, Munition, and more Means to defend than ever before. When we know our Enemies to be ſo many, ſo mighty, ſo rich, and ſo reſolute: When we are ſo well adviſed of our former Faults; when our Cauſe is ſo rare, ſo great, and concerns, not only, our Lives and Goods, our Wives and Children, our Honour, our Prince, and our Common-weal: But moſt of all, when it toucheth the Salvation of our Souls, the Inheritance of Chriſt's Kingdom, and the Preſervation of all his Saints. Which Cauſe, never before this Time, happened to any of our Forefathers. Baniſh, therefore, from you thoſe old Negligences, wherewith ye have been ſo long noted; and print in your Minds new Reſolutions of ſtedfaſt and perpetual Courage, ſuch as ſhall never decay, or grow cold by the Intermiſſion of Time, or Change of Matter.

And, to the End there may never be in you any Thing to hinder ſo dutiful and neceſſary a Work, I will ſet down both the *Lets* and *Impediments*, that be moſt Enemies to this excellent Defence: And alſo, the beſt *Means* I find to redreſs the ſame. Which Things being regarded, with ſuch Care as they ought, will ſo thoroughly prepare and furniſh us, that, though the whole World, and Enemies of *Chriſt* and his Goſpel, rage never ſo much againſt us, we ſhall continually be able to defend ourſelves, and the Realm, againſt them; yea, and (if Need ſo require) to offend ſome of them alſo, for the better Safety of our Chriſtian Brethren diſperſed abroad in the World.

The late Enterpriſe, which your Enemies made againſt you; whereby they made a full Account to have conquered you; although the ſame was exceeding dangerous, by Reaſon of their wonderful great Preparation and Furniture; Such, as, I ſuppoſe, in that Kind, hath ſcarcely been heard or read of, ſince the Beginning of the World, againſt any Nation: Yet, ſince God, by his mighty Arm, hath delivered you from the Danger thereof; it may turn, (if ye be well adviſed) to the greateſt Profit that ever happened unto *England*. For thereby we have ſeen, what Force our Enemies be of, and have learned how to prepare againſt them. We have tried, that great Actions muſt not be taken in Hand, with ſlender Furnitures. That, if we purpoſe to be forth for one Month, we muſt prepare for twain. That it is better to leave great Abundance, than to lack one Pennyworth. That, if we have all the Strength and Proviſion that can be deviſed in the World, yet to put no Confidence therein, but to rely only on the Mercy, and Aſſiſtance, and Defence of Almighty *God*, the *Lord* of *Hoſts*.

It hath alſo diſcovered unto us the Forces and Furnitures of our own Realm. It hath ſhewed unto us our own Wants. It hath ſtirred up our Minds to look to ourſelves. It hath made us effectually to know the Meaning of our Enemies, which before we did but miſtruſt, and would hardly believe. It hath taught us, who be her Majeſty's loyal Subjects at Home, and her faithful Friends Abroad. Finally, it hath warned us, not to uſe any more our old wonted Negligence, but with Hands and Heart, with Lands and Goods, before and after, and at every preſent Time, to reſiſt every foreign Invaſion, and to provide earneſtly againſt the ſame.

In like Manner, the general Muſters, and Training up of Men, moſt prudently and politickly commanded throughout the Realm: Beſides the wonderful Readineſs, that it hath brought the State into, in Time of Need; it hath alſo given us a full and perfect Knowledge,

both of the Sufficiency of our Men, and of all their Furnitures of War. All which Things, though they might ſeem ſufficient of themſelves, to ſhew and admoniſh you to prepare all that is neceſſary; yet will I ſhew you more particularly, what Things, in my Judgment, are moſt needfull herein, and what Impediments there be, that we cannot ſo thoroughly defend the Realm, as we ought, and are bound in Duty to do. Which being conſidered, and the Impediments removed, we may more eaſily do the ſame.

The *firſt* and moſt general Thing to be noted herein, is, That all particular Perſons, which are charged by the Statute to provide Furnitures * according to their Eſtate and Living, have either none of theſe Things at all, when they be commanded to ſerve the Common Weal, or elſe they have them in ſuch bare and ſimple Sort, as it may ſeem they do nothing for Conſcience and Duty, and for the Love they bear to their Country, but for a bare Shew, to blind the Eyes of the World, and to deceive the Laws of the Realm. And no doubt, but the Offence of theſe is ſo great, as if either in their own Conſcience they know themſelves able, or if it be proved by others that they have Sufficient, and yet neglect their Service, it ſtandeth both with Juſtice and Reaſon, that they ſhould enjoy nothing of their own, till the Common Weal be firſt furniſhed of ſuch Things as is their Part to perform.

Moreover, In the *levying* and *preſſing* of *Soldiers*, as there have always been great Abuſes in them, which have been Captains, and had the Charge thereof; ſo is there ſome Corruption uſed at this Day. For the beſt and ſtrongeſt Bodies, the beſt trained, and moſt able to do Service, are many Times ſpared, and young Weaklings, without Strength, or Skill, or Ability, are appointed in their Stead. Howbeit (I hope) that by Reaſon of the Weightineſs of the Cauſe at this Time, and Willingneſs that Men have to the Wars, hath made this Offence not ſo general now, as before time. And I myſelf have lately ſeen whole Bands, as well choſen and furniſhed, as one might wiſh.

Again, We muſt conſider with ourſelves, that the Bands and *Cornets of Horſemen*, and eſpecially of *Lances*, have ever been, and yet are, the moſt neceſſary and puiſſant Strength in Wars, both to defend ourſelves, and offend our Enemies. And therefore we muſt take more Care in theſe Days, to provide great Horſes, and large Geldings, than ever before. For if we have Store of theſe, well furniſhed, and do mount on them our own valiant *Engliſhmen*; what great Act dare we not attempt? What Army dare we not aſſail? What City dare we not beſiege? Nay, what Enterpriſe think we not before-hand obtained? Did we not in a late Siege againſt the Town of *Zutfen*, in the *Low Countries*, with the Force of Two or Three-hundred Horſemen, under the Conduct of the valiant Earl of *Eſſex*, General of the Horſemen, and divers other hardy Gentlemen, give Repulſe unto above Twelve-hundred of the beſt Horſemen of the King of *Spain*? With infinite other Examples of the like. If then the Number of Twelve-ſcore did ſo great an Exploit, what will Ten or Twelve-thouſand of thoſe, or the like Lances, do in any neceſſary Service, for the Honour and Defence of the Realm? And I truſt, that the worthy Example, which my Lords of her Majeſty's Council, and of other Lords and Gentlemen, taken in muſtering of ſo many good Horſes, and Men at Arms, of their own Charge †, will encourage the whole Realm to provide ſuch Store of Horſes and Armours, as ſhall throughly be able to defend the ſame. For, let it be ſhewed, where there is any Civil Realm in *Chriſtendom*, that hath better Means to breed Horſes than *England* hath; wherein be more Parks, Foreſts, Chaces, and Commons fit for this Purpoſe, than in all the Kingdoms round about us. And aſſuredly, if Noblemen and Gentlemen, which have the greateſt Store of theſe Grounds to ſpare, would employ ſome of them to the Breed of Horſes, beſides the unſpeakable Benefit they ſhould bring to their Country, they themſelves alſo, in ſhort Time, ſhould reap as great Benefit thereby, as by any other Means they can deviſe. And although, theſe many Years paſt, there hath been no Talk but of Peace, Peace, and Security; yet that now, when they ſee they muſt ſeek Means, how to defend both their Living, and Lives alſo, from their Enemies, they will no more neglect a Matter of ſo great Importance; but will with *one whole Conſent* provide, that within few Years, by the Example of *Germany*, and other Places, all the Horſes of Labour, which are not now worth their Meat, ſhall be turned into able Horſes of Service; which being done, we ſhall have one of the moſt puiſſant and flouriſhing Kingdoms of the World. And hereby we ſee how neceſſary a Means this is for our Defence.

* Arms for the Militia.

† See the Particulars on *p.* 149, 150, 151, 152.

Moreover,

Moreover, there ariſeth many Times a *Muttering*, or *Diſcontentment* of *Soldiers*, that though the Prince, and her chief Officers, have provided that every one ſhould be juſtly paid for the Time he ſerveth, yet oftentimes their Pay is kept from them, by ſome mean Captain or Officer. And I have heard ſo many of them, ſo often, and ſo pitifully complain of the Wrong that their young Captains have offered them herein, as although ſome lewd Fellows among them may abuſe their Hearers; yet, without Doubt, there is a great Fault: And, leſt this ſhould be any Impediment to a general and faithful Defence of the Realm, we are to wiſh, that there may be good Means to redreſs the ſame.

In like Manner all Sorts of *Purveyors* and *Victuallers*, whether they be for the *Army* or *Navy*, if they have any Love to their Country, any Faithfulneſs to their Prince, any Charity towards Men, or any Regard of their Duty and Service, muſt be more careful than heretofore; not only, that there be Store of Victuals diligently provided *in Time*, and before there be any Scarcity, and Murmuring among the Soldiers, but that it be alſo *good* and *wholeſome* for their Bodies; leſt by the Corruption thereof they be infected; and ſo the whole Realm, by their Sickneſs, be indangered.

Alſo private Men, which have moſt Store of Victuals in their Houſes, and be beſt able to ſerve, and yet, being commanded, do either refuſe to ſerve, or, by corrupting of under Officers, withdraw themſelves from the Service: Beſides that they be Enemies to their Country, and betray the Common Weal; they be alſo moſt injurious to their poor Neighbours, which are compelled to ſerve, and yet not ſo well able as they.

Finally, The *Diſſenſion* and *Emulation* that I have ſeen in the Common Weal, between *private Captains*, for Vain-glory; hath been, and is no ſmall Hinderance to the Defence of the Realm. For while one ſaith, I have been longer in the Wars, and have more Experience than he: Another, I have been in more Battles, and have received more Wounds: Another, I have travelled further upon the Sea, and have done greater Exploits: Another, I have been more fortunate, and have brought Home more Spoils from the Enemies, and yet am worſer rewarded than he. What is this, but to tear in ſunder the Common Weal, and to hinder every honourable Action that belongeth to the Defence of the ſame. Whereas *every honeſt and true-hearted Man to his Country, will abandon all Contentions, and will ſet a-part all Diſpleaſures and petty Grudges*; eſpecially *in the Time of any publick Service*; when every Man's Duty and Courage ſhould appear. Very notable was that Action of *Hermias*, towards his Adverſary *Cretinus Magnetius*, but eſpecially towards his native Country; againſt which *Mithridates* made War. For when *Magneſius* had given his Conſent that *Hermias* ſhould be general Captain of the Wars, and he himſelf in the mean Time would baniſh himſelf, for Fear of Factions that might ariſe: No (ſaith *Hermias*) I know *Cretinus* to be a better Captain than myſelf, and therefore I will be baniſhed till the Wars be ended. The Example is worthy Remembrance; howbeit, Chriſtian Captains muſt ſtep one Degree further; and muſt not only lay aſide all Diſpleaſure for a Time, and be content that their Adverſary, whom they think to have better Knowledge, and more Experience in martial Affairs than they, ſhall have Government and Preheminence above them; and they, for that Cauſe, to withdraw themſelves from the Wars; but they muſt alſo be preſent in Perſon, and, with all their Counſel, Endeavour, and Strength, muſt help to overthrow the publick Enemy of the Realm, in how mean a Place ſoever the Prince, or her Lieutenant, ſhall appoint them.

Laſt of all, the great *Prodigality* and *Exceſs of Apparel*, *Building*, and *dainty Fare* of the Nobility and Gentlemen of the Realm, is an exceeding Hinderance to the Defence of the ſame. For ſince the moſt Part of the Lands and Poſſeſſions thereof belong unto them, and that all others do, as it were, depend on them, and are led by their Example, Government, and Direction, they are ſpecially, and above all others, bound both in Reaſon and Conſcience, to defend that which is their own. But how ſhould they defend their own, when they run headlong into Debt; when ſo many Score, ſo many Hundred, yea ſo many Thouſand Pounds, which they have in a Year to ſpend, will not pay for the Apparel they wear on their Back? How much leſs are they able to buy good Horſes, good Armour, and good Munition, and to pay their juſt Portion of all ſuch Things as belong to the Defence of their Country? But, alas, what ſhould I complain of this Impediment, or what can it avail me to ſpeak of ſo deſperate an Enormity; ſince I myſelf have ſeen ſo many good Laws, ſo many Commandments, and ſo many Proclamations ſet forth by her Majeſty; yea, ſo many Threat-

Threatenings pronounced by godly Preachers out of the Word of God, for the Reformation of this Exceſs; and nothing regarded, nothing amended, nothing obſerved: Nay, all falling from better to worſe, from Pride to Pomp, from gay-coloured Silk, to bright glittering Gold? And were it not that I ſaw this to be the whole Ruin of my Country, and (as it were) the material Cauſe why the ſame cannot proſper, nor be well defended, till this Vice and Vanity be reformed, I would rather ſit down, and bewail the palpable Blindneſs of Men, than ſeek to perſuade them that be obſtinate and wilful in in their own Opinions.

The famous Emperor *Auguſtus*, though a *Heathen* Prince, yet he ſaid, that *coſtly Apparel* was the *Banner of Pride*, and the very *Nurſe of Riot and Wantonneſs*. But what would he ſay, if he ſaw *England* in *theſe* Days, and had ſavoured of *Chriſtianity?* Aſſuredly, he would judge the ſame to be the High-Way unto Hell, and the efficient Cauſe of our Deſtruction *.

Outrageous alſo is the great and ſumptuous *Building* of our Time: It conſumeth all the great Timber of the Realm, which ſhould ſerve to make us Ships, for our Walls and Defence. And, within a While, it will force us, either to build our Veſſels in ſtrange Countries, or elſe to yield ourſelves for a Prey unto our Enemies. Alſo, it beggareth the greateſt Number of them that take Pleaſure therein; and maketh them unable to ſerve their Country. And there be many more great Houſes already, than there be Men of Living able to uphold.

I might ſpeak alſo of the *Superfluity* of *Meats* and *Drinks:* And eſpecially of the Diverſity of Kinds, and ſuch as are not nouriſhed, nor do grow within the Realm. The Abundance whereof doth not only effeminate Men's Courages, and weaken their Bodies, but alſo beggar their Purſes, and make them, by all Means, unable to defend their Country.

We might take Example of the *Roman* Monarch †. The ſame was One-hundred Times greater than ours, and the Gentlemen ſo much greater, richer, and more honourable than ours, as *Marcus Craſſus* affirmed, that a Senator, which was not able to maintain an Army of Six-thouſand, was not worthy to be accounted rich. And yet was it ordained by a Law, that no Senator ſhould have at his Board but three Diſhes at one Meal. But with us Twenty-three is nothing, and yet one of ours is worth three of theirs.

And generally, In all theſe Things, we are ſo far from the Rule of our Forefathers, nay, of our own Fathers in this Age of ours, who (knowing that the unneceſſary Wars of ſtrange Countries might breed infinite Loſs to the Kingdom) rarely uſed any other Ornaments for their own Perſons, than ſuch as the Realm itſelf could make. But now we be all *Heliogabalians* ‡. We delight altogether in ſtrange Faſhions, in ſtrange Ornaments, ſtrange Stuff, ſtrange Apparel, ſtrange Diet, and in all Things that be far fetched, and dear bought. If we be far from the Sea, we muſt have Fiſh: If we be near the Sea, we muſt have Fleſh: When we have the beſt, and the fineſt, and moſt Diverſity of Cloath and Colour, and of Stuff made within the Realm, ſuch as our Forefathers could never have, then muſt we moſt of all ſeek for Clothes of Silk, of Silver, of Gold: From *Spain*, from *Italy*, from *Africa*, from *Aſia*, from *Calecut*, from *China*, and from the End of the World. When we have the beſt Meat of our own, that can poſſibly be deviſed, then muſt we ſend into *Flanders*, into *France*, and into far Countries, to feed our unſatiable Bellies. O the miſerable Bondage that our Nation hath ſo willingly ſubmitted their Minds unto!

Wherefore, ſince ye have now ſeen all the Cauſes of this War, and cruel Attempts moved againſt us, and by how many Ways we are hindered from a perfect and reſolute Defence of the Realm; and, by this Means alſo, are taught how to redreſs the ſame. I would (if it were the Will and Pleaſure of God) that, for your Sakes, I had the Tongue of *Hortenſius*, and the Pen of *Cicero*: That I had the Voice of Men and Angels, to ſtir up your dull Spirits to remember what the Lord in his Mercy hath wrought for you, more than for any other Nation. How he hath committed to your Cuſtody the precious Jewel of his Word, and the perfect Adminiſtration of his Sacraments. How he hath hitherto defended theſe Things, by the Excellency of his own Power and Goodneſs. And, having now compaſſed you with Enemies on every Side, maketh Trial of you, whether you will faint in your Minds, or defend, with Courage, thoſe excellent Benefits. Whether ye have ſtedfaſt Faith to ſtand to the Truth, or do miſtruſt the Aſſiſtance of his mighty Strength:

* Before our Enemies. † *Viz.* The *Roman* Empire. ‡ *i.e.* Follow the Luxury and Exceſs of *Heliogabalus*.

Strength: Whether the Multitude of your Enemies ſhall make you miſdoubt his wonted Mercies, or that you have a full Hope, and ſtedfaſt Belief, that he will perform his Promiſes: Whether ye have more Care to ſpare your Goods, your Money, your Rents, and Revenues, than to ſave your Wives, your Children, your Prince and Country, and your own Lives from Deſtruction: Whether you more eſteem dainty Fare, coſtly Apparel, gorgeous Buildings, and other vain Delights of this World, than the Loſs of ſo happy a Kingdom, of ſo excellent a Prince, of ſo ſincere a Religion, and of ſo pure a Goſpel, preached, and committed unto our Cuſtody, by *Chriſt* himſelf, our Saviour and Redeemer?

And now, even now, is the Time, that ſhall try, who is faithful unto God, obedient to his Prince, and natural to his Country. Now, even now, will God prove and tempt you, as he did the Children of *Iſrael*, at the Red Sea, and in the Wilderneſs. Now, even now, are you either to caſt the Nations out of the Land of *Canaan*, or yourſelves to be caſt out of the Kingdom of *England*. Now, even now, is the Ax laid to the Root, that, if ye bring not forth good Fruit, you ſhall ſurely be overthrown.

Say not with yourſelves, Lo, we have chaced away our Enemies, and they are afraid of us. They fly hither and thither, and are at their Wits End. For when the Children of *Iſrael* called unto God for Mercy, with Repentance of their Sins, he ſubjected the *Philiſtines*, and other Nations, unto them: But when they forſook the Lord, and put not their whole Truſt in him, they became Servants unto the *Philiſtines*. So was it with you in Times paſt, when your Forefathers ſubmitted themſelves to the Yoke of every Invaſion: Namely, of the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*. And ſo was it of late Days, when, for the Multitude of your Sins, the Lord took away his Goſpel from you, and ſubmitted not only your Bodies, but your Conſciences alſo, to that *Roman Antichriſt* *. And yet, when you turned to the Lord, with inward Sighs, with ſorrowful Mournings, and with Repentance of Heart, he took Compaſſion upon you again, and ſent you a mighty Deliverer †; under whom you have lived theſe Thirty Years, in the greateſt Happineſs and Security of any Nation in the World.

And neither are they ſo chaced from you, that you are to expect them no more. For though the Lord hath done this Time very great Things for you, and hath covered them with Shame and Diſhonour that ſought your Life: Though the Dragon be driven into his Den, yet is his Sting and Poiſon ſtill in Force: Though they be chaced and repelled for a Time, yet their Malice and Fury abideth: Though the Lord now defeated their Purpoſe, yet their Device and Practice continueth: Though ſome of their Ships and Men be ſunk in the Sea, yet the Sinews of their Commonwealth remain. Neither will they ever come to any Peace and Attonement with you, till ye have plucked thoſe Sinews in ſunder ‡.

Arm yourſelves therefore again and again, ye Lords and Gentlemen, ye principal Captains, Citizens, and wealthy Subjects; ye that have ſhewed yourſelves ſo courageous and forward, in theſe late Enterpriſes. Cleanſe your Armours, make ready your Weapons, renew your Furnitures, redouble your Proviſions, ſlack no Opportunities, look for a ſpeedy Return of your Enemies; foreſee the Dangers, provide all Neceſſaries: Look to the Amending and new Building of Ships. Make them ſtrong, light, and nimble for the Battle. And ye that be honourable, rich, and of the greateſt Power, follow the good Example of Sir *W. Raleigh*, who, of his own Charge, built two ſuch Ships the laſt Year, as, perhaps, might have ſaved all *England* in one Day. Worthy of great Praiſe alſo was Mr. *Outrich*, and *Jobſon* of *Hull*, and whoſoever builded the *Merchant Royal*, by the happy Succeſſes of whoſe Ships, their Names ſhall never be forgotten. O that *Engliſhmen* were ſo ſharpened at this Day againſt the Enemies of God and her Majeſty, as were the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians!* O that they would join their Purſes and Hearts together, as did the wealthy Men of that Commonwealth, in any Danger of the ſame. For in the firſt *Punick* War, when the *Romans*, by the Unſkilfulneſs of their Pilots and Mariners, had loſt and broken at one Inſtant, up-

* The Pope.

† Queen *Elizabeth*, who eſtabliſhed the Reformed Religion in *England* and *Ireland*.

‡ This Maxim, by continual Experience, doth ſtill hold good; for our *Popiſh* Enemies, *France*, *Spain*, &c. never make any Peace with us till they are reduced to the laſt Neceſſity; and have never kept any League with *England* longer than they could find an Opportunity to break it to their Advantage; and we can never be ſafe from their Invaſions, till we have utterly deſtroyed their Power.

on the Flats of *Silicia*, the Number of Nine-hundred and Twenty Ships; and having emptied all their common Treaſury, by Reaſon of the long War, were not able of their publick Purſe to build any more. It was agreed, by common Conſent, that the Citizens ſhould join their Purſes together, to the building of a new Fleet; ſome to make one Ship, and ſome another, according to the Subſtance of every Perſon; and ſo to arm, ſet forth, and maintain the ſame; to the End that the private Charge of the Citizens ſhould ſupply the Lack of the Commonwealth. And ſo were there ſpeedily made, rigged, and ſet to the Sea, in very ſhort Space, Two-hundred Sail (of Five Men to an Oar) for the War. And at another Time, upon the Loſs of Four-hundred Sail upon the like Accident, they builded, furniſhed, and ſet forth to the Sea, One-hundred and Twenty Ships, in Four-ſcore and Ten Days, after the Timber was felled. And yet were not all the Countries, which the *Romans* had then in Poſſeſſion, any bigger than the Kingdom of *England*. But the Miſerableneſs of the Rich was much leſs; and the Diligence of the Subjects, Zeal to their Country, and Regard of their own Honour, was without all Compariſon greater. Hereby alſo we ſee, that every Country hath not, at all Times, laid the whole Charge of Defence upon the *Prince* alone: But in Time of Neceſſity, and when the common Treaſure would not ſuffice, *every one* hath imparted the Charge, according to the Compaſs of his Wealth and Living. This being conſidered, I hope every Perſon of Ability will know what his Duty is to perform in this Buſineſs.

In like Manner, ye that be Soldiers, and mean Captains, prepare yourſelves to all Obedience, when you be called to the Defence of your Country. Caſt from you all Impediments, that may hinder ſo good and loyal an Action. Brave not yourſelves in Gold, in Silk and Silver. For that is no Way to outface your Enemies, but to diſgrace yourſelves: Seeing they be braver, they be richer, they be more coſtly apparelled than you. But be ye rather inticed by the *glittering* Shew of their gorgeous Cloaths, to pull down their proud Peacocks Feathers. It is neither for your Reputation, nor Profit, nor good Name ſo to be decked. Nay, to be clothed in Gold and the fineſt Silks breedeth a Suſpicion of ſome Injuſtice towards the poor Soldiers, though ye have ſome good Entertainment in the Wars, unleſs you have Lands and Living of your own to maintain the ſame, or have obtained ſuch Things by the Spoil of your Enemies.

Generally, all ye good Men of the Realm, and well willing Subjects, in whoſe Courage and Aſſiſtance, ſtandeth a great Part of our Defence, prepare yourſelves unto all Service and Loyalty, be ſtrong and hardy. Comfort yourſelves in the Juſtice of your Cauſe. Convert your Ploughs, into Spears, and your Scythes into Swords. Turn your Bowls into Bows, and all your Paſtimes into Muſquet-ſhot. Abandon all your vain Delights, and idle Games. Imitate the immortal Renown of your *Engliſh* Anceſtors. If ever ye deſired Fame, or Honour, or Glory to your Nation, now is the Time, that, by your Proweſs, ye may double and redouble the ſame. Now is the Time, that either, by ſhameful Cowardice, you ſhall bring yourſelves into Captivity, or by ſtout and courageous Minds, obtain a noble Victory.

Conſider with yourſelves the hard Attempts, that other Nations in Times paſt have taken in Hand, for the Love of their Country. The wonderful Magnanimity and Reſolution of *Mutius Scævola*, a young Gentleman of *Rome*, delivered the City from Siege, and cauſed a firm Peace between *Porcenna* and the *Romans*. For, this Gentleman paſſed over the River of *Tyber*, with great Courage, and with an invincible Mind, through the whole Hoſt of *Porcenna*, till he was entered the King's Pavillion; where he, finding him with great Company about him, preſſed in and ſlew the Secretary inſtead of the King. But when he perceived, that it was not *Porcenna*, but the Secretary that he had ſlain, he was ſorry in his Heart, and, in Token thereof, burned his Right-hand in the Fire, and told *Porcenna*, that though it were his Chance to miſs of his Purpoſe; yet there were Three-hundred Gentlemen more in the Camp, that had vowed to perform that Action. Whereupon, *Porcenna* ſeeing ſo great Reſolution, that the *Romans* had to defend their Country, forthwith levied the Siege, and made Peace with them.

And notable was the Story of the Widow *Judith*, which ventured to ſave her City, with ſo unſpeakable Danger of her Life. For ſhe, ſeeing no other Way to aſſwage the Fury of *Holifernes*, but by the ſmooth Words and Simulation of a Woman, preſented herſelf before him, in his Chamber, and promiſed him fair, till ſhe had lulled him a Sleep with Drink, and ſtricken off his Head with a Sword.

What

What ſhall I ſpeak of *Curtius*, that noble *Roman*, and *Ancurus*, the King's Son of *Phrygia?* Either of which, ſeeing in their Country a dangerous Breach, or Cliff in the Earth, which, they were perſuaded, would not be cloſed up again, till the beſt Thing in the City (which they took to be a Man) were thrown into it, willingly threw themſelves into the ſame, for the Safety of the People. But foreign Examples are innumerable, and not ſo well known to all, as be our own. And I would that we did chiefly follow the noble and worthy Acts of our own Progenitors, in ſundry Wars and Battles, fought for the Defence of this Kingdom, and for the perpetual Honour and Renown of themſelves. Whoſe Cauſe (nevertheleſs) being nothing comparable unto ours, yet they ſpared neither the Money in their Purſe, nor the Blood in their Bodies, to honour and defend their Country.

How often did the *antient Britons* reſiſt the Landing, and Invaſion of the *Romans*, though we were then divided into many Kingdoms; deſtitute, altogether, of Armour and Ammunition, and without Knowledge of warlike Diſcipline? Yet, how often were they repulſed? And what Loſſes ſuſtained they before they might attain their Purpoſe?

What Enterpriſes did famous King *Arthur* attempt, both at Home againſt the *Saxons*, and Abroad with other Nations? What Cities and People did he conquer? What Battles fought he? What Victories obtained he? Whereby he was reputed of all Writers, for one of the nine Worthies of the World.

What ſay we to the Battle of *Creſſy*, when noble King *Edward the Third*, having not the eighth Part ſo many as had the *French* King; yet he vanquiſhed him, and, in a Manner, all the Chivalry of *France?*

Alſo, the Battle of *Poictiers* ſhall never be forgotten; where but an Handful of *Engliſhmen* overthrew *all* the Force of *France*; for none, that regarded either Honour or Credit, was abſent from that Field; ſeeing the *French* King himſelf was there preſent, who, being taken Priſoner, was carried Captive into *England*.

But how valiantly and prudently did that King behave himſelf, at the Battle on the Sea, before *Sluys*, when the *French*, having three-hundred Ships, and we but two-hundred, and they four Men to one of us, and all expert Soldiers and Mariners; yet the King aſſailed them with ſuch invincible Courage, as he utterly overthrew them.

Alſo, the noble Victory of King *Henry the Fifth*, at the Battle of *Agincourt*, hath deſerved everlaſting Memory: When Seven-thouſand *Engliſhmen*, and thoſe wearied and weakened with long Travel, Sickneſs, and Scarcity of Victuals, vanquiſhed the huge Army of the *French* Nation.

Many Times alſo have we ſought Honour in *Spain*, and defended that Country from Uſurpers. Did not Prince *Edward*, by vanquiſhing of King *Henry*, and thoſe *Spaniards* and *French* that took his Part, ſettle *Peter* in his Right again? But this hath been ever a bleſſed Gift of God, and a peculiar Right of the Kings of *England*, as it were united to the Crown, to execute the Juſtice of God againſt Uſurpers, and to relieve the Princes their Neighbours oppreſſed.

Wherein her Majeſty hath mightily and marvellouſly declared herſelf, above all other her princely Predeceſſors, to deſcend of the Royal Seed of Courage and Magnanimity, and to be the right Queen of *England*, ſent from above, to nurſe and protect the true Chriſtian Commonweal.

Again, did not her Majeſty's moſt Royal Father ſend the Lord *Darcy* into *Spain*, to aid King *Philip*'s Great-uncle, the King of *Arragon*, againſt the *Moors*, who troubled him? Did he not alſo, within a While after, ſend thither the Marquis of *Dorſet*, with an Army of Ten-thouſand, to aſſiſt the ſaid King to conquer the Kingdom of *Navarre?* And, did he not, many other Times, aid *Charles the Fifth*, Father unto this *Philip*, againſt the *French*, and all other his Enemies? Yea, and did not the *Engliſhmen*, in the Time of Queen *Mary*, aſſiſt King *Philip* himſelf, with an Army, to overthrow the *French*, at St. *Quintins*, although we received thereby the greateſt Loſs that happened unto *England* theſe hundred Years? And have we not ever been as careful of that Houſe of *Burgoygne*, as of our own ſelves? But, for which of all theſe good Turns, do the *Spaniards* now ſo deadly hate us?

Alſo, the worthy Examples of great Manhood and Courage, that have been ſhewed by our Forefathers, in Times paſt, and in our Days by us, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, are infinite, and ſo freſh in Memory, as they need not here to be recited.

Wherefore, we have in every Age aſſayed and tried, what Courage *Engliſhmen* have been of againſt other Nations, and how they have prevailed againſt them. Some Doings alſo we have had with them of late; neither do we find them of any more Force than in former Time; nor yet their Succeſs better againſt us than before. Where have we met them with half the Number, but we have overmatched them? Neither will they abide the Sight of us, unleſs they far exceed in Multitude. Teſtimonies hereof are many, and of late, and notable. What did the great Army of the King of *Spain*, at the Siege of *Berk*, when it was only bruited, that the Earl of *Leiceſter*, her Majeſty's Lieutenant-general, with thoſe few Forces, which he had of *Engliſh* Soldiers, came to relieve the Town? Did not the ſame Army forthwith retire from the Town? Neither durſt they come to levy the Siege, which we made againſt *Dusborow*, till that Town and the great Sconce of *Zutfen* were both won. Neither could they ever have won thoſe Things again from us, had not Treaſon more prevailed than Force and valiant Courage. How many ſtrong Cities and Caſtles alſo did the young *Engliſh* Captains and Soldiers conquer lately at the *Indies?* How valiantly did they behave themſelves, under fortunate Sir *Francis Drake*, at St. *Domingo*, *Carthagena*, *Cales*, and in many other Places? Where the *Engliſh* were in Number few, and the Enemies infinite. Neither ſhall any Age ever wipe away the Honour of thoſe Acts from the Fame of *Engliſhmen*; neither hath the like Act been ever heard or read of, in any Age before. Theſe and ſuch like Things may mightily encourage our Minds, that whatſoever Force our Enemies bring againſt us, God is on our Side, and we ſhall not fear what they can do againſt us.

Have we not, of late, beaten and chaced away their great Mountains of the Sea *, freighted with Men, Ammunition, and Ordnance of War innumerable? Have we not taken and ſlain many of them, and driven them Home with Shame enough? And have ſo penned in the reſt, as they durſt not come forth to aſſail us?

Imitate, therefore, the excellent Virtues of your Forefathers, if you will be Partakers of their famous Victories. Take Example by theſe late Actions how to withſtand the Force of your Enemies. Though they be rich, proud, and cruel; yet God hath given you Means to humble and abaſe them. They have neither Juſtice, nor Religion, nor Charity, nor Conſcience, nor yet good Cauſe on their Side. If they had been juſt, they would not have pretended Peace †, and yet ſwear our Deſtruction. If they had Religion and Charity, they would have ſought by godly and religious Means to ſave our Souls, and reconcile us unto them; and not to ban and curſe us to the bottomleſs Pit of Hell. Neither is their Cauſe good; for then would they not have ſought by Treaſons and Treacheries, but by honourable and princely Means to overthrow us: Wherefore, having none of all theſe with them, I truſt, that neither have they God on their Side. So then, they for the Greedineſs of a Kingdom, for Deſpite they bear to our Religion, for Vainglory, Pride, and Preſumption, for Maintenance of the Pope's Kingdom; againſt God, againſt his Word and Truth, againſt our bleſſed Queen, againſt all Reaſon, Conſcience and Humanity, do offer all this Violence unto us. And we, on the other Side, in Defence of ourſelves, our native Country, our anointed Prince, our holy Religion, our own *Jeſus Chriſt*, his holy Word and Sacraments, againſt very Antichriſt, and all the Pillars of his Church, and againſt thoſe that have curſed and indicted the Kingdom, do withſtand the Injury done unto us.

And we, that have done ſo valiantly at other Times, when the Quarrel was but for Money, or other ſmall Matters, is it poſſible, but we ſhould be much more forward now in ſo great and weighty Cauſes? When had ever *England* ſo juſt a Cauſe to fight as now? When did we ever more infinitely feel the Mercies of God than now? When had we ever a more loving Prince to her Subjects than now? When were ever any Subjects more obedient to their Prince than now? When were there ever ſo many luſty and gallant Gentlemen to defend the Realm as now? When were we at any Time better acquainted with the Sleights and Cunning of our Enemies than now? When had we ever more Skill in Martial Actions and Trainings than now? Finally, when had ever our Enemies more unjuſt Cauſe to deal againſt

* The *Spaniſh* invincible *Armada*.

† The Duke of *Parma*, the King of *Spain*'s Commander in Chief, in the *Low Countries*, endeavoured to amuſe the *Engliſh* with a Peace, and ſo divert them from providing for their own Security, till the *Spaniſh Armada* was actually on the *Engliſh* Coaſt.

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us than now, and we more lawful Cauſe to defend ourſelves than now? And, therefore, when ſhould we ever have greater Hope of Victory than now?

If ever, therefore, ye bare any Affection to your Country; if ever any Love to Religion; if ever any Obedience unto a good and natural Prince; if ever you would venture your Lives for your Fathers and Mothers, your Wives and Children, or beſt deſerving Friends; if you have any Comfort in the Promiſes of *Chriſt Jeſus*; if you have any Hope to receive Salvation by his Merits; and, as ye will anſwer before God at the Coming of his Son, now ſhew yourſelves like Men, courageous and forward, prompt and willing to do all the Parts of Chriſtian Soldiery.

Let now no more careleſs and negligent Minds poſſeſs your Bodies; let no more a few Days Security make you forgetful of ſo continual Duties. Let neither the greedy Deſire of Money, nor the lewd Conſuming of Riches, nor the wanton Exceſs of Apparel, nor the Superfluity of Meats and Drinks, nor the coſtly Buildings and curious Trimming of Houſes, be any Hinderance to ſo honourable Actions. Learn by thoſe Things that I have here declared, what Wants there are in the Realm that hinder the reſolute Defence of the ſame. Remember the Remedies, ſupply the Lakes, remove the Impediments. Begin betimes to train up your Youth, to amend and build your Ships, to make Plenty of Shot and Ammunition, to have Store of Victuals at all Times ready, to breed and provide good Horſes; that all Things, and in all the Realm, may be ready upon the ſudden, and when any Need ſhall require. But eſpecially put from you all private Factions and Diviſions. Set apart all Quarrels and Debates among yourſelves. Yield more to the Safeguard of your Country and Religion, than to the Obedience of your own Affections. Contend who ſhall be moſt forward and valiant, but envy not your Equals if they attain to more Honour.

By this Reſolution, if all the World fret and rage never ſo much againſt you, the Lord will fight for you. He will give the Victory, and ye ſhall but look on. He will put a Fear into their Hearts, and they ſhall fly when no Man followeth them. An Hundred ſhall chace away a Thouſand, and a Thouſand Ten-thouſand. Ye ſhall rob the *Egyptians* of their Jewels, and their own Weapons ſhall be turned againſt them. The Glory of the Kingdom ſhall remain as the Sun in the Sight of the Lord, and as the Moon in the Night-ſeaſon, ſo ſhall our *Elizabeth* give Light unto her People. Her Food ſhall be of the Tree of Life, that her Age may never decay. All the Bleſſings of the Lord ſhall plentifully be poured upon her, and by her ſhall be given unto you. The right Adminiſtration of God's Word and Sacraments ſhall be with you for ever; neither ſhall the Power of Antichriſt be able to wreſt them from you. There ſhall be no Decay, no Leading into Captivity, nor Complaining in your Streets. Ye ſhall be bleſſed in the City and in the Field, at Home and Abroad; in your Barns and in your Houſes; and in all your Actions and Enterpriſes. Ye ſhall be feared, loved, and honoured of all Nations. They, who now hate you for your Religion, ſhall then perceive that the Ark of the Lord is with you, and that it is in vain to ſtrive with the Lord, and againſt you. They ſhall have Remorſe in their Conſcience, and when they have well conſidered the Cauſe, and do perceive, that neither by the Greatneſs of their Power, nor by the Help of their Riches, nor the Aſſiſtance of their holy Father of *Rome*, nor of any other petty God, which they have made to themſelves, they can fulfil their Malice againſt you, but that God doth ſtill defend you, they will be glad to forget all that is paſt, and will rejoice themſelves with you in Amity. Yea, and when they ſhall ſee your godly Life joined with ſo excellent Government of the Realm; it will make them draw more and more from the *Roman*, to the right and true Religion. But if ye ſhall ſtill continue in your old wonted Negligence, wherewith you have ever been infected; if you ſhall ſtill complain of Fortune, and ſay: If we had come a little ſooner, or tarried a little longer, or had not wanted a little of this, or had too much of that; thus and thus had it happened unto us; when all the Fault is in yourſelves: If you ſhall think that Time will work Wonders, though you yourſelves follow your own Pleaſures: If you will not provide Reſiſtance before the Enemies be at your Gates; if you ſeek not to take from them the Strength and Sinews of their Commonweal, before they have taken you out of your own Houſes; finally, if you mend not all Faults, wherein the World hath ever noted you; that is to ſay, To have hereafter as good a Fore-wit, as ye have been accounted heretofore to have an After-wit: To have leſs Liking to coſtly Apparel, and all Toys and Vanities, than to the Profit of your

Country, than to the Care of Religion, than to Godlineſs, yea, than to the Safety and Preſervation of your own Souls; God will utterly leave and forſake you, though you were his own Dwelling-place and Inheritance; he will take from you his Truth and Teſtimonies; he will deprive you of all thoſe precious Jewels, for which, and whoſe Sakes, he hath ſo long preſerved you; he will make you a Prey unto all your Enemies, and you ſhall become a Scorn and Deriſion unto all Nations. Yea, he will bring upon you all the Plagues that he did upon the Children of *Iſrael.*

Amend, therefore, your Faults, be diligent, faithful, and reſolute, with all your Power to defend her Majeſty, the Kingdom, and the true Religion: And the Lord, for his Son's Sake, will be gracious and merciful unto you.

His Prayers to this Purpoſe, pronounced in her Majeſty's Chapel, and elſewhere.

The Firſt.

O Lord God, heavenly Father, the Lord of Hoſts, without whoſe Providence nothing proceedeth, and without whoſe Mercy nothing is ſaved. In whoſe Power lie the Hearts of Princes, and End of all their Actions: Have Mercy upon thine afflicted Church; and eſpecially regard thy Servant, Elizabeth, *our moſt excellent Queen; to whom thy diſperſed Flocks fly, in the Anguiſh of their Soul, and in the Zeal of thy Truth. Behold, how the Princes of the Nations do band themſelves againſt her, becauſe ſhe laboureth to purge thy Sanctuary, and that thy holy Church may live in Security. Conſider, O Lord, how long thy Servant hath laboured to them for Peace; but how proudly they prepare themſelves unto Battle. Ariſe, therefore, maintain thine own Cauſe, and judge thou between her and her Enemies. She ſeeketh not her own Honour, but thine; nor the Dominions of others, but a juſt Defence of herſelf; nor the Shedding of Chriſtian Blood, but the Saving of poor afflicted Souls. Come down, therefore, come down, and deliver thy People by her. To vanquiſh is all one with thee, by few or by many; by Want or by Wealth; by Weakneſs or by Strength. O poſſeſs the Hearts of our Enemies with a Fear of thy Servants. The Cauſe is thine, the Enemies thine, the Afflicted thine, the Honour, Victory, and Triumph ſhall be thine. Conſider, Lord, the End of our Enterpriſes, be preſent with us in our Armies, terrify the Hearts of our Enemies, and make a joyful Peace for thy Chriſtians. And now, ſince, in this extreme Neceſſity, thou haſt put into the Heart of thy Servant* Deborah, *to provide Strength to withſtand the Pride of* Sicera, *and his Adherents; bleſs thou all her Forces by Sea and Land. Grant all her People one Heart, one Mind, and one Strength, to defend her Perſon, her Kingdom, and thy true Religion. Give unto all her Council and Captains Wiſdom, Warineſs, and Courage, that they may ſpeedily prevent the Devices, and valiantly withſtand the Forces of all our Enemies; that the Fame of thy Goſpel may be ſpread unto the End of the World. We crave this in thy Mercy, O heavenly Father, for the precious Death of thy dear Son,* Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

The Second.

O Heavenly Father, we moſt humbly beſeech thee, with thy merciful Eyes, look down from Heaven upon thy Church of England. *And eſpecially regard thy Servant,* Elizabeth, *the Defender of thy true Faith, and Protector of thy Holy Word. And here we proſtrate ourſelves before the Throne of thy Mercy, moſt truly confeſſing in our Hearts, that, if thou ſhouldeſt deal with us according to our Sins, we deſerve nothing but Shame, Confuſion, and utter Deſolation. But, when we remember the Multitude of thy Mercies in* Chriſt Jeſus, *we, in Humbleneſs of Mind, and Zeal of thy Truth, with one Heart, and one Mouth, in this our Diſtreſs, do call for Help from thy holy Habitation. Now is the Time, O Lord, now is the Time, that, by a glorious Victory in thine own Cauſe, thy Son,* Chriſt Jeſus, *and his holy Word, ſhall be magnified in all the World. For, lo, thine Enemies have ſworn to lay waſte thy Sanctuary, and that thy Servant,* Elizabeth, *her People and Kingdom, ſhall be rooted out, and no more remembered upon the Earth. And now, that we have long and earneſtly ſought unto them for Peace, they are moſt proudly come forth by Land and Sea againſt us. In ſuch Wiſe, that, if thy mighty Providence had not foreſeen their diſſembled Malice, we had ſuddenly periſhed, and come*

come to a fearful End. Wherefore, make fruſtrate their Devices, and fight thou with Iſrael, *againſt all the Hoſt of the* Aſſyrians. *Stretch out the Arm of* Moſes, *that thy Chriſtian Soldiers may valiantly fight for their Prince, their Country, and thy true Religion. Let the ſame Weapons, which they have prepared againſt us, be turned into their own Boſom. Deſtroy their Armies, confound their Forces, terrify their Captains. Scatter, break, and ſink into the Sea, their huge and ſtrong Veſſels. And, as it was with* Pharaoh *on the* Red Sea, *ſo let it be with them that ſeek the Death of thy Servants. We truſt not in the Multitude of Horſemen, nor in the Power of our own Arm; but in the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and in the Help, Mercy, and Aſſiſtance of thy heavenly Power. O let thy holy Angel defend us. Put a Fear into their Hearts, that they, flying before us, may be vanquiſhed, and confeſs, that it is thy Power, and thy right Hand, that hath prevailed againſt them. And ſo they being ſorry for their Sins, and confeſſing their Error, may fly from Antichriſt, unto the true Shepherd* Jeſus Chriſt. *For whoſe Sake, O heavenly Father, bow down thine Ear to this our humble Deſire; and we that be thy People, and Sheep of thy Paſture, ſhall evermore give Thanks to thee the Father of Mercy. Which liveſt and reigneſt with the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, ever one God, World without End.* Amen.

The Royal Gameſters: Or, the old Cards new ſhuffled, for a Conquering Game.

The following Piece needs no Comment, much leſs any Apology for its Republication; ſeeing that the old Times, in which it was firſt penned, are become new, and the ſame Game is begun again among the Powers and States of Europe, *by the ambitious and treacherous Views and Attempts of* France *and* Spain.

Germany. ERE we to play this Match prepare,
Let's know firſt, who together are.
Holland. Let *England* deal the Cards about,
The four Knaves play, the reſt ſtand out.
Pruſſia. *France* is a Gameſter, and muſt fall,
Elſe Odds will beat the Devil and all.
France. What I have won, I'll venture ſtill,
I'll give you nothing but the Deal.
England. Play fair then, and it is agreed,
The two black Knaves, againſt the red.
The Kings ſhall hold another Set,
And the four Queens ſhall ſit and bet.
The Knaves of *France* and *Spain* are black,
'Tis *Germany* muſt hold the Pack.
Germ. Give me the Cards, the Deal is mine;
Diamonds are Trumps, who bets this Time?
Holland. I'll hold ten-thouſand Livres by,
'Gainſt *France* and *Spain*, the Reaſon why
Becauſe the Odds is Ten to One,
They'll certainly be both undone.
Savoy. I'll take you up, with you I'll lay,
That *France* and *Spain* will hold you Play.

Denmark.

Denmark. I'll nothing bet on either Side;
Portugal. Nor I, until I ſee them try'd.
Bavaria. I know on which Side I would bet,
But will not tell my Mind as yet;
Sweden. Nor I, but ſtill will Neuter ſtand,
And do them Service under-hand.
Poland. One ſingle Game with *Swedes* I'll try,
I'll make the ſmooth-fac'd Youth comply.
Venice. Go on and proſper all, ſay I.

The Firſt Game, 1702.

Germany held good Cards, and play'd 'em well,
Got ſome by Tricks, and Honours, the firſt Deal.
The ſecond Deal, *France* held the Cards, and then,
The Game ſeemed Two to One, for *France* and *Spain*,
But, in a little Time, they turn'd again:
For Fortune now old *Lewis*' Side forſakes,
England won all, and *Holland* drew the Stakes.

The Second Game, 1703.

The Second Game, *Bavaria* took their Parts,
And, the firſt Deal, turn'd up the King of Hearts;
Got the Court-Cards and Trumps into his Power,
And put the Slip upon the Emperor.
And well it was for *France* he ſerv'd him ſo,
For *Lewis* elſe had quickly been brought low;
Germany fretted thus to ſee it go.
England ſtill play'd its Part, and won ſome Tricks,
And fairly brought the Game up Eight to Six.
But *Germany* had no good Cards to play,
And by ill Fortune gave the Game away.
Savoy did now from *France* and *Spain* divide,
And ventur'd all on the contrary Side.
Loſes ſome Stakes, but *England* lends him more,
And *Portugal* does for that ſame Side declare.

The Third Game, 1704.

But vex'd to ſee the Buſineſs done by halves,
Holland and *England* took the Cards themſelves.
Germany laid his laſt Stake down at Play,
While all the Streſs upon the Dealers lay,
France cut the Cards, and *Holland* led the Way.
The firſt Deal from the Cards *Bavaria* loſt,
And fear'd that now his great Deſigns were croſs'd.
Holland dealt next; *France* the firſt Trick did get,
But *England* by the Honours won the Set.
Bavaria, ruin'd, threw the Cards away,
And had not left another Croſs to play.

The Fourth Game, 1705.

France to the laſt Stake brought, and *Spain* the ſame,
But *Germany* revok'd and ſpoil'd the Game:
Which made the other Gameſters ſwear,
He did not play upon the Square.
England chang'd Sides, and took the *Dutch* again,
While *Portugal* play'd ſingle Hand with *Spain*.
But after many Deals, and mighty Coſt,
Between them both, there was but little loſt.
Now *England* deals about, for the laſt Stake,
And had a Hand that made great Monſieur quake:
But, when the Set to a Concluſion came,
Holland loſt Dealing, and quite baulk'd the Game.

The Conquering Game, 1706.

England deals next, and *France* is fain,
To lend a loſing Stake to *Spain*.
Savoy bets all; *France* threatens hard,
To take from him his leading Card;
But *England* all the reſt reſtore,
And tell him, they will lend him more.
Now on all Sides the Stakes are down,
And *Spain* plays briſkly for the Crown:
And *Portugal* ſome Bets doth lay,
Which *England* does, and *Holland* pay.
The firſt Deal, *Spain* three Tricks doth loſe,
Which doth old *Lewis* much confuſe.
France ſhuffles next, more Stakes does bet,
And threatens hard to win the Set,
E're *Germany* his Cards can ſort,
While *Venice* laughs, and likes the Sport.
England ſays nothing all the While,
But plays ſuch Cards makes *Holland* ſmile.
France wins a Stake or two at firſt,
And *Swedes* wou'd back him, if they durſt:
But *Poland* holds him to't as yet,
And hopes to gain his late loſt Bet.
France with his beſt Court-Cards begins,
While *Spain* loſe faſter than he wins.
The Set grows warm; briſk Play is ſhewn,
And *Savoy* lays his laſt Stake down.
But *Germany*, with Trumps ſupply'd,
Soon turns the Game o'th' t'other Side.
France with his Ace of Hearts doth join,
But *England* plays the King and Queen.
Old *Lewis* vex'd, yet looking grave,
With Speed throws down another Knave,
And queſtions not the Game to ſave.
While *Portugal*, with Anger then,
Plays down another ſingle Ten:

At which the Gameſters ſeem'd to ſmile,
And ſtood amaz'd a little While:
But, when he ſome Excuſe did make,
They paſs'd it by, as a Miſtake.
Venice at laſt for *Holland* bets,
And holds ten-thouſand Pounds o'th Set.
France offers now to part the Stakes,
And *Spain* the ſelf-ſame Proffer makes:
But *England* will to neither ſtand,
For all the Honour's in their Hands.
France plays a Trump about to try,
In whoſe Hand, all the reſt did lie:
Which he ſoon finds unto his Coſt,
When *Spain*, perceiving all was loſt,
Throws down his Cards, and gives the Set for gone,
Bavaria takes it up, and plays it on.
But *England* trumps about, and ſo the Game is won.
France ſeizes on thoſe Stakes he'd made from *Spain*,
But *Germany* recovers all again.
Thus ends the Game which *Europe* has in View,
Which by the Stars may happen to be true.

The Pennyleſs Parliament of Thread-bare Poets: Or, All Mirth and witty Conceits.

Printed at *London*, for *William Barley*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Grace-Church-ſtreet*, near *Leaden-hall-gate*. 1608.

The witty Conceits of the following Tract, ſeem to carry with them an Air of Rebuke againſt the Vices and Follies of thoſe Times, in which they were compoſed; and, ſo far as the ſame Subject of Rebuke ſubſiſteth, they may ſtill be ſerviceable to the ſame End: A jocoſe Reproof is frequently known to take Place of a ſerious Admonition.

1.

FIRST of all, for the Increaſe of every Fool in his Humour, we think it neceſſary and convenient, that all ſuch as buys *this Book*, and laughs not at it, before he has read it over, ſhall be condemned of Melancholy, and be adjudged to walk over *Moor-fields*, twice a Week, in a foul Shirt, and a Pair of Boots, but no Stockings.

2.

It is alſo agreed upon, that *long-bearded Men* ſhall ſeldom prove the wiſeſt; and that a *Niggard*'s Purſe ſhall ſcarce bequeath his Maſter a good Dinner; and, becauſe Water is like to prove ſo weak an Element in the World, that Men and Women will want Tears, to bewail their Sins, we charge and command all Gardeners, to ſow more Store of Onions, for fear Widows ſhould want Moiſture, to bewail their Huſbands Funerals.

3.

In like Manner we think it fit, that Red-wine ſhould be drank with Oyſters; and that ſome Maidens ſhall bluſh more for Shame, than for Shame-facedneſs: But Men muſt have Care, leſt

leſt, converſing too much with red Petticoats, they baniſh their Hair from their Heads *, and, by that Means, make the poor Barbers Beggars, for Want of Work.

4.

Furthermore, it is lawful for thoſe Women, that, every Morning, taſte a Pint of Muſcadine with Eggs, to chide, as well as they that drink ſmall Beer all the Winter; and thoſe that clip, that they ſhould not, ſhall have a Horſe Night-cap, for their Labour; Gentlemen, that ſell Land for Paper, ſhall buy Penury with Repentance; and thoſe, that have moſt Gold, ſhall have leaſt Grace; ſome that mean well, ſhall fare worſe; and he, that hath no Credit, ſhall have leſs Commodity.

5.

It is alſo ordered and agreed upon, that ſuch, as are cholerick, ſhall never want Woe and Sorrow; and they, that lack Money, may faſt upon *Fridays*, by the Statute †; and it ſhall be lawful for them, that want Shoes, to wear Boots all the Year; and he, that hath never a Cloke, may, without Offence, put on his beſt Gown at *Midſummer*; witneſs old *Prime*, the Keeper of *Bethlem* Dicing-houſe.

6.

In like Manner, it is agreed upon, that what Day ſoever St. *Paul*'s Church hath not, in the middle Iſle of it, either a Broker, Maſterleſs Man, or a Pennyleſs Companion, the Uſurers of *London* ſhall be ſworn by Oath, to beſtow a new Steeple upon it; and it ſhall be lawful, for Cony-catchers to fall together by the Ears, about the four Knaves at Cards, which of them may claim Superiority; and whether falſe Dice, or true, be of the moſt Antiquity.

7.

Furthermore, we think it neceſſary and lawful for the Huſband and Wife to fall at Square, for Superiority, in ſuch Sort, as the Wife ſhall ſit playing above in the Chamber, while the Huſband ſtands painting below in the Kitchin: Likewiſe, we mark all Brokers to be Knaves, by Letters Patents; and Uſurers, for five Marks a Piece ‡, ſhall lawfully be buried in the Chancel, though they have bequeathed their Souls and Bodies to the Devil in Hell.

8.

In like Manner, it is thought good, that it ſhall be lawful forMuſcadines, in Vintners Cellars, to indict their Maſters of Commixtion ‖, and Serjeants ſhall be contented to arreſt any Man for his Fees: Ale-wives ſhall ſell Fleſh on *Fridays*, without Licenſe, and ſuch as ſell Beer, in Half-penny Pots, ſhall utter Bread and Cheeſe for Money, through the whole Year; and thoſe, that are paſt Honeſty and Shame, ſhall ſmile at Sin; and they, that care not for God, prefer Money before Conſcience.

9.

Furthermore, it ſhall be lawful for Foot-ſtools (by the Help of Women's Hands) to fly about without Wings; and poor Men ſhall be accounted Knaves without Occaſions; thoſe, that flatter leaſt, ſhall ſpeed worſt; and Pigs (by the Statute) ſhall dance the Anticks, with Bells about their Necks, to the Wonder and Amazement of all Swineherds.

10.

In like Manner it is convenient, that many Men ſhall wear Hoods, that have little Learning; and ſome ſurfeit ſo much upon Wit, and ſtrive ſo long againſt the Stream, as their Necks ſhall fail them; ſome ſhall build fair Houſes by Bribes, gather much Wealth by Contention, and, before they be aware, heap up Riches for another, and Wretchedneſs for themſelves.

11.

Furthermore, it ſhall be eſtabliſhed, for the Benefit of Increaſe, that ſome ſhall have a Tympany in their Bellies, which will coſt them a Child-bearing; and, though the Father bear all the Charges, it ſhall be a wiſe Child, that ſhall know his own Father.

12.

It ſhall be lawful for ſome to have a Palſy in their Teeth, in ſuch Sort, as they ſhall eat more than ever they will be able to pay for: Some ſuch a Megrim in their Eyes, as they ſhall hardly know another Man's Wife from their own; ſome ſuch a Stopping in their Hearts, as they ſhall be utter obſtinate, to receive Grace; ſome ſuch a Buzzing in their Ears, as they ſhall be Enemies to good Counſel; ſome ſuch a Smell in their Noſes, as no Feaſt ſhall eſcape, without their Companies; and ſome ſhall be ſo needy, as neither young Heirs ſhall get their own, nor poor Orphans their Patrimony.

* *i. e.* be poxed. † of Queen *Elizabeth*, which commands us to faſt all the *Fridays* in the Year, except *Chriſtmas* Day. ‡ Alluding to the Table of Fees for Burials. ‖ *i. e.* Mixing their neat Wines with Cyder, Perry, Water, Spirits, *&c.*

13.

Alſo, it is enacted and decreed, that ſome ſhall be ſo humorous in their Walks, as they cannot ſtep one Foot from a Fool; ſome ſo conſumed in Mind, as they ſhall keep never a good Thought to bleſs themſelves; ſome ſo diſguiſed in Purſe, as they count it fatal to have one Penny, to buy their Dinners on *Sundays*; ſome ſo burdened in Conſcience, as they account wrongful Dealing the beſt Badge of their Occupation.

14.

But, amongſt other Laws and Statutes, by us here eſtabliſhed, we think it moſt neceſſary and convenient, that Poulterers ſhall kill more innocent Poultry, by Cuſtom, than their Wives and Maids can ſell, with a good Conſcience; alſo it is ordered and agreed upon, that Bakers, Woodmongers, Butchers, and Brewers, ſhall fall to a mighty Conſpiracy, ſo that no Man ſhall either have Bread, Fire, Meat, or Drink, without Credit, or ready Money.

15.

Sycophants by the Statute ſhall have great Gifts, and good and godly Labours ſhall ſcarce be worth Thanks; it is alſo thought neceſſary, that Maidens, about Midnight, ſhall ſee wonderous Viſions, to the great Heart-grief of their Mothers.

16.

Furthermore, it is marked and ſet down, that, if Lawyers plead poor Men's Cauſes without Money, *Weſtminſter-hall* ſhall grow out of Cuſtom, to the great Impoveriſhing of all Nimmers, Lifters, and Cutpurſes. Thoſe, that ſing Baſs, ſhall love good Drink by Authority; and Trumpeters, that ſound Trebles, ſhall ſtare by Cuſtom. Women, that wear long Gowns, may lawfully raiſe Duſt in *March*; and they, that keep a temperate Diet, ſhall never die on Surfeits.

17.

In like Manner, it ſhall be lawful for Sailors and Soldiers to ſpend, at their Pleaſures, what pay they get by their Sword; and if the Treaſurer pay them any Thing beyond Account and Reckoning, if they build not an Hoſpital therewith, they may beſtow it in Apparel by the Statute.

18.

It is farther eſtabliſhed and agreed upon, that they that drink too much *Spaniſh* Sack ſhall, about *July*, be ſerved with a *Fiery-faces**; but oh! you Ale knights, you that devour the Marrow of the Malt, and drink whole Ale-tubs into Conſumptions; that ſing Queen *Dido* over a Cup, and tell ſtrange News over an Ale-pot; how unfortunate are you, who ſhall piſs out that which you have ſwallowed down ſo ſweetly; you are under the Law, and ſhall be awarded with this Puniſhment, that the Rot ſhall infect your Purſes, and eat out the Bottoms, before you be aware.

19.

It is alſo agreed upon and thought neceſſary, that ſome Women's Lips ſhall ſwell ſo big, as they ſhall long to kiſs other Men beſide their Huſbands; others Cheeks ſhall be ſo monſtrouſly out of Frame, as they cannot ſpeak in a juſt Cauſe without large Fees; ſome with long Tongues ſhall tell all Things which they hear; ſome with no Brains ſhall meddle much and know little; and thoſe, that have no Feet, may by the Statute go on Crutches.

20.

Furthermore, it is convenient and thought meet, that Ale ſhall exceed ſo far beyond its Bounds as many Stomachs ſhall be drowned in Liquor, and thereupon will follow the Dropſy, to the great Benefit of all Phyſicians; it is lawful for ſome to take ſuch purgative Drugs, that, if Nature help not, the Worms, in the Churches of *London*, ſhall keep their *Chriſtmas* at *Midſummer* in their Bellies; but Taylors, by this Means, ſhall have more Conſcience; for, where they were wont to ſteal but one Quarter of a Cloke, they ſhall have due Commiſſion to nick their Cuſtomers in the Lace, and, beſide their old Fee, take more than enough for new Faſhion's Sake. But now, touching theſe following Articles, we are to adviſe old Men to look with Spectacles, leſt, in finding over many wiſe Lines, they wax blind with Reading.

21.

But now, touching the Benefit of private Houſes, by our rare and exquiſite Judgments, we think it very commodious, that thoſe married Men of weakeſt Wit, and worſe Courage, ſhould provide themſelves with good Weapons, to defend themſelves from Aſſaults, which ſhall aſſail them about Midnight; and it ſhall be lawful for all Wives to have a maſculine Courage, in ſuch Sort, that they, who have had

* A Burleſque on the Writ *Fieri facias*; for Drinking much Wine will not only give a Man a *red* or *fiery Face*, but alſo bring him into Poverty, Debt, and ſo to be arreſted.

their

their Wills to this Hour, ſhall have the Maſtery all the Year after; and thoſe Huſbands, which do not valiantly reſiſt them, ſhall be awarded to pay a Sheep's Head to their next Neighbour, in Penance for their Folly.

22.

As by our provident Judgments we have ſeen into lamentable Miſeries, incident in theſe Parts of the World; ſo, for the Reformation thereof, we do ordain and enact, that the Oil of Holly ſhall prove a preſent Remedy for a ſhrewd Houſewife, accounting *Socrates* for a flat Fool, that ſuffered his Wife to crown him with a Piſs-pot; ordaining, that all thoſe, that give their Wives their own Wills, be Fools by Act of Parliament.

23.

Alſo, it is farther eſtabliſhed and agreed upon, that *Eſſex* Calves ſhall indict Butchers Knives of wilful Murder; and whoſoever will prove a partial Juryman, ſhall have a hot Sheep's Skin for his Labour. *Bow-bell* in *Cheapſide*, if it break not, ſhall be warranted by Letters Pattents to ring well; and, if the Conduit-Heads want no Water, the Tankard-bearers ſhall have one Cuſtard more to their ſolemn Dinners, than their uſual Cuſtom.

24.

Moreover, it is thought good, that it ſhall be lawful for all Tripe-wives to be exquiſite Phyſicians, for in one Offal they ſhall find more Simples, than ever *Galen* gathered ſince he was chriſtened; beſides, if Dancers keep not Tide and Time in their Meaſures, they ſhall forfeit a fat Gooſe to their Teacher, for their ſlender Judgment. The *French Morbus* *, by Commiſſion, ſhall be worth three Weeks Diet, and they, who have but one Shirt to ſhift them withal, may, by the Law, ſtrain Courteſy to wear a foul one upon the *Sunday*; alſo our Commiſſion ſhall be ſent forth for the Increaſe of Hemp, as not only Upland-ground ſhall be plentifully ſtored therewith, but alſo it ſhall ſo proſper in the High-ways †, as the Stalks thereof ſhall touch the Top of *Tyburn*.

25.

In like Manner, we think it neceſſary and convenient, that there ſhall be great Noiſe of Wars in Taverns, and Wine ſhall make ſome ſo venturous, as they will deſtroy *Tyrone* ‡ and all his Power at one Draught; alſo we think it meet, that there be Craft in all Occupations, and thoſe, that are penitent in this World, ſhall have Comfort in a better; Silk-weavers, by the Statute, ſhall proſper well, if they waſh their Hands clean on Faſting-days, for otherwiſe, in Soiling their Work, they ſhall loſe their Work-maſters; Daws, by Authority, ſhall leave Building in Steeples, and dwell in Cities; and ſuch, as are cunning in Muſick, ſhall know a Crotchet from a Quaver; but let ſuch Men, as inſtruct Youth, be very circumſpect; for, if they learn more than their Maſters can teach them, they ſhall forfeit their Wits to thoſe that bring them up.

26.

Furthermore, we think it moſt neceſſary and convenient, that the Generation of *Judas* ſhould walk about the World in theſe our latter Days, and ſell his Neighbour for Commodity to any Man; but the Uſurers ſhall be otherwiſe diſpoſed, for, having Monthly taken but a Penny in the Shilling, ever ſince they firſt began their Occupation, ſhall now, with a good Conſcience, venture upon three Pence with the Advantage; beſides, many Men ſhall prove themſelves apparently knaviſh, and yet, in their own Opinions, will not be ſo; and many Women ſhall imagine that there are none fairer than themſelves.

27.

Moreover, for the further Increaſe of fooliſh Humours, we do eſtabliſh and ſet down, that fantaſtick Devices ſhall prove moſt excellent; and ſome ſhall ſo long deviſe for other Men, that they will become barren themſelves; ſome ſhall deviſe Novelties to their own Shames, and ſome Snares to intrap themſelves with.

28.

In like Manner, we think it moſt neceſſary, that thoſe, who be Fortune-tellers, ſhall ſhut a Knave in a Circle, and, looking about for a Devil, ſhall find him locked in their own Boſoms; Atheiſts, by the Law, ſhall be as odious as they are Carles; and thoſe that depend on Deſtiny, and not on God, may chance look through a narrow Lattice at *Footmen's-Inn* ‖: But my dear Friends, the Grocers, are plentifully bleſſed, for their Figs and Raiſins may allure fair Laſſes by Authority; yea, many Men, by the Statute, ſhall be ſo kind-hearted, that a Kiſs and an Apple ſhall ſerve to make them Innocents.

* Diſeaſe. † *viz.* By the Increaſe of Highway-men. ‡ The *Iriſh* Rebel. ‖ Bridewell.

29.

It is further agreed upon and eſtabliſhed, that many ſtrange Events ſhall happen in thoſe Houſes, where the Maid is predominant with her Maſter, and wants a Miſtreſs to look narrowly unto her.

30.

Alſo, we think it convenient, that ſome ſhall take their Neighbour's Bed for their own; ſome the Servant for their Maſter; and if Candles could tell Tales, ſome will take a Familiar for a Flea. Alſo, we think it meet, that there ſhould be many Fowlers, who, inſtead of Larks, will catch Lobcocks; and many, for Want of Wit, ſhall ſell their Freehold for Tobacco-pipes and red Petticoats *. Likewiſe, we think it convenient, that there ſhould be many Takers; ſome would be taken for wiſe Men, who, indeed, are very Fools; for ſome will take cracked Angels † of your Debtors, and a Quart of Malmſy, when they cannot get a Pottle.

31.

But, ſtay a While, whither are we carried, leaving the greateſt Laws unpubliſhed, and eſtabliſhing the Leſs? Therefore, we enact and ordain, as a neceſſary Statute, that there ſhall great Contentions fall between Soldiers and Archers, and, if the Fray be not decided over a Pot of Ale and a black Pudding, great Bloodſhed is like to enſue; for ſome ſhall maintain, that a *Turk* can be hit at twelve-ſcore Pricks in *Finsbury* Fields, *Ergo*, the Bow and Shafts won *Bullen*; others ſhall ſay that a Pot-gun is a dangerous Weapon againſt a Mud-wall, and an Enemy to the Painters Work ‡; amongſt theſe Controverſies we will ſend forth our Commiſſion to God *Cupid*, being an Archer, who ſhall decide the Doubt, and prove that Archery is Heavenly, for, in Meditation thereof, he hath loſt his Eyes.

32.

O gentle Fellow-ſoldiers, then leave your Controverſies, if you love a Woman, for I will prove it, that a Mince-pie is better than a Muſquet; and he that dare gainſay me, let him meet me at the Dagger in *Cheap*, with a Caſe of pewter Spoons, and I will anſwer it; and, if I prove not that a Mince-pie is the better Weapon, let me dine twice a Week at Duke *Humphry*'s Table ‖.

33.

It is furthermore eſtabliſhed, that the four Knaves at the Cards ſhall ſuddenly leap from out the Bunch §, and deſperately prank about the new Play-houſe, to ſeek out their old Maſter, Captain Crop-ear; alſo it is thought meet, that ſome Men, in theſe Days, ſhall be politick beyond Reaſon, and write more in one Line, than they can prove in an Age.

34.

Furthermore, it ſhall be lawful for ſome to ſtudy which Way they may walk to get them a Stomach to their Meat, whilſt others are as careful to get Meat to put in their Bellies; likewiſe there ſhall be great Perſecution in the Commonwealth of Kitchin-fees, ſo that ſome deſperate Woman ſhall boil, try, and ſee the poor Tallow to the general Commodity of all the whole Company of Tallow-chandlers.

35.

Alas! alas! how are we troubled to think on theſe dangerous Times; for Taylors, by Act of Parliament, may lawfully invent new Faſhions; and he that takes *Iriſh Aquavitæ* by the Pint **, may by the Law ſtumble without Offence, and break his Face; and it ſhall be thought convenient, that ſome be ſo deſperately bent, as they ſhall go into my Lord Mayor's Buttery, when all the Barrels be full, without either Sword or Dagger about them; many Men ſhall be ſo venturouſly given, as they ſhall go into *Petty-coat Lane*, and yet come out again as honeſtly as they went firſt in.

36.

In like Manner, it ſhall be lawful for *Thames* Water to cleanſe as much as ever it did in Times paſt; and, if the Brewers at *London* buy Store of good Malt, poor Bargemen at *Queenhithe* ſhall have a whole Quart for a Penny; St. *Thomas*'s Onions ſhall be ſold by the Rope at *Billinſgate* by the Statute, and Sempſters in the *Exchange* ſhall become ſo conſcionable, that a Man, without Offence, may buy a Falling †† Band for twelve Pence.

37.

It ſhall be lawful for Smiths to have good Ale, and, if it be poſſible, to have a Froſt of three Weeks long in *July*, Men ſhall not be afraid of a good Fire at *Midſummer*. Porters Baſkets ſhall have Authority to hold more than they can

* *i. e.* will drink and whore away all their Eſtate. † A Piece of bad Money; an Angel was half a Mark. ‡ On Signs. ‖ Or, let me go twice a Week without Dinner. § Pack. ** Inſtead of Gin, now drank by the common People. †† Long.

honeſtly

honeſtly carry away ; and ſuch a Drought ſhall come amongſt Cans * at *Bartholomew* Fair in *Smithfield*, that they ſhall never continue long filled.

38.

The Images in the *Temple* Church, if they riſe again, ſhall have a Commiſſion to dig down *Charing-croſs* with their Fauchions ; and Millers, by Cuſtom, ſhall have ſmall Mind to Morning-prayers, if the Wind ſerve them in any Corner on *Sunday*. Thoſe that go to Wars, and can get nothing, may come Home poor by Authority; and thoſe, that play faſt and looſe with Women's Apron-ſtrings, may chance make a Journey for a *Wincheſter* Pigeon ; for Prevention thereof, drink every Morning a Draught of *Noli me tangere*, and, by that Means, thou ſhalt be ſure to eſcape the Phyſician's Purgatory †.

39.

Furthermore, it ſhall be lawful for Bakers to thrive by two Things ; that is, Scores well paid, and Millers that are honeſt.

40.

Phyſicians, by other Men's Harms, and Church-yards by often Burials.

41.

Alſo, we think it neceſſary for the Commonwealth, that the Salmon ſhall be better ſold in *Fiſh-ſtreet*, than the Beer ſhall be at *Billingſgate*.

42.

And Heart's Eaſe, among the Company of Herb-wives, ſhall be worth as much Money as they can get for it by the Statute.

43.

It is further enacted and agreed upon, that thoſe that run four-ſcore Miles a Foot, on a Winter's Day, ſhall have a ſore Thirſt about Seven of the Clock in the Evening.

44.

And ſuch, as are inclined to the Dropſy, may be lawfully cured, if the Phyſicians know how.

45.

Alſo, we ordain and appoint, that, if there be no great Store of Tempeſts, two half-penny Loaves ſhall be ſold for a Penny in *Whitechappel*.

46.

Chaucer's Books, by Act of Parliament, ſhall in theſe Days prove more witty, than ever they were before; for there ſhall ſo many ſudden, or rather ſodden Wits, ſtep abroad, that a Flea ſhall not friſk forth, unleſs they comment upon her.

47.

O what a deteſtable Trouble ſhall be among Women about four-ſcore and ten Years old, for ſuch as have more Teeth about them, than they can well uſe, ſhall die for Age, if they live not by Miracle.

48.

Moreover, we think it neceſſary, that thoſe that have two Eyes in their Head, ſhall ſometimes ſtumble ; and they, that can neither write nor read, may as boldly forſwear themſelves, as they that can.

49.

And it ſhall be lawful for Almanack-makers, to tell more Lyes than true Tales.

50.

And they that go to Sea, without Victuals, may ſuffer Penury by the Statute.

51.

In like Manner it ſhall be lawful for any Man to carry about him more Gold than Iron, if he can get it.

52.

But they that are given to ſullen Complexions, if they be Females, muſt be more circumſpect ; for, if they repent their hidden Sins too much, they may by Chance catch Heaven for their Labour.

53.

Therefore, let Maidens take Heed how they fall on their Backs, leſt they catch a forty Weeks Favour ‡.

54.

And he that hath once married a Shrew ‖, and, by good Chance, buried her, beware how he come into the Stocks again.

55.

Further, it ſhall be lawful for thoſe that be rich, to have many Friends ; and they, that be poor, may, by Authority, keep Money, if they can get it honeſtly.

56.

Alſo, we command and charge all ſuch as have no Conſcience, to do their Worſt, leſt they die in the Devil's Debt. As for the reſt, they that have more Money, than they need, may help their poor Neighbours, if they will.

* Ale-houſe Pots. † *viz.* a Salivation. ‡ A Woman goes forty Weeks with Child. ‖ A Scold or ill bred Woman.

57. In

57.

In like Manner, it ſhall be lawful for ſuch, as are ſubject to hot Rheums, to drink cold Drink: And thoſe that have a Mind to inrich Phyſicians, to be never without Diſeaſes.

58.

Alſo, Soldiers, that have no Means to thrive, by plain Dealing, may by the Statute ſwallow down an Ounce of the Syrup of Subtlety every Morning; and, if they cannot thrive that Way, we think it neceſſary, that, four Times in the Year, they go a Fiſhing * on *Salisbury* Plain.

59.

Furthermore, for the Benefit and Increaſe of fooliſh Humours, we think it neceſſary, that thoſe our dear Friends, who are ſworn true Servitors to Women's Pantables, ſhould have this Order ſet down, that you ſuit yourſelves handſomely againſt Gooſe-feaſt †; and if you meet not a fair Laſs betwixt St. *Paul*'s and *Stratford*, that Day, we will beſtow a new Suit of Sattin upon you, ſo you will bear all the Charges.

60.

But, as for your dear Friends and Scholars, thus much we favour you, for you ſhall dine upon Wit by Authority; and, if you pay your Hoſteſs well, it is no Matter, though you ſcore it up till it come to a good round Sum.

61.

In like Manner, it ſhall be lawful for Maid's Milk to be good Phyſick for kibed Heals; and a Cup of Sack to Bed-ward, a preſent Remedy for the Rheum.

62.

Such as are ſick, in the Spring, may take Phyſick by the Statute; and thoſe that are cold may wear more Clothes without Offence.

63.

It is beſt to ride in long Journies, leſt a Man be weary with going a-foot; and more comely to go in broken Stockings than bare-legged.

64.

Further, it ſhall be lawful for ſome to be lean, becauſe they cannot be fat.

65.

Some, by Statute, ſhall love Beef paſſing well, becauſe they can come by no other Meat; and other ſome ſimper it with an Egg at Dinner, that dare manfully ſet upon a Shoulder of Veal in the Afternoon.

66.

Some ſhall be ſad, when they want Money, and in Love with Widows rather for their Wealth than their Honeſty.

67.

It is alſo thought neceſſary, that ſome ſhall ſuſpect their Wives at Home, becauſe they themſelves play falſe Abroad.

68.

And ſome love Bowling-allies ‡ better than a Sermon.

69.

But, above all other Things, Spirits with Aprons ſhall much diſturb your Sleep about Midnight.

70.

Furthermore, it ſhall be lawful for him, that marries without Money, to find four bare Legs in his Bed; and he, that is too prodigal in Spending, ſhall die a Beggar by the Statute.

71.

In like Manner we think it neceſſary, that he, that is plagued with a curſed Wife, have his Pate broke quarterly, as he pays his Rent.

72.

Likewiſe, he, who delights in Subtlety, may play the Knave by Cuſtom; and he, who hath his Complexion and Courage ſpent, may eat Mutton on Faſting-days by the Law.

73.

And to conclude, ſince there are ten Precepts to be obſerved in the Art of Scolding, we humbly take our Leave of Duke *Humphry*'s Ordinary, and betake us to the Chapel of ill Counſel, where a Quart or two of fine *Trimdado* ſhall arm us againſt the Gun-ſhot of Tongue-metal, and keep us ſafe from the Aſſaults of Sir *John Find-fault*. *Vale*, my dear Friends, till my next Return.

* *i.e.* Collecting or Thieving. *London*, on *Thurſday* in *Whitſun* week.

† Or, *Green-gooſe Fair*, kept at *Stratford Bow*, two Miles from

‡ Nine-pins, or Skittles, at Ale-houſe.

John

John Reynard's Deliverance from the Captivity of the *Turks*, and his Setting free of Two-hundred and Sixty-ſix Chriſtians that were *Galley-Slaves*.

OF ſuch Honour (amongſt all Nations) hath the Trade of *Merchandizing* been ever accounted, that Commerce (ever in the hotteſt Flames of *War* againſt one another) could find no better, or fairer Means to unite them in Amity, and to join them as it were in Wedlock, than by *Commerce* and *Negotiation*. This is that Chain which binds Kingdoms in Leagues, begets Love between Princes far removed aſunder, and teacheth Nations, different in Quality, in Colour, in Religion, to deal faithfully together as Brethren. Traffick (to ſpeak of our own Country) hath increaſed and ſtrengthened our *Navy*, which is a ſecond Wall (beſides that Girdle of the Sea that encompaſſeth her Body) to defend our Iſland. It is the Breeder, and only Bringer-up of good Mariners, skilful Pilots, and cunning Navigators, who, to a State, are as neceſſary in Peace as Husbandmen for the Tillage; and in War, as ſerviceable as ſo many Captains in the Field. Traffick is the Carrier-Abroad of our own Home-ſpun Commodities, and a Bringer-in of the Fruits of foreign Kingdoms, by which Means the Merchant and Citizen grow up to Wealth, and the Tradeſman, that lives by the Hardneſs of his Hand, is ſtill kept and maintained in good Doings. There is no Coaſt, be it never ſo dangerous, left unſought; no Language, be it never ſo barbarous, or hard to learn, left unſtudied; no People, never ſo wild, left unventured upon, nor any Treaſure of the Earth, or curious Work of Man, left unpurchaſed, only for this End, to do Honour to our Country, and to heap Riches to ourſelves; both which Benefits do only ſpring out of our Trading to foreign Shores.

For this Cauſe, therefore (a Peace being concluded between the two great and opulent Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*) an *Engliſh* Ship, called the *Three Half Moons*, being manned with thirty-eight Mariners, and bravely armed with Amunition, was rigged, victualled, and ready furniſhed to take her Voyage to *Spain*. The Gods of the Sea, the Winds, knowing her Intent, prepared themſelves to go along with her, and, making the Waves ready, it became this Ship to hoiſt up Sails and come on; ſo that with a merry Gale ſhe took her Leave at *Portſmouth*, bending her Courſe towards *Sevil*, the greateſt City in *Spain*. Gallantly did ſhe, for many Days, hold up her Head, and danced even on the Top of the Billows; her Maſts ſtood up ſtifly, and went away like ſo many Trees moved by Enchantment, whilſt the big-bellied Sails made haſte to fly after, bluſtering and puffing either in Scorn, or in Anger, yet could never overtake them; or rather, as Lovers roaming after young Damſels at Barlibreak*, they took Delight to ſee them make away before, and of Purpoſe ſuffered them to uſe that Advantage. But, alas! how ſoon does the Happineſs of this World alter? In this Bravery had ſhe not carried herſelf long, but, entering into the *Straights*, *Neptune*† grew angry with her, or elſe, envying her Glory, ſent eight Gallies of the *Turks* to beſet her round. Now, or never, was both the Courage, and the Cunning of the Mariner, to be ſhewed; for either he muſt, by the Wings of his Sails, fly away, and ſo ſave himſelf, or manfully ſtand to it, and preſerve all from Danger, or glorioufly to ſuffer all to periſh. Of Flight was there no Hope, for the Winds and Waves, that before were their Friends, and tempted them to ſet forth, grew now treacherous, and conſpired their Deſtruction. Nothing, therefore, but the miraculous Power of Heaven, and their own Reſolutions, is on their Side; every Man hereupon calls up his Spirits, and, as the Suddenneſs of the deadly Storm would allow them, did comfort one another. It was a goodly Sight to behold,

* A Sort of Play, uſed by young People, in the Country. † The Poetical God of the Sea.

behold, how, to the very Face of Danger, they did defy Danger; and how in the Midſt of an Overthrow, which had round beſet them, they wiſely and ſtoutly laboured to work out Safety; nothing could be heard but Noiſe and Confuſion, and yet even in that wild Diſorder was there to be ſeen an excellent Method of Policy. Their Roaming up and down ſhewed as if they had been all frantick, yet, like ſo many Dancers, that ſometimes are here, and anon antickly leap thither, fetching Turnings and Windings, with ſtrange and buſy Action, they cloſed up every Work with a ſweet and muſical Preparation.

For after the cloſe Fights were made ready above, and that the deviliſh Mouths of their *Ordnance* were opening to ſpit Hell-fire out of the Belly of the Ship: Up comes the Maſter, whoſe Name was *Grove*, armed with Sword and Target, waving his bright Blade about his Head in Defiance of his barbarous and bloody Enemies; his very Looks were able to fright Death from his Company; and ſo well did his Courage become him, that it ſerved better than all their warlike Muſick to hearten up the reſt: Cloſe by his Side, as avowed Partners in all Fortune, good or bad, whatſoever, ſtood the Owner, the Maſter's Mate, Boatſwain, Purſer, and the reſt of the Mariners. All of them armed, all of them full of Valour, all of them full of Bravery; they ſhewed on the Top of the Hatches, like ſo many well-guarded Battlements on the Walls of a beſieged City, every Man encouraging his next Neighbour, to fight valiantly, becauſe they were *Engliſhmen*; and to die honourably, becauſe they were *Chriſtians*; rather than ſtoop to the baſe Captivity of thoſe, that were *Chriſt*'s profeſſed and open Enemies.

As the *Engliſhmen* were thus buſy to defend themſelves, on the one Side, ſo were the *Turks* active in their Gallies, on the other Side; their *Scymeters* glittered in the Sun, their ſteel Targets received the Fire of his Beams upon them, and beat it back to dazzle the Eyes of them whom they aſſailed: Showers of Muſquets, with Bullets charged, ſtood ready to be poured down; ſome were preparing to toſs Balls of wild Fire, as if the Sea had been their Tennis-court; others, with Bull's Pizzles in their Hands, walk up and down between the *Rowers*, ſometimes encouraging, ſometimes threatening, ſometimes ſtriking the miſerable Galley-Slaves, becauſe they ſhould be nimble at the Oar, who, for Fear of Blows, more than of preſent Death, tugged with their Arms, till the Sinews of them were ready to crack with Swelling, and till their Eyeballs, inſtead of Bullets, did almoſt fly out of their Heads.

At length, the Drums, Trumpets, and Fifes, ſtruck up their deadly Concert on either Side; preſently does the demy Canon, and Culverin, ſtrive to drown that Noiſe, whilſt the Sea roars on Purpoſe, to drown the Noiſe of both. In this Conflict, of three Elements, Air, Water, and Fire, *John Reynard*, the Gunner, ſo lively, and ſo ſtoutly behaved himſelf, in diſcharging his *Ordnance* of their great Bellies, that, at length, Fire ſeemed to have the Maſtery; for ſo thickly did his Bullets fly abroad, and were wrapped up in ſuch Clouds of Lightning, that the Sea ſhewed as if it had been all in Flames, whilſt the Gallies of the *Turks*, as well as the *Engliſh* Ship, could hardly, but by the Groans and Shouts of Men, be found out whereabout in the Sea they hovered. Many *Turks* and many Galley-Slaves did, in this Battle, loſe their Lives, and end their Captivity; but thoſe who ſurvived, doubling their Spirits at the Horror of the Danger, with which they were environed, fell upon the *Engliſh* Ship in ſuch Storms of Hail-ſhot, which ſtill (like Hammers on an Anvil) lay beating on the Ribs of it, that, at length, the Sea offered, in many Places, to break into her, and to get the Conqueſt, of which Glory the *Turks*, being envious, came flying with the Force of all thoſe wooden Wings that bore them up, and on Purpoſe to board her. But, at this ſtirring Feaſt, *Neptune* was made drunk with the Blood, both of *Chriſtians* and *Turks*, mingled together. Here came the Gallies, and the Ship, to Grappling: Look, how a Company of Hounds, hang upon a goodly Stag, when, with their Noiſe, they ring out his Death, ſo hung theſe Gallies upon the Body of her; nothing of her could be ſeen for Smoke and Fire; ſhe was half choaked with the Flames, and half ſtifled in the Waters. Yet, as you ſhall often ſee a Bull, when his Strength ſeemeth to be all ſpent, and that he is ready to faint, and fall on his Knees, caſts up on a ſudden his ſurly Head, and bravely renews a freſh and more fierce Encounter: So did this Ship break from the Gallies, like a luſty Bear from ſo many Dogs, or rather like an invincible Lion from ſo many Bears. The *Turks* leaped out of their Veſſels, and, like Rats, nimbly climbed up to the Tacklings of the Ship. But the *Engliſh* Mariners ſo laid about them with Swords, brown Bills, Halberts, and Morrice-pikes,

that

that, in ſo tragical an Act, it was half a Comedy, to behold what tumbling Tricks the *Turks* made into the Sea, backwards. Some of them, catching hold of the upper Decks, had their Hands ſtruck off, and ſo for ever loſt their Feeling; others, claſping their Arms about a Cable, to fling their Bodies into the Ship, loſt their Heads, and ſo knew not which Way to go, though it lay before them. In this terrible Inſurrection in *Neptune*'s Kingdom*, it was hard to tell, for a great While, who ſhould be the Winners, albeit, howſoever they ſped, both were certain to be Loſers; for the *Turks* would not give over, and the *Engliſh* ſcorned to yield; the Owner, Maſter, and Boatſwain cried out bravely, and with loud luſty Spirits, *Let us all reſolve to die, but not a Man be ſo baſe as to yield to a* Turk; eſpecially did the Boatſwain ſhew the noble Courage of a Mariner, both in directing without Fear, and in beſtowing Blows in Scorn of Danger; which hard Alms, whilſt he was dealing among the *Miſcreants*, a Shot was ſent from a Galley as a Meſſenger of his Death, and thereby a Spoiler, though not a Conqueror, of his Valour, for it brake, with the violent Stroke it gave, his Whiſtle in ſunder, and left him on the Hatches with theſe laſt Words in his Mouth, *Fight it out, as you are* Chriſtians, *and win Honour by Death.*

His Fall did not abate, but whetted their Stomachs to a ſharper Revenge; only the Maſter's Mate ſhewed himſelf not worthy of that Name, or to be Mate to ſo noble a Maſter as he was, for, cowardly, he cried, *Yield, yield*, pulling in his Arm from ſtriking in the hotteſt of the Skirmiſh.

What City is not overcome by the Tyranny of *Time*, or the Oppreſſion of Aſſaults? What Shores, though never ſo high, can beat back the Sea, when he ſwells up in Fury? What Caſtles of Flint or Marble are not ſhaken with the continual Thunder of the Cannon? So was this poor *Engliſh* Ship; whilſt her Ribs held out, and were unbroken, her Mariners held out, and had their Hearts ſound: But when they felt her ſhrink under them, that ſhould bear them up in all Storms, and that ſuch Numbers of *Turks* did ſo oppreſs them with thronging in, and with beating them down, when they had ſcarce Feet able to ſtand, then, even then, did they not yield, but yet then were they taken.

Glad was the *Turk* that (though in this Storm it rained down Blood ſo faſt) he was wet no farther; he looked upon this ill-gotten Commodity, with a dull and heavy Eye, for the Foot of his Account ſhewed him, that his Gains of this Voyage would not anſwer the treble Part of his Loſſes: Enraged at which, emptying the weather-beaten and the mangled Ship, both of Men, and of ſuch Things as were worth the Carriage; the one he took Home with him, to inrich the Number of his Spoils, the other were condemned to the Gallies.

Near to the City of *Alexandria* (being a Haven-Town) and under the *Turk*'s Dominion) is a a Road, defended by ſtrong Walls, where the Gallies are drawn up on Shore, every Year, in the Winter Seaſon, and are there trimmed and laid up againſt the *Spring*. In this Road ſtands a Priſon, where all thoſe, that ſerve in thoſe Gallies of *Alexandria*, are kept as Captives, ſo long as the Seas be rough, and not paſſable for their *Turkiſh* Veſſels: Hither were theſe *Chriſtians* brought; the firſt Villainy and Indignity, that was done unto them, was the Shaving off all the Hair both Head and Beard, thereby to rob them of thoſe Ornaments, which all *Chriſtians* make much of, becauſe they beſt become them.

It is well known to all Nations in *Chriſtendom* (by the woful Experience of thoſe Wretches that have felt it) what Miſery Men endure in this Thraldom under the *Turk*. Their Lodging is the cold Earth; their Diet, coarſe Bread, and (ſometimes) ſtinking Water; for, if they ſhould taſte of the clear Spring, their Drink were as good as the *Turks*, who never taſte Wine; their Apparel, thin and coarſe Canvas; their Stockins and Shoes, heavy Bolts, and cold Irons; the Exerciſe, to put Life into them, or to catch them a Heat, is at the Pleaſure of a proud and dogged *Turk*, for the leaſt Fault, nay, for none at all, but only to feed his Humour, to receive a hundred Baſtinadoes, on the Rim of the Belly, with a Bull's dried Pizzle, at one Time, and within a Day after, two hundred Stripes on the Back.

In this moſt lamentable Eſtate, did theſe *Chriſtians* continue, but it was not long before the Maſter and Owner, by the good Means of Friends, were redeemed from this Slavery; the reſt, lying by it, ſoon were ſtarved to Death; others with Cold, and Blows, breathed out their laſt.

But *John Reynard*, (the Gunner) being ena-

* *viz.* The Sea.

bled, by the Providence and Will of God, to endure this Affliction, with a ſtronger Heart, than others could, outlived moſt of his Fellows, only to be (as it after fell out) a Preſervation of his own Life, with many other *Chriſtians*. For having ſome Skill in the Trade of a Barber, he did by that Means, ſhift now and then for Victuals, and mended his hard Diet; whereupon growing (after a long Impriſonment) into Favour with the *Keeper* of the *Chriſtians*, that were Galley-ſlaves, he ſo behaved himſelf, that, at length, he got Liberty to go in and out to the Road, at his Pleaſure, paying a certain Stipend to the *Keeper*, and wearing a Lock about his Leg; and this Liberty did ſix more likewiſe purchaſe, upon like Sufferance, who by Reaſon of long Impriſonment, were never ſuſpected to ſtart aſide, or that they had in their Boſoms ever any Thought, to work the *Turks* any Miſchief, with whom they had ſtaid ſo long, that in a Manner they were as Brothers, familiar together.

But the Wrath of Winter driving all the Gallies into Harbour, by which Means they lay there unrigged and diſfurniſhed of all their Properties, which ſet them forth; the Maſters, Captains, and Officers of the Gallies, retiring likewiſe either to their private Affairs, or to ſome other Employment of the State; behold there remained (at this Seaſon, and Part of the Year) in this Priſon of the Road, two-hundred and ſixty-ſix *Chriſtian* Priſoners, who were of fifteen ſeveral Nations, and all of them taken and made Slaves to the *Turk*.

Amongſt which there were (at this Time) but only three *Engliſhmen*, and of them was this *John Reynard* one; who having worn out the Miſery of thirteen or fourteen Years Servitude under ſo barbarous a Tyrant, began (as he full often had done before) to call to Mind the Happineſs and Freedom of his own Country, which comparing to his preſent State, he wept to remember the one, and got up his manly Courage, and caſt in his Thoughts, how to ſhake off the other.

Not far from the Road, ſomewhat near to one Side of the City, was a Victualling-houſe, which one *Peter Unticaro* had hired, paying alſo a certain Fee for his Liberty, to the Keeper of the Road; this *Peter Unticaro*, being a *Spaniard* born, and a *Chriſtian*, had been Priſoner, under the *Turks*, by the Space of thirty Years, yet never (though many Times the Forelock of Occaſion was thruſt into his Hands) did he practiſe any Means for his Inlargement, but lived ſo quietly, and ſo contentedly, in outward Appearance, as if he had forgotten that he was born amongſt *Chriſtians*, or that he ever deſired to be buried amongſt them. Notwithſtanding which, did *John Reynard* open his Intent to this *Spaniard*, who conſented to put it in Act, and within a few Days after, a third Perſon (of their Fellow-priſoners) was drawn into the Conſpiracy; which there, ſo often as they could without Suſpicion, held Conference together, laid ſeveral Plots for their Eſcape, and at the End of ſeven Weeks, or thereabouts, their Councils had fully begot the Means of their preſent Delivery. Five more therefore are made acquainted with the Buſineſs, to all whom Liberty being ſweet, (eſpecially out of ſo baſe and infamous a Slavery) theſe eight reſolved (in three Nights following) to free not only themſelves, but all the reſt of the *Chriſtians*, that were in Priſon. In the Priſon do theſe eight meet (at a Time convenient) and there did *Reynard* and *Unticaro* deliver to all the reſt what was intended; every Man was glad of the News, every Man vowed to aſſiſt them, and in the Action to win Freedom, or to end their Lives. Upon this confident Truſt put each upon other, *Reynard* and *Peter* ſecretly furniſhed them with Files, which they had as ſecretly provided for the Purpoſe, charging every Perſon to beſtir himſelf nimbly, and to have his Heels at Liberty from Shackles, by ſuch an Hour of the following Evening.

The Night approaching, *Reynard* and *Unticaro*, with the other ſix, being at the *Spaniard*'s Houſe, ſpent their Time merrily, to blind the Eyes of Suſpicion, till Darkneſs had taken hold of the World; at which Time, *Peter Unticaro* was ſent to the Maſter of the *Road*, in the Name of one of the Maſters of the City, with whom the Keeper of the Road was acquainted, and at whoſe Requeſt he would gladly come: Who deſired him to meet the other at *Peter*'s Houſe preſently, promiſing to bring him back again to the Road.

The Keeper, upon Delivery of this Meſſage, agreed to go with *Unticaro*, commanding the Warders not to bar the Gate, becauſe his Return ſhould be ſpeedy.

In the mean Seaſon, had the other ſeven, who ſtaid in *Peter*'s Houſe, furniſhed themſelves with ſuch Weapons, as the Time and Place did afford them; amongſt whom, *John Reynard* had gotten an old ruſty Sword-blade, without either Hilt or Pommel, which, notwithſtanding, by bending the Hand-end of the Sword, inſtead of a Pommel, ſerved his Turn; the other had Spits, Glaves, &c.

The

The Keeper of the *Road*, being with *Unticaro*, entered into the Houſe; the Lights were of Purpoſe put out, and no Noiſe of any living Creature to be heard: At which, the Keeper of the *Road* being aſtoniſhed, and ſuſpecting ſome Villainy, ſtepped back; but *John Reynard*, having hid himſelf in a Corner next to the Door, ſtepped forth unto him, and ſtopped his Paſſage; who, perceiving it to be *John Reynard*, and that he was armed (as he might well fear) for Miſchief, ſaid thus: *O* Reynard, *what have I deſerved at thy Hands, that thou ſeekeſt my Death? Marry, this haſt thou deſerved* (quoth *Reynard*) and ſtruck him on the Head, that he clove his Scull: *Thou haſt been a Sucker of much* Chriſtian *Blood, and therefore die like a Villain.* No ſooner were his Hands lifted up to give his fatal Blow, but the reſt (being at his Elbow) came forward, and quickly diſpatched him, cutting off his Head, and ſo mangled him, that he could not be known.

This Prologue to the *Tragedy* going off ſo well, Heaven was by this Time hung all over with Black, to add a Grace to that which was to be acted; no Time, therefore, do they loſe, but ſteal ſoftly, and yet reſolutely to the *Road*, where entering, they found ſix Warders only, who aſked, *Who is there?* All Friends, replied the other, and were let in, but inſtead of Welcomes, Blows were given, and the ſix Warders, in a ſhort Time, left dead on the Floor.

Upon this (taking their Enemies Weapons, to defend themſelves) were the Gates preſently barred up ſtrongly, and the Mouth of a Cannon planted full upon it, ready charged, and one appointed with a Linſtock, to give Fire, if any Aſſault were made upon them. Then entered they into the Jailor's Lodge, where they found the Keys both of the *Fortreſs*, and of the Priſon, by his Bed-ſide, and in his Chamber, where they armed with better Weapons. In this Lodge of the Keepers, found they likewiſe a Cheſt, which *Unticaro*, and one or two more opening, found well lined with Duckets; the *Spaniard*, and ſome others, neglecting the Buſineſs in Hand, ſtuffed their Boſoms and Pockets with this Gold; but *Reynard* diſſuaded them from that Covetouſneſs, which was likely to be the Overthrow of them all, wiſhing them to provide for their Liberty, which ſhould return to the Honour of God, and of their Countries, rather than to ſell their Lives, yea, perhaps their Souls, for the Treaſure of *Infidels*. But the *Spaniard*, and his Companions, liked the Colour of the Duckets, better than *John Reynard*'s Doctrine, and therefore they haſtened away to the Priſon, whoſe Doors being opened, it appeared, that they with their Files had plied their Work as well within, as the other had with their Weapons abroad, for every Man's Legs were delivered from his Irons; whereupon, having firſt put certain Warders (that were to look to the Priſon) to Silence for ever Speaking more, they all fell roundly to Labour; ſome to ramming up the Gates, ſome to launch out a certain Gally, which was the beſt in all the *Road*, and was called the *Captain* of *Alexandria*; ſome carried Maſts, others fetched Sails, others laid in Oars, all of them were buſy, all of them ſweat hard, yet none of them were weary.

In killing thoſe *Turks*, that were Warders about the Priſon, eight other *Turks*, hearing a Noiſe, and ſuſpecting Miſchief, got up to the Top of the Priſon, between whom and the Priſoners (who could not come near them but by Ladders) was a hot Skirmiſh. Some were wounded on both Sides, ſome ſlain outright. *John Reynard* was thrice ſhot through his Apparel, but not hurt; *Peter Unticaro*, and the reſt, that ſhared in the Duckets, being not able to carry their Bodies in this Danger, by Reaſon of the Gold about them, which wearied them with the Weight, were there firſt mortally wounded, and after were ſtricken down dead.

Amongſt the *Turks*, was one thruſt through, who falling from the Top of the Priſon-wall, made ſo horrible a Noiſe, that the *Turks*, who dwelt within, hearing (for here and there ſtood a Houſe or two ſcattering) came to take him up, before he was full dead, and by him underſtood, how the Gally-ſlaves were reckoning with the *Turks* about their Ranſom, without paying any Thing, but cracked Crowns towards it; hereupon, they raiſed both that Part of *Alexandria*, which lay on the Weſt Side of the *Road*, and a Caſtle, which was at the End of the City, next to the *Road*, alſo another Fortreſs which lay on the other Side of the *Road*.

The Alarum thus, on every Side, being given, Danger and Death did round about beſet the poor *Chriſtians*; there was but one only Paſſage to eſcape forth, and that lay between the very Jaws of Deſtruction; yet notwithſtanding, no Man's Heart failed him; the nearer Death came towards this Company of Wretches, the leſs ſeemed they to care for his Threatenings,

for the *Road* is ſtill repleniſhed with luſty Soldiers, with ſtout Labourers, and with tough Mariners, all whoſe Hands are full of helping one another in this great Work of Life and Death; ſome to victual the Galley, that muſt ſave them; others to hang up the Tacklings, others to line it with Shot, for Defence againſt Enemies, but the moſt Part were buſy in keeping the *Turks* from the Wall of the *Road*. In the End, all Things being in a Readineſs, every Man leaped into the Galley joyfully, hoiſted up Sails luſtily, and launched into the Seas merrily, ſubmitting their Lives and Fortunes, to the Mercy of him, that commands both Sea and Land.

The Veſſel floats on the Waves, like a goodly Pageant; ſhe flies away by the Help of Oars, as if ſhe had borrowed ſo many Wings; and in a Moment, is ſhe gotten ſafe out of the *Road*; but, having eſcaped one Danger, ſhe encounters a greater, for now, on both Sides of her, do the two Caſtles ſend out their Vengeance; the Cannons roar, and ſhoot to ſink them; the Waves watch that Advantage, and gape to devour them; forty and five Bullets, (dreadful as Thunder) fell about theſe *Chriſtians* Ears, yet not one of them bruiſed their Heads; they came out of the *Road* ſafely, and went from the Danger of the Caſtles ſecurely; for Joy whereof, they gave a luſty Shout, that echoed and rebounded back again between the Clouds and the Shore.

On they went, and though the Winds began to grow angry, and to threaten Storms, yet with chearful Hearts, did they chooſe rather to periſh in the Eye of Heaven, and by the Hand of God, than to be fetched back again, and bear the Yoke of *Infidels*. For caſting their Eyes back, they might behold the *Turks* (for by this Time the Sun was a good Way on his Forenoon's Journey) coming down to the Seaſide in Swarms like Locuſts to devour a Country; all of them laying their Hands, to launch out Gallies, and follow the *Chriſtians*. But ſuch a Spirit of Rage, Madneſs, Diſorder, and Fear fell upon them, that what one ſet forward, three hindered. And as in a City fired, in the Night-time, Men are ſo aſtoniſhed, that they ſcarce can find the common Ways, by which they may ſave themſelves, no more could the *Turks*, in this wild and giddy Tumult, know how to further themſelves. After much Labour, therefore, and nothing proſpering, after much Crying out upon *Mahomet*, and more Curſing the *Chriſtians*, they quieted their Spleens, and looked about them, how to make good what was in this Battle and Battery of the *Chriſtians* defaced; whilſt in the mean Time, the poor *Captives*, were both out of their Sight, and out of their Juriſdiction.

For away went they roundly, one Company ſtill and anon leaping to the Oar, as another felt themſelves weary: All their Prayers being poured out, that the Hand of Heaven would ſo guide them, that they might land upon ſome *Chriſtian* Shore. A long Time did they thus wander in thoſe uncertain Paths of the Sea, the Winds ſometimes blowing gently on their Faces, and ſometimes angerly: Inſomuch that, at length, Victuals began to fail them, and then Famine (a more curſed Enemy than him from whom they eſcaped, yea, than Death itſelf) opened her unwholſome Jaws, and, with her ſtinking Breath, blaſted their Cheeks; by which Means, in twenty-eight Days (wherein they were toſſed up and down from Billow to Billow) there died, for Want of Bread, eight Perſons, to the Aſtoniſhment of all the reſt, that looked ſtill for their Turn, and to be flung overboard after their Fellows.

But, with a more merciful Eye (when he beheld how patiently they endured his Trials) did God look down upon them. And, on the twenty-ninth Day after they ſet from *Alexandria*, they fell upon the Iſland of *Candy*, and ſo put in at *Gallipoli*, where the Abbot and Monks of the Place gave them good Entertainment, warmed them, and gave them Food, not ſuffering them to depart, till they had refreſhed their Bodies, and had gathered Strength to proceed on their Journey. The Sword, with which *John Reynard* had ſlain the *Turkiſh* Jailor, did they hang up for a Monument, in Remembrance, that by ſo weak an Inſtrument, ſo many *Chriſtians* were delivered from ſo barbarous a Thraldom.

From hence, they ſailed along the Coaſt, till they arrived at *Tarento*, where they ſold their *Galley*, divided the Money amongſt themſelves, every Man having a Part of it to relieve them: For ſo hardly were they purſued by the *Turkiſh* Gallies, that oftentimes they came to that Place at Night, from whence the *Chriſtians* went away but the Morning before. So that it behoved them to uſe all the diligent Speed they could, and not to tarry long in one Country. From *Tarento*, therefore, do they travel by Land to *Naples*, and there did they ſeparate them-

themſelves, and break Company, every Man ſhaping his beſt Courſe, to get to his own Home.

John Reynard, took his Journey to *Rome*, where he found good and friendly Entertainment, at the Hands of an *Engliſhman*, by whoſe Means, the Pope gave him a liberal Reward, and ſent him, with Commendatory Letters, to the King of *Spain*, who, for that worthy Exploit upon the *Turks*, gave him in Fee twenty Pence by the Day. But the Love of his own Country calling him from thence, he forſook *Spain*, and his Preferment there, and returned to *England*.

The Copy of the Certificate for John Reynard, *and his Company, made by the Prior and Brethren of* Gallipoli, *where they firſt lande d.*

WE the Prior and Fathers of the Convent of the *Amerciates*, of the City of *Gallipoli*, of the Order of Preachers, do teſtify, that, upon the Nineteeth of *January*, there came into the ſaid City a certain Galley from *Alexandria*, taken from the *Turks*, with two-hundred fifty and eight *Chriſtians*, whereof was Principal, Maſter *John Reynard*, an *Engliſhman*, a Gunner, and one of the chiefeſt that did accompliſh that great Work, whereby ſo many *Chriſtians* have recovered their Liberty. In Token and Remembrance whereof, upon our earneſt Requeſt to the ſame *John Reynard*, he hath left here an old Sword, wherewith he ſlew the Keeper of the Priſon: Which Sword we do, as a Monument and Memorial of ſo worthy a Deed, hang up in the chief Place of our Convent-houſe. And, for becauſe all Things aforeſaid are ſuch as we will teſtify to be true, as they are orderly paſſed, and have therefore good Credit, that ſo much as is above expreſſed is true, and, for the more Faith thereof, we, the Prior and Fathers aforeſaid, have ratified and ſubſcribed theſe Preſents. Given in *Gallipoli*.

I Friar Vincent Barba, *Prior of the ſame Place, confirm the Premiſes, as they are above written.*

I Friar Albert Damaro, *of* Gallipoli, *Sub-Prior, confirm as much.*

I Friar Anthony Celleler, *of* Gallipoli, *confirm as aforeſaid.*

I Friar Bartholomew, *of* Gallipoli, *confirm as aboveſaid.*

I Friar Francis, *of* Gallipoli, *confirm as much.*

The Biſhop of Rome's *Letters in Behalf of* John Reynard.

BE it known unto all Men, to whom this Writing ſhall come, that the Bringer hereof, *John Reynard*, *Engliſhman*, a Gunner, after he had ſerved Captive in the *Turks* Gallies, by the Space of fourteen Years, at length, through God's Help, taking good Opportunity, the Third of *January*, ſlew the Keeper of the Priſon, whom he firſt ſtruck on the Face, together with four and twenty other *Turks*, by the Aſſiſtance of his Fellow-priſoners, and with two-hundred ſixty-ſix *Chriſtians* (of whoſe Liberty he was the Author) launched from *Alexandria*, and from thence arrived firſt at *Gallipoli*, in *Candy*, and afterwards at *Tarento* in *Apulia*: The written Teſtimony and Credit of theſe Things, as alſo of others, the ſame *John Reynard* hath, in publick Tables, from *Naples*.

Some few Days ſince, he came to *Rome*, and is now determined to take his Journey to the *Spaniſh* Court, hoping there to obtain ſome Relief toward his Living: Wherefore, the poor diſtreſſed Man humbly beſeecheth, and we, in his Behalf, do, in the Bowels of *Chriſt*, deſire you, that taking Compaſſion of his former Captivity, and preſent Penury, you do not only freely ſuffer him to paſs throughout all your Cities and Towns, but alſo ſuccour him with your charitable Alms; the Reward whereof you ſhall, hereafter, moſt aſſuredly receive; which, we

we hope, you will afford to him, whom, with tender Affection of Pity, we commend unto you. At *Rome.*

Thomas Grolos, Engliſhman, *Biſhop of* Aſtraphan.

Richard Silleun, *Prior* Angliæ.

Andreas Ludovicus, *Regiſter to our Sovereign Lord the Pope; which, for the great Credit of the Premiſes, have ſet my Seal to theſe Preſents, at* Rome, *the Day and Year above written.*

Mauricius Clenotus, *the Governor and Keeper of the* Engliſh *Hoſpital in the City.*

The preſent State of *Europe* briefly examined, and found languiſhing; occaſioned by the Greatneſs of the *French* Monarchy: For Cure whereof, a Remedy (from former Examples) is humbly propoſed. Wrote upon Occaſion of the Houſe of Commons's Vote to raiſe 800000 *l.* to equip a Fleet for the Year 1671, moved thereunto by the pretended March of the *French* Army, towards the Marine Parts of *Flanders.* By *Thomas Manley*, Eſq; 1689.

THE preſent Deſigns and Puiſſance of *France*, both by Sea and Land, being, at once, both the Wonder and Dread of *Europe*, hath poſſeſſed me with ſo many ſad Reflexions on that Subject, that I, who am but Duſt and Aſhes, and dwell in the Shades of Obſcurity, cannot refrain to form and meditate, how Bars may be put to ſuch approaching Dangers, eſpecially, ſince the Honour, Safety, and Welfare of our Prince and Country ought to be the Bent and Study of the moſt retired Subject.

The preſent State of *Europe* I might fitly reſemble to the Body of a Man, wherein all the Members either languiſh, or are viciouſly affected; ſome through Self-miſchiefs, others oppreſſed by their Fellow-members. *Spain* (heretofore the great Pretender to the Weſtern Monarchy *) droops through her own Follies †, whereof, if ſhe expire, a Jury will undoubtedly find her a *Felo de ſe*, while her Neighbour *Portugal*, inſtead of holding her ſick Head, and pitying her Caſe, is ready, on all Occaſions, to knock out her Brains. *Italy* and *Germany* are troubled with one Diſeaſe, through the windy Humours of her many and ambitious Princes, whoſe continual Jealouſies fill them with Gripings and Diſquiets: *England* and *Holland* are deſperately bruiſed through mutual Buffetings, to which *France* cunningly looed them on ‡, intending, like *Simeon* and *Levi*, to ſuppreſs theſe *Sechemites* ‖, when ſore and unable to reſiſt; all which Miſtakes and Calamities have been to *France*, as ſo many indulgent Nurſes to feed and pamper her; who, like unruly Cattle, treſpaſs moſt on that Neighbour, whoſe Fence is loweſt, and quarry beſt without Fear of impounding, whereby (like the Head in a Body rickety) ſhe grows to an unproportionable and dangerous Bigneſs, whilſt her erring Neighbours (like the Members) waſte and languiſh; of whoſe ſudden and prodigious Growth, I will not now inſiſt on (which yet is none of the leaſt dreadful Conſiderations) nor tell how our *Cromwell* ſeemed a Dictator there; nor record how ſix-thouſand *Engliſh* Red-coats were, at that Time, more eſſential than Humanity and Protection to an oppreſſed King ** of the Blood of

* Till *Oliver Cromwell* enabled *France* to raiſe the ſame ambitious Views upon the Ruins of *Spain.*

† See the Rights of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, in the Sequel of this Collection.

‡ Alluding to the unnatural War proclaimed by King *Charles the Second*, againſt *Holland*, by the Inſtigation of *France.* ‖ *England* and *Holland*, when waſted in their Strength and Wealth, by a long and bloody War. ** *Charles the Second.*

France

France *; for now the Scene being altered by the admirable Conduct of a Prince, whom, therefore, his Subjects ought to reverence, I cannot but obſerve how Chriſtendom, inſtead of a generous Reſentment, and Defence of the Oppreſſed, ſhrinks and faints at every undue Seizure made by that haughty Monarch, as if they fancied ſuch Softneſs could ſecure their own Peace, or charm an ambitious Conqueror into Modeſty, or put a Stop to his Career, whoſe utmoſt End is the Weſtern Monarchy, whereunto, with ſpread Sails, he now apparently haſteneth; whereas they ought rather to be powerfully perſuaded, that ſuch Tameneſs muſt at once enable, and encourage him to devour them alſo.

What Prudence can juſtify ſuch Procedure? Can Time and Patience repair the Miſtakes? Or may ſuch eaſy Conqueſts glut his Appetite, or poſſeſs him with Compaſſion, to ſpare the reſt? Or does not rather one Conqueſt beget a Stomach and Ability to more and greater? Who can ſuppoſe the Seizure of *Lorrain* will immerge him in Eaſe and Voluptuouſneſs? Or his Succeſſes in *Flanders* ſerve as an Atonement to ſecure the reſt? Muſt not theſe unrevenged Conqueſts rather be as ſo many proſperous Gales to tranſport him to greater Atchievements? Seeing the like Drouſineſs, in Relation to *Chriſtian* Princes, gave Occaſion, formerly, to the Growth of the *Ottoman* Greatneſs, and is like ſtill to add to his Triumphs; and, as an Hiſtorian obſerves in the like Caſe of the antient *Britons*, *Dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur.*

Remarkable, then, was the former Policy of theſe Weſtern Princes, when, with the Hazard of their Eaſe and Lives, they maintained the Power of *Chriſtendom* in an equal Balance, dexterouſly throwing their Arms into that Scale which appeared lighteſt, knowing they ſecured thereby their own Peace and Government: On this Account, *England* and *France* are thought to have wiſely fomented the Revolt of the *Low-Countries*, and were, in Effect, as fond, by that Means, to leſſen the Grandure of *Spain* (who then alarmed *Europe*, as *France* does now) as if they themſelves had made new Conqueſts; hence it was, that *Philip the Second*, by Way of Requital, and our *Eliſabeth* (to whoſe Prudence, and Memory, we owe our remaining Glories) threw Oil, and not Water, into the long Troubles of *France*; with which Council, the ſame *Philip* was ſo tranſported (judging it the beſt Expedient to improve his grand Deſign of the Weſtern Monarchy) that to carry the War into *France*, he apparently (but not wiſely) neglected his own Affairs in the *Low-Countries*; thereby ſpoiling a moſt ſovereign Antidote, by an unſeaſonable Application. Nor was the coſtly Attempt of 1588 any Thing, but carrying Fire into † an Enemy's Kingdom, the better to extinguiſh the Flame made by that Foe, in his Country; Kingdoms (like Houſes in a dreadful Fire) being beſt ſecured by blowing up the next dangerous Neighbour: Hence, the *French* are ſuppoſed (by no Fools) to have been both the Midwife and Nurſe to our late *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Wars ‡; begot the ſeveral coſtly Wars between us and *Holland* ‖; continued and foſtered the Revolts both in *Catalonia* and *Portugal*, and of late aſſiſted that King, both with Men and Money.

Cromwell, indeed, was an unparalleled Sinner againſt this antient King-craft, when, poſtponing the general Tranquility, to his own wretched Humour and Intereſt, he aſſiſted *France*, at ſuch a Time, that all the World judged her too powerful for her Rival, *Spain*, who then lay drooping under her own Wounds and Follies, in Relation, principally, to the ill Conduct of her Treaſure, which, alone, will founder the ſtrongeſt Empire; and had this Nation no other Crime to charge on that ill Man (who, like the greateſt Mortals, muſt, living or dead, be expoſed to the ſevereſt Cenſure of the People) it were alone ſufficient to render him an impolitick and hateful Perſon, to all Generations: Whereas, on the contrary, we owe great Reverence to the Wiſdom of his Majeſty, in eſpouſing the Triple Alliance, and entering ge-

* *Cromwell*, being ſolemnly inaugurated Protector, on the 26th of *June* 1657, immediately conſented to a League with *France* againſt *Spain*, thereby ſtipulating, that all the Children of King *Charles the Firſt*, and their Adherents, ſhould be intirely forſaken by the *French* King, and drove out of his Dominions; and that, in Conſideration thereof, *Cromwell* ſent ſix-thouſand of his beſt Troops into *France*, under the Command of *Reynolds*; by which Means, the Balance of *Europe* was transferred, from *Spain*, to the Power of *France*. † *England*. See this whole Expedition in Numbers III and IV, beginning in Page 115. ‡ Between King *Charles the Second* and his Parliament. ‖ In the Reign of King *Charles the Second*.

nerouſly

nerouſly into other Leagues, in order to ſecure the Peace of *Chriſtendom*: But, yet, I humbly conceive, it is not enough for a cheap, ſure, and laſting Peace, ſo long as the Balance remains ſo unequal between the two great Pretenders; and *France*, through her military Grandure, continues ſo armed, able, and daring, to give perpetual Frights and Alarums to the whole Neighbourhood; whereby, a Peace, through a juſt and neceſſary Jealouſy, becomes as coſtly as War itſelf, conſuming thoſe that are ſuſpicious of her; and the daily Motions and Buzzings of her Armies oblige the Neighbours, with Sword in Hand, to an eternal Watchfulneſs, leſt, unawares, the Blow be given; which continual Bendings inevitably muſt draw ſo many dreadful Weakneſſes on the Parties concerned, as muſt, at length, without a Miracle, improve both the Deſigns and Glories of that Prince; which is ſo obvious to all conſidering Men, that ſome of his own Subjects have had the Vanity, of late, to boaſt, even in this Kingdom, what Charge their King would put us unto, by marching his Army (mighty, and in perpetual Pay) yearly near our Coaſts, before really he would attack us: And certainly, great muſt the Advantage be, which *France* hath now over us (whereby an Eſtimate may be taken of our Decay, even in the midſt of Peace) if, when the Humour poſſeſſeth that daring Monarch (whoſe Armies, like Birds of Prey, are always on the Wing) to move towards us, either in Pretence, or Reality (which, by the Event, is only determinable) we muſt equip, at leaſt, our Fleet, at ſix or ſeven-hundred-thouſand Pounds Charge, to prevent the mere Fear of an Invaſion; and when we are wearied, and conſumed by ſo many fruitleſs, yet neceſſary Armings, and laid to Slumber after ſo many Alarums, who can but eaſily foreſee what dreadful Effects may enſue? Wherefore, I conclude, with that great Stateſman, *Cicero*, *Pace ſuſpecta tutius Bellum* *.

But ſuppoſe, that, whilſt the United Provinces and *Spain* maintain their Poſts, we were able both to reſiſt his Attempts, and bear the Expence, yet, it is ſcarce deniable, but, if he devour thoſe Countries, by Piece-meals, and pluck up that glorious Commonwealth, by the Roots (which, without effectual Aſſiſtance, infallibly he will) we muſt alſo receive a Law from him; for what can then keep us, with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, from Subjection to that Crown? Since we already ſee the very Clappings of his Wings beget Amazement: Join the Power and Riches of *Holland* to him, and all the known World muſt bow to his Scepter.

Again, ſhould *France* attempt, and reduce us to ſevere Terms, whilſt our Neighbours ſtand with their Arms a-croſs, it would only expedite their Confuſion, and draw on them a more certain Conqueſt.

I will not, therefore, doubt, but as the Safeties of us, and our Allies, are floating in one common Bottom, and fortified by mutual Intereſts (the only true Cement of Leagues) ſo our joint Deſigns, when once put into Action, will be vigorouſly puſhed on, till the Balance of *Chriſtendom* be reduced to its proper Standard. And, whereas it muſt be granted, that no Conqueſt can ſatiate, Bonds tye, nor Leagues charm this great Pretender †, whereby the Milky Ways of Peace may felicitate *Europe*, without the coſtly and terrible Guards of Armies, ſo long as the Odds remain ſo unequal, and this mighty *Hero* (armed and victorious) is able thus to affright the World, *Hector* his Neighbours, impoſe upon the Weak, and, on every feeble Pretence, ranſack their Countries, without Revenge; nothing remains juſtifiable by the juſt Rules of Policy, but with the joint Arms of all Parties concerned (which, indeed, is all *Europe*) to attack this illuſtrious Man, upon the very firſt juſt Provocation, and by Dint of Sword, carry the War into his own Boſom; and from the Example of wiſe Princes, make his Country, at once, both the Seat of War and Deſolation; whereof the *Romans*, in the War of *Carthage*, are a puiſſant Inſtance; whereas, on the contrary, the States, and Princes of *Europe*, *Italy* eſpecially, neglecting of late to aſſault the *Turk* powerfully before *Candia*, are now juſtly expecting him, with Horror and Amazement, at their own Doors: He that fights in his Enemy's Country, does in Effect, fight at his Enemy's Coſt, and when Peace is clapped up, leaves his Enemy, for that Age, poor, and miſerable, as we have, not long ſince, beheld in poor *Germany*: The *French* King, therefore, commonly makes himſelf the Aſſailant, maintaining half his Wars, at his Adverſaries Charge, by fighting in their Countries; where, if he receive a Blow, he has his own unharraſſed Kingdom, either to receive, or recruit him; and

* A War is ſafer than a ſuſpected Peace. † To univerſal Monarchy.

our

our heroick *Eliſabeth* (who, knowing that Virtue and Juſtice were the only Ligaments of her People's Love, governed her Affairs with miraculous Wiſdom and Houſewifery, made her Payments ſure to a Proverb, and was accordingly adored) ſtudied by all Arts imaginable to fight her Enemies on their own Soil, whereby at once ſhe imprinted thereon the terrible Marks of Deſolation, and preſerved her Country as proper Fuel, wherewith, on all Occaſions, to conſume her Adverſaries. Nor was her Siſter *Mary* intentionally her Inferior in this Particular, when the Loſs of *Calais* (which, in her Hand, was ſo ready an Inlet to aſſail either of the great Pretenders, as common Intereſt directed) was ſuppoſed either to have occaſioned, or haſtened her Death. For this Reaſon, all our Kings, from the glorious *Edward the Third*, to Queen *Mary*, being two-hundred and ten Years, with infinite Care and Coſt, preſerved *Calais* againſt all Comers, as a ſacred Jewel of the Crown; however, a Sort of new Policy ſeems of late to have been introduced. He that fights out of his Country, ſeldom ventures any Thing beſides an Army; but he that is aſſaulted, and beat upon his own Dunghil, commonly loſeth that with the Victory, or at leaſt ſuffereth ten-thouſand Calamities, beſides the uſual Terrors of Invaſion: Whereof the *Swedes* Deſcent into *Germany*, by Virtue of their King's Courage and Alliances (ſuch as I drive at) is a wonderful Example; wherein, a puiſſant Emperor (armed and victorious as *France* is now) was courageouſly ſet upon, and after a fierce War of ſixteen Years, and the Death (as is ſuppoſed) of three-hundred Thouſand *Germans*, torn to Pieces by ſo many eager Confederates (whereof *France* was none of the ſmall ones) who by the deep Counſels of thoſe mighty Oracles, *Richelieu* and *Oxenſtern* (guided peradventure by a Divine Hint) purſued this Method, as the likelieſt Way to chaſtiſe and humble that haughty Family, who otherwiſe, poſſibly, would by Piecemeals, or drowſy Peace, have ſwaggered, if not ſubdued *Europe*. Let brave Princes, for the common Safety of *Chriſtendom*, repeat this Counſel, on another Theatre, the Scale may ſoon be turned, and *France* moſt juſtly be chaſtiſed with her own terrible Scourge forty Years after; otherwiſe it muſt be a long and unlucky War, managed by *France*, on the Soil of other Princes, to make her miſerable, ſo long as ſhe enjoys Peace at Home; allow her that, and ſhe may tug hard with *Chriſtendom*; like *Spain*, who, by Virtue of the domeſtick Peace, contended, in Effect, with all *Europe*, for eighty Years, and put them ſhrewdly to their Trumps: Nothing more, than Peace at Home, enables a Prince to manage Wars Abroad; he then that will humble his Enemy, muſt throw Wild-fire into his Boſom, carry the War into his Country, and ſtrike home, at the Head and Heart.

Nor are the ill Humours, which, peradventure, may be found, in every Country, the meaneſt Argument to excite an Invaſive War; ſince poor *Germany* received the deepeſt Wounds, from his own Weapons, and *France* by her arbitrary Government, and intolerable Impoſitions (to omit the natural Fickleneſs of her People, the oppreſſed *Huguenots*, and the lofty and never-dying Pretences of the Houſe of *Conde*) hath probably prepared combuſtible Matter, wherewith at any Time to conſume herſelf, when once, eſpecially her Neighbours, with powerful Arm, bring Flames unto it, which otherwiſe (as we have there often ſeen within this thirty Years) is, in Effect, as ſoon extinguiſhed as begun.

Why then does *Europe* ſlumber, and meekly ſuffer ſuch dangerous Clouds to increaſe, and impend, till of themſelves they break about their Ears? Our common Safeties invocate our common Arms to aſſail this Lion in his Den, pare his Claws at leaſt, and abate his Fierceneſs, and inſtead of expecting him in ours, attack him vigorouſly in his own Country on the next juſt Provocation, ſince nothing is more certain than that Delays and Softneſs fortify the Danger, and improve that, which, in Prudence, is now reſiſtible, into a Folly to withſtand: Slight Diſtempers, at firſt deſpiſed, prove oftentimes deadly; whereas to meet with a Diſeaſe, before it come to the Criſis, is a probable Means to aſcertain the Cure, and *Venienti occurrite Morbo*, may be as choice a Maxim in Government, as Aphoriſm in Phyſick. *Pax queritur bello*, was a ſhrewd Motto of a bad Man, and ought, more juſtly, on this Occaſion, to be wrote in Capital Letters, on all the Confederate Standards of *Europe*: In Fine, he that ſees not an abſolute Neceſſity of embracing ſpeedily a Confederate War, to abate the Edge of this illuſtrious Pretender, hath either not duly weighed the Danger, has ſome vile, and By-ends, *Bethlem* mad to introduce ſome Hereſy, or is reſolved to truckle. *Tanti Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.*

I ſhould tremble to ſound a Trumpet to War (which is always accompanied with fearful Circumſtances)

cumſtances) did I not from my Soul believe that a ſupreme Peace, like an incurable Gangrene, would create greater Calamities, and introduce both a certain War, and the Hazard of a total Subverſion; for, if whilſt we become meer Spectators of our Neighbour's Loſſes, and Calamities, this Prince, either by Force or Subtlety, improve his Dominions, we can expect no other Favour, but the miſerable Satisfaction, either to be laſt devoured, or ſhamefully impoſed upon; which ſounds ſo dolefully in every free-born Ear, that, to prevent it, nothing can be eſteemed too dear; whereas a ſpeedy Arming of all the Confederates may not only repel, but force the Infection into his own Bowels, and make him experimentally feel thoſe Miſeries, which, meerly to aggrandiſe his Name, and Kingdom, he has incompaſſionately brought on others; whereof I may not doubt, when I conſider how one of his Majeſty's three Kingdoms by the proper Virtue of her Kings (which were truly heroick) and the ſlender Help of of ſome one Confederate, hath more than once made terrible Impreſſions in *France*, and turned up even the Foundations of her Government; for which thoſe brave Princes will be eternally celebrated, whilſt the Memory of the Slothful and Voluptuous periſh, who by forgetting their own, and their Nation's Honour, have taught their own, and future Ages, to forget and diſhonour them; ſo true is it, that that Prince, who reigns without Honour, lives in Contempt, and Danger, and has his Tomb, at laſt, beſmeared with Reproaches.

Men cannot be wanting for ſo honourable and neceſſary a War, whilſt theſe three Kingdoms enjoy Peace at Home; nor Money (the Soul of War) if prudently managed, ſince the Iſſue of ſuch a War muſt, with the Divine Bleſſing, ſecure the Subjects in their Beds, and eſtabliſh ſuch a Peace as may be a laſting Happineſs to the *Chriſtian* World; they will therefore certainly tear open their Breaſts, and give the King their Hearts, and with them their Hands and Purſes, whilſt, with *Cato*, they eſteem nothing too dear for the Peace of the Commonwealth, according to the *Dutch* Motto, *Defend us, and ſpend us.*

And, although we muſt not expect a cheap War, yet certainly it cannot be dearer than a watchful, ſuſpected, and languiſhing Peace, in which we muſt conſume the Treaſure of our Nation, by upholding great Armaments by Sea and Land, to watch a *ſeeming Friend*, that he become not a *real Enemy*, and yet not be able to prevent it at laſt. Nor needs any Treaſure be exported in Specie (which, by all imaginable Ways, ought to be avoided as Part of our Life-Blood) but the Value thereof tranſported in the Growths and Manufactures of *England* (beſides Clothes for the Soldiery) which either his Majeſty's Miniſters may there expoſe to Sale, or our Confederates be obliged to anſwer quarterly at a certain Rate; being aſſured, the *Swedes* maintained that long War in *Germany*, without drawing any Silver out of their Dominions; but, contrariwiſe, inriched their Country with the choiceſt Spoils of their Enemies, as by woful Experience we have found the *Scots* wiſely to practiſe upon us *.

I know it will be objected, that we are in an untoward Pickle to begin a War, after ſo many hideous Calamities, grievous Impoſitions, and univerſal Fall of our Rents, occaſioned by a thouſand Follies; and Why ſhall we throw off Peace a Moment ſooner than we muſt needs loſe her; ſeeing, with the Loſs of her, our Trade muſt be miſerably interrupted?

To which, I anſwer, That were the Continuance of Peace and Trade to be always at our Option, and that probably, the Power of no Neighbour could ever part us, he were beyond the Cure of *Hellebore* †, that would propoſe War in their Stead; but ſeeing the Caſe is quite contrary, *Peace* and *Trade* were better *ſuſpended* for ſome Years, with probable Hopes to enjoy them plentifully afterwards, than after a ſhort Enjoyment, to humour an unreaſonable Fondneſs, loſe them and Freedom eternally. Not, but that I am powerfully perſuaded, that the very Commencement of ſuch a War may be ſo far from interrupting our Trade a Moment, that it may be, at once, the only Means to enlarge ours, and beat the *French* out of hers: Whereas, we now plainly ſee, how, during this preſent uncertain Peace, ſhe dilates her Commerce, and thrives on the Ocean; which, with the very firſt Approaches of a Confederate War, muſt, in all Probability, vaniſh; whilſt the *Dutch* and we have thereby ſo many Advantages, both to beat her out of Sea, and increaſe our own Navigation and Traffick. This is certain, ſuch a War cannot prejudice us, by hindering our Trade with her; it being notoriouſly known,

* In Times paſt, before the two Kingdoms were united. † *i. e.* uncurably mad.

that

that our Commerce thereis, at once, miſchievous to us, and ſtrangely advantageous to her, whether you reſpect the open or clandeſtine Traffick: *Firſt*, in the Quantity, by the vaſt Over-balance of her Commodities. And, *Secondly*, in the Quality of them; thoſe which ſhe receives from us, being ſuch as are neceſſary, and uſeful to her, and infinitely diſadvantageous to us, as our Wool, *&c.* whilſt we import nothing from thence, but what we were a thouſand Times better to be without; and ſuch as if we conſume them not, muſt, in Effect, periſh on their Hands, to the infinite Prejudice of her King, and People, as we know they now ſuffer by the *Dutch* late Prohibition of Brandy, Salt, *&c.* and which, to gratify our ill-tutored Humours, and Appetites, ſubdue our Rents, corrupt and impoveriſh our Nobility and Gentry, deſtroy our Manufactures, and ſnatch the Bread out of the Mouths of our Artificers, and, by Conſequence, increaſe our Poor, and render us the moſt vain and luxurious Creatures in *Europe*.

And, although I cannot magnify our preſent Condition, and Fitneſs for War; yet certainly, it is ſafer Enterpriſing her Abroad (as ſhaken as we are) with the Help of powerful Confederates (whoſe Shoulders may bear Part of the Burthen) whilſt there remain freſh Hopes of Victory, than ſlumber in a dangerous Peace, till invincible Miſchiefs awake us, our Neighbours ſubdued, our Trade expired, War brought to our Doors by a triumphant Enemy heightened by Conduct and Succeſſes, and Cock-pit Law againſt us; hoping, now, by a reaſonable Army (ſuch as the Nation may maintain in Pay and Courage) and the joint Force of Confederates, to reduce the Scale, and confirm that Peace, which thrice their Numbers, and treble Charge at another Time, cannot procure; and, of all Evils, the leaſt is always to be choſen.

If I be aſked, What Aſſurance can Princes have of Alliances, ſince all Ages afford untoward Inſtances of foul Play therein, to the Ruin, commonly, of the moſt Sincere and Daring?

Not to diſtinguiſh between the Diſſimulation of the *South* (where, under the Name of Prudence and Circumſpection, Falſhood and Frauds are daily reverenced) and the Sincerity of the *North* (where moſt of our Alliances are) nor debate the Difference between Leagues commenced by Revenge, Paſſion, or ſome frivolous Capricio (which are no ſooner patched together, than rent aſunder) and thoſe led on by the exact Rules of common Safety and Government (whoſe Reſults are immortal) I anſwer, That honourable Leagues hold commonly inviolable, until the ſeveral fundamental Intereſts of the Confederates are ſecured: Now it is almoſt impoſſible, that any Prince's true Intereſt can be ſecured, whilſt *France* remains ſo mighty and rampant: Let the League hold, till her ſwaggering Fit be over, her Nails pared, and ſhe reduced to Terms of Modeſty and good Neighbourhood, and then let the Allies fall off as they pleaſe: I know, in all Leagues of this Nature, Differences from ſeveral little Intereſts have riſen, how far it has been ſafe, or neceſſary, to weaken the common Enemy; wherein ſome have always been fiercer for a total Subverſion than others, as in the miſerable Caſe of *Germany*, wherein nothing would ſatisfy the *Swede* and *French*, but dividing the very Carcaſs of the Imperial Eagle, whilſt the reſt of the Confederates were contented to cut off her Beak and Talons; yet they all agreed in this, that ſhe was to be reduced and weakened: But ſuppoſe that Allies ſhould prove falſe, when once a War is commenced, What would it do elſe, but at once to haſten the Ruin of them all? And, in the mean Time, inſtruct the deſerted Prince to yield to larger Terms, out-bid the Apoſtates, ſtoop to the Pretender (who, as a generous Conqueror, muſt pity ſuch) and with him, in Revenge, ſet upon the Perfidious, and make them eternally repent ſuch Unworthineſs, unleſs ſafe Counſels in the mean Time preſent.

Again, it may be objected, that Peace ought to be preſerved as long as may be, in Hopes that this buſy and dangerous Prince may expire, before his haughty Deſigns are accompliſhed, and the Affairs of *France* fall thereby into the Hands of an Infant, or a lazy and effeminate Prince (that is worſe than a Child) accompanied (as commonly) with corrupt, faithleſs, or factious Counſellors and Flatterers, the Vermin of Courts, and Plague and Ruin of Crowns and Scepters, whereby (without the Hazard of a War) her huffling, and proſperous Condition (as frequent Examples tell us) may be rendered languiſhing enough.

I anſwer, That that, which may be, may not be, and either this active Prince, who is now but Thirty-two, may live (without a powerful Confederacy) to give *Europe* a woful Conviction of the Folly of ſuch lazy Counſel, or leave a Succeſſor to tread in his glorious Steps, till that be accompliſhed, which all but *Frenchmen* ought to abhor, whatever their religious Perſuaſions

are; and what wiſe Man will expoſe, even his little private Affairs, to ſuch a Riſque, when ſafer Remedies are at Hand.

If it be ſaid, That, in Caſe our Neighbours think fit to invade us, we have Store of *Sampſons* to give them warlike Entertainment, whereby we may defend our own, without concerning ourſelves in Affairs abroad.

I anſwer, *Firſt*, This is clearly againſt the Practice of our renowned Anceſtors, and of all wiſe States in all Ages, who have choſen to fight their Enemies on an Enemy's Soil, at any Rate, rather than ſuffer the Terrors and Deſolations of an Invaſion, though the Enemy ſhould have periſhed all on the Spot. *Secondly*, There is a moral Impoſſibility to maintain *England*, otherwiſe than in a languid and frightful Condition, were her *Sampſons* twice as many, ſhould *France* (whilſt we ſlumber) reduce the *Spaniſh*, and United Provinces, and annex the greater Part of *Germany* to his flouriſhing and mighty Kingdom; Acquiſitions whereof he has too fair a Proſpect. *Thirdly*, I dare affirm, that nothing but invincible Neceſſity, or ill Counſel, ever diſpoſed a Prince to receive an Enemy into his own Bowels, inſtead of ſeeking him abroad, for which I humbly offer theſe Reaſons.

1. The Aſſailants both in their own, and their Enemies Opinion (which, in War, works mighty Effects) have commonly the Reputation of being the better Men, merely becauſe they have the Courage, to ſeek the Enemy, at his own Door.

2. The Invador ſeldom ventures any Thing beſides an Army, which, ten to one, is exceedingly ſtrengthened (eſpecially if his Uſage, or Pay, be good) by either Male-contents in Church, or State, or neceſſitous Perſons, to whom Novelty is welcome, and all Governments alike; a Reaſon which made *Lycurgus* fear to ſee a Beggar, or a voluptuous Perſon, who rides Poſt to Poverty, dwell in *Sparta*.

3. The aſſailed Prince, in Caſe he has not a ſtanding Army, and mighty Treaſure, is, by an Invaſion, caſt into ten-thouſand Straits, in procuring Monies, and raiſing Men, when he ſhould be fighting the Enemy, or ſecuring the Country; whilſt the People, inſtead of taking Sword in Hand, fly with their amazed Families, before the Enemy, they know not where, curſing the Follies of the Government, which have undone them, whilſt Invaſions ſeldom leave other Counſellors, but Fear and Revilings, whoſe Reſults are always wild and prepoſterous.

4. If a Prince, has not a Treaſure of his own, he ſhall ſcarce command the Purſes of his Subjects upon an Invaſion, when they are buſier in concealing their Money to ſupply their own Wants, in the Day of Calamity, than expend it in Defence of the Publick, which their fond Hopes inſinuate may either be ſaved without it, or Fears ſuggeſt is paſt Recovery with it, as was clearly ſeen in the Loſs of *Conſtantinople*, when taken by *Mahomet* the Great; unleſs the Subject has an egregious Reverence for the Government, and Counſels of the Prince, as the Reſults of his Juſtice, and Virtue, whereof the great Queen *Eliſabeth*, in the Attempt of 88, is a glorious Inſtance.

5. Soldiers are generally obſerved to be moſt warlike, and manageable, fartheſt from Home, when freed from the Cares and Addreſſes of Wives and Families.

6. The Prince aſſailed had need ſtand right in the Opinion of his People, in Relation to his Religion, Treaſure, and Government; for if they (who in all Diſaſters will be Judges in ſpite of Fate) have once loſt all Sentiments of Veneration, and Confidence of him, through Miſ-government, they ſoon grow to deſpiſe and nauſeate all his Actions, diſtruſt and preindicate his Counſels, invocate the Ghoſt of ſome glorious Anceſtor, and are eaſily won by the next Comer.

7. The Prince aſſailed doth not only, on a Battle or two, venture his Country, wherein, if he be beaten, he is certainly conquered, but, if he ſubdue the Aggreſſors, he has only their Carcaſes to atone, for the Devaſtation of his Country (the certain Effect of Invaſion, and, next to a Conqueſt, the Buſineſs of an Enemy) which haſtens Barbarity, and a certain Careleſneſs, and opens an eaſy Way to the next Comer; as it fared with this Iſland in Relation to the *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, whoſe Conqueſts and Preſſures made Way one for another; ſo true is it, that Poverty weakens the Hands, and intimidates the Hearts of Mankind, and alſo renders Countries not worth keeping.

8. It is the fundamental Intereſt of Princes to keep the Ballance even, which is not to be done without Confederacies, and Warring upon the growing and dangerous Monarch, it being certain that Armies, Fleets, and Fortreſſes (tho' highly valuable in their Kind, and without which Kingdoms are defective) ſecure a Country not half ſo ſafe or cheap, as Parity of Strength among neighbouring Princes.

9. A Prince,

9. A Prince, who with his *Sampſons* intends only his own Defence, without Regard had of his Neighbours Peace and Safety, may one Day fall without the Help or Pity of his Neighbours, as the excellent Sir *Philip Sidney* obſerves, he that only ſtands on his own Defence, ſtands on no Defence.

For theſe Reaſons, a Kingdom, abounding with *Sampſons*, ought therefore to encounter the *Philiſtines*, in the *Philiſtines* Country, to prevent their Marching into *Canaan*; ſince every Prince, by the plain Rules of Diſcretion, ought rather to humble the thriving Monarch, by making his Country the Theatre of War, (whereon is acted nothing, but Horrors, and fearful Repreſentations) than ſee his own, even with Victory, a Field of Blood and Deſolation.

Laſtly, If from the doubtful Event of War, it be alledged, that Peace, even on any Terms, ought to be maintained.

I anſwer, That from the Uncertainty of War, there remains to us as much Hopes of Succeſs, as Fear of Miſcarriage, but from a ſupine Peace, we have only a certain Aſſurance to be ſubdued at laſt, without the leaſt rational Hopes to eſcape; for let *France* extend her Conqueſts and Triumphs, whilſt we baſk and wantoniſe in Peace, and no imaginable Softneſs and Compliance of ours can oblige her, till ſhe has juſtly branded us with ſome hateful Marks of Subjection; this Sort of Peace being like a mercenary Woman, enchanting at firſt, but ready enough at laſt to betray us to a thouſand Miſchiefs, when once her vile Ends are accompliſhed: And the better to repreſent this Danger, we muſt conſider what Inclinations *France* has to us, when during the late *Dutch* inglorious Attempt at *Chatham* (whereunto by our own Nakedneſs and Proſtitution they were invited, and by what elſe, I know not) ſhe was upon the Point of invading us, with a Royal Army, tho' Affairs ſeemed not then ripe for ſo high an Attack; which if ſhe had nevertheleſs performed, what dreadful Effects muſt have enſued, I leave them to judge, who (with myſelf) either ſaw our ſtrange Conſternation upon the Attempt of a weak, yea, and modeſt Enemy, in *June* 1667, or ever beheld a powerful Army in an Enemies Country; and although peradventure we might have deſtroyed them, yet if they had ſtood, but two Months to an End, and harraſſed four or five Counties, it had been far leſs Charge to the Nation (beſides our Diſhonour and Hazard of our Navy, and Naval Stores) to have borne the Expence of an Offenſive War, ſo many Years together: Nor muſt we imagine this haughty Deſign of *France* (where the eaſy Conqueſt of *England*, and her drooping Condition, is lately exhibited in Print) is otherwiſe than wiſely deferred, till ſhe is become our Rival at Sea, and *Flanders* ſubdued; for both which, ſhe now bids fairly, unleſs, by ſome potent Confederacy, ſhe be happily prevented: And when, in our weekly Audiences, I read of the *French* Growth, and Marine Preparations eſpecially (which our glorious Queen, though Friend enough to *Henry the Fourth*, abhorred to ſuffer, knowing the Conſequence to be ſuch, which by Experience we now find) and yet ſee the World inclined to ſlumber; I cannot diſcern whether we are warned to a generous Reſiſtance, or to prepare our Necks for the Yoke: In the mean Time the Ghoſt of that renowned Woman (who yet loves her Country, even in Shades of Death) reproves us for ſuffering theſe *French* thus to increaſe at Sea; and from her profound Experience, recommends to us Juſtice, and Thrift in publick Treaſure (as the main Pillar of the Government) and War, in the great Pretender's Country; (as the beſt Expedient to keep Peace at Home) from which Rules the Prince that ſwerves muſt end inglorioufly, and be content to be hard cenſured by Poſterity; however, out of Fear, he may eſcape his own Generation.

The Rights of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion.

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THE moſt illuſtrious and potent Prince, *Charles the Second*, King of *Spain*, had ſcarce given up his laſt Breath, when all *Europe*, which was already very attentive on this ſad Event, found that *Spain*, for the Future, was to embrace the Ways and Cuſtoms of *France*. And that, by an uncommon Trick of State, a forged Will was produced, which invited to the Succeſſion of all the Kingdoms, Dutchies, and Principalities of *Spain*, not an indiſputable Relation, and withal the Eldeſt of the Family, but an Ally of Sixteen Years, deſcended from a Woman excluded from all Manner of Pretenſion to thoſe Dominions, and this contrary to Oaths and Treaties; contrary to a former Diſpoſition of the Father and Grandfather, and to the Rights of Birth in ſuch a Degree, as, according to the Laws of *Spain*, was to ſucceed whenever the Line-Male was extinct; contrary to the neareſt Affinity by the Female Side; and, which ſeems to be moſt conſiderable, contrary to the Quiet and Happineſs of all *Europe*: Which proves, as well in general as particular, that the Crown of *Spain* ſhould not have fallen to *Philip* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Anjou* *, but to *Leopold* † of *Auſtria*, Emperor of the *Romans*.

To make this clear, let us take a View of Affairs as they have paſt. *Philip the Firſt*, as every one knows, lived above two Ages ago, and was the Son of the Emperor *Maximilian*, the happy Off-ſpring of the Family of *Auſtria*. He had two Sons, *viz.* *Charles*, who was the elder, born at *Ghent* in *Flanders*; and *Ferdinand*, who was the younger, born at *Medina* in *Spain*: The latter was the firſt *Emperor* of his Name; and the former was the fifth of his Name as Emperor, but the firſt as King of *Spain*. The Partition, which was made of thoſe Dominions between the two Brothers at *Worms*, in the Year 1521, was ſuch, that *Charles*, who was the eldeſt, was to have *Spain*, together with *Burgundy* and all *Flanders*; and that *Ferdinand*, who was the younger, and almoſt a Child, ſhould have the Territories that are in *Germany*. *Ferdinand* reſted content with his Brother's happy Lot, who was already become Emperor; and he was the more eaſily inclined ſo to do at that Time, becauſe that, though his Share was but ſmall, there was no Reaſon or Power which could do any Thing in Prejudice of his other Rights, which he was willing to ſuſpend for a Time out of pure Reſpect to his elder Brother: That is to ſay, that he always reſerved to himſelf and Succeſſors a Power to take Poſſeſſion of that large Inheritance, if the elder Branch ſhould happen to fail.

Under the favourable Influences of this ſolid Rule of Life and Death, *Ferdinand* has tranſmitted his Poſterity, by his Son who was likewiſe called *Charles*, and by his Grandſon, and Great Grandſon, *viz.* *Ferdinand the Second* and *the Third*, in a right Line down to *Leopold* the preſent Emperor: And to the End he might maintain the Union of the Family, and follow the Senſe of the Agreement of *Worms*, he appointed that the Branch of *Spain*, excluding the Females, ſhould ſucceed to his Sons. To *Charles the Fifth*, or *Firſt*, according to the *Spaniards*, and, after *Philips the Firſt*, *the Second*, *the Third*, and *the Fourth*, ſucceeded the lately deceaſed *Charles* of happy Memory.

He had for his Mother *Mary-Anna* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the ſaid *Ferdinand the Third*, and Siſter to *Leopold*, ſo that he was doubly related to the Emperor, as well by the Mother's Side, and

* The preſent King of *Spain*, a *Frenchman*.

† Grandfather to the preſent Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*.

by the Line of his Predeceſſors of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Theſe Reaſons, and ſeveral others, which regard the common Conſtitutions of Kingdoms, and particularly that of *Spain*, did incline *Philip* IV, Father of the lately-deceaſed *Charles*, not to ſuffer that *Maria Tereſa* his eldeſt Daughter, married to *Lewis* the XIV. King of *France* *, ſhould be admitted *directly* or *indirectly* to ſucceed to the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Spain*, but that both ſhe and her Poſterity, of what Sex or Quality ſoever, ſhould be *for ever* excluded. Beſides, he made a Will †, in the Year 1665, by which he expreſly invites the *Collateral* Branch of *Auſtria* to the Succeſſion of *Spain*, upon the Failing of the *Spaniſh* Line.

The Peace of *Weſtphalia*, which was ſigned in 1648, did not hinder, but that a cruel War did break out between *Spain* and *France*, attended with ſeveral Calamities, which continued for ſome Years, and ſeemed to have been in a Way to continue much longer, to the great Prejudice of both Nations, as well by Reaſon of the Preparations, as of the Alliances, which were made on both Sides. Wherefore all Pains was taken to put a Stop to the Violence of ſo implacable a Hatred, by ſettling a good Underſtanding between them; and, nothing ſeeming ſo much to contribute to this as a Marriage, the chief Endeavours were directed this Way.

The *French* King at firſt had an Eye upon *Margaret* of *Savoy*; and it was thought that he had ſo much Love for her, as to incline him to marry her; but it was no hard Matter to make this Prince's firſt Flames abate, by propoſing to him a much more advantageous Alliance in the Perſon of the *Infanta* of *Spain*.

Some Reaſons of Importance made the *French* very much deſire this Marriage; and *Chriſtina*, the King's own Aunt, a Lady of great Solidity and Judgment, having gone from *Turin* with *Margaret* her Daughter, ſhe came to *Lyons*, where ſhe met the King her Nephew; and generouſly exhorted him not to think of marrying her Daughter, but rather to make choice of the *Infanta* of *Spain*, as well for the common Good of *Chriſtendom*, as for the Advantage of ſo many States, which were brought to Ruin, by ſo long a War.

What this prudent Lady would have perſuaded the King her Nephew to, generally preferring the publick Good to her own private Intereſt, was a Buſineſs full of very conſiderable Difficulties. The *Spaniards* had, a long Time before, teſtified an inſuperable Averſion to this Alliance, eſpecially when they reflected on the fatal Confuſions that Perſons of a Temper very contrary to theirs would cauſe in a Government, if the Iſſue of this Marriage ſhould happen to aſpire to the Succeſſion of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, under the ſpecious Pretext of Relation by the Mother's Side. This Difficulty ſeemed, and that too upon good Grounds, of ſuch Conſequence, that it was firmly reſolved not to give Way to it, unleſs that the *Infanta* would prefer the Friendſhip of ſo conſiderable a Huſband to Conſiderations, which otherwiſe perhaps might be of Weight. *Maria Tereſa* then muſt renounce not only for herſelf, in Caſe of Widowhood with Off-ſpring, but alſo for her Children of both Sexes, that ſo the Poſterity of *France* might not have the leaſt Hopes of ſharing in the Succeſſion of *Spain* ‡.

This did not in the leaſt trouble the *Infanta*, who, according to the Way of the World, did look to the preſent, without vexing her Head with the uneaſy Thoughts of uncertain Futurity; ſhe eaſily renounced, both for herſelf and Poſterity for ever, all Hopes of the *Spaniſh* Inheritance, that ſhe might have a preſent Share in the flouriſhing Crown of *France*; conſidering that, if ſhe ſhould have Children, they might be abundantly happy, though they were as far from the Crown of *Spain*, as from the Humour of the *Spaniards*. King *Philip* her Father, and *Lewis* her Huſband, were not averſe from this free Conſent of the *Infanta*.

It is true, that King *Philip* was under a prudent Fear, that, if the Renunciation was not made in plain and clear Terms, the Miniſters of *France*, who were always inclined to captious Interpretations, would take Occaſion to do the ſame in this Juncture, to attain to their Deſigns, which then prevailed by Force; and that

* From whom *Philip* of *Bourbon*, the preſent King of *Spain*, is deſcended.

† Which it becomes every honeſt Man to have by him, when Diſputes ariſe about *Spain*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

‡ It was from this Marriage, that the preſent *French* King of *Spain* laid his Claim, and in Defiance to this Renunciation, which was a Condition of the Marriage, and articled therein, ſupports the ſame by Force of Arms, under the Protection of *France*.

his

his Fear was not groundleſs, Experience has but too much ſhewn: For, though the Matter and Senſe of Treaties be never ſo clear, yet, the Letter being more obſcure, they wreſt it into a wrong Senſe by Force of Arms, as far as their Intereſt and Power will allow.

For which Reaſon, Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Don Lewis Mendez de Haro*, both chief Miniſters of two Kings, and their Plenipotentiaries, after they had endeavoured very much, at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, to agree about the Peace; and after they had, with extraordinary Care, treated of the Form of the Renunciation, they agreed at length with Joy upon a moſt ample one, containing moſt expreſs Clauſes, *which was to ſerve as a Law, for the Future* *.

The moſt Chriſtian King had cloathed his Ambaſſador with a full Power to agree to this Renunciation *: The ſame having likewiſe been done by the Emperor, with Reſpect to his Ambaſſador. And ſince, as *Titus Livius* ſays, *That the Law of Nations prevails in Things which are tranſacted by Faith, by Alliance, by Treaties and Oaths; and that there is a great Difference between the publick Faith and the private Faith; that the publick Faith owes its Force to the Dignity, and the private to the Form of the Agreement*; Nobody doubted but that what was done, with Reſpect to the Renunciation, ſhould have been more religiouſly obſerved, ſince both its Dignity and Form, in the Treaty made about it, did equally contribute to give it Power and Force.

It was upon this Foundation truly worthy of the Majeſty-Royal, that ſo ſolemn an Agreement, and the firſt and moſt noble Part of the *Pyrenean* Peace, was built.

It was impoſſible to find out Words more ſtrong, or more effectual, than thoſe the *Infanta* and the King her Huſband made Uſe of; the one to expreſs her Renunciation, the other to expreſs his Conſent *. There, in the moſt ample Manner, you find a Renunciation of all and every one of the Rights, Titles, Laws, Cuſtoms, Conſtitutions, Diſpoſitions, Remedies and Pretexts by which the *Infanta* (unleſs ſhe happened to be a Widow without any Off-ſpring) or her Children of either Sex, born of that Marriage, could at any Time pretend to the Succeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Dominions. Thus, *the Off-ſpring of* France *were altogether excluded from the Crown of* Spain: Nay, the Pope too was intreated to give his Apoſtolick Benediction to an Agreement made with ſo much Deliberation, and ſo unanimouſly, for the Quiet of both Kingdoms, and for the Peace of all *Chriſtendom*, ſubſcribed with the *Pyrenean* Treaty, *November* 7, 1659; and ſigned in a numerous Aſſembly of the Miniſters of both Princes with mutual Applauſes, and eſtabliſhed on both Sides, with a moſt prudent Foreſight.

Let any one who is diſintereſted, and free from Paſſion, but read the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Paragraphs of the *Contract of Marriage*, and without much Enquiry he ſhall clearly ſee, that no Diſpoſition or Order could be made, nor any Pretext found, by which a Male-Child of *France* could aſpire to the Crown of *Spain*, ſince he is excluded from all Hopes thereto, by Sentences ſo clear, Words ſo expreſs, and Clauſes ſo derogatory and declaratory. There is here no Need of School-ſhifts and *Subterfuges* to obſcure the cleareſt Terms. God, who is the Searcher of Hearts, and who was called upon as a Witneſs in theſe Conventions, does not allow of ambiguous Explications: The Croſs of Chriſt; The Holineſs of the Goſpel; The Canon of the Maſs, and the Royal Honour; by all which, both Parties were to ſwear in the Form of the *Pyrenean* Peace, cannot admit or ſuffer that the Words ſhould ſay one Thing, and the Senſe another.

The Meaning and Intention of thoſe that contracted, and the *perpetual* Excluſion of the Line of *France*, are clearly to be ſeen by the publick Reaſons, and by the Treaty confirmed and ratified by the *French* King.

The ſame Catholick King, *Philip* IV, who muſt be allowed to have underſtood the Senſe of this Agreement, repeats it plainly in his Will, made the Fourteenth of *December*, 1665.

That King appoints ſeveral and different Things in his Will concerning the Succeſſion of *Spain*; he alſo relates ſeveral Things about the Danger that threatened *Spain*, and all *Chriſtendom*, by Reaſon of the Marriages made with the Royal Family of *France*, unleſs there was a Bar put to hinder the Acceſſion of any, that was

* *Viz.* The Form of the *Infanta*'s Renunciation, which has never been regarded by her *French* Succeſſors, though the *French* King pretended to agree to it in due Form, as well as by the Treaty concerning the ſame.

or ſhould be born of them, to the Crown of *Spain* *. He gives a full Account of all the Care and Precautions which he was obliged to uſe with his Siſter *Anna*, with *Maria Tereſa* his Daughter, and with his own Wife *Eliſabeth* of *Bourbon*, to the End that no Child of *France*, whether Male or Female, ſhould by any Manner of Way, or on any Occaſion, come to enjoy the States and Dominions of *Spain*. He mentions Word by Word the Articles that had been lately made to avoid all Occaſions, which might give even the moſt remote Grounds to fear, that the Crown of *Spain* ſhould be united to that of *France*. He particulariſes ſome Lines of Succeſſion †; and though he knew very well that his Daughter could not fail to have a numerous Iſſue by King *Lewis*, his Son-in-Law, ſince ſhe was fruitful, and had already brought forth the Dauphin and two Daughters; yet, not forgetting the *Pyrenean* Peace and Agreements ‡, he excludes the Poſterity of *France* from coming, *in any Manner of Way*, to the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Dominions; not only the Males, in whoſe Perſons both Kingdoms might be united, but alſo the Females, who, by Reaſon of the *Salique Law* could not be allowed to reign in *France*, and conſequently could not unite *Spain* to it, though they were admitted to that Succeſſion. But he rather turns himſelf to his own Family of *Auſtria*, and invites the Children of his Siſter *Mary*, who had died in 1646, after having had ſeveral Children by the Emperor *Ferdinand the Third*; and among others, the moſt auguſt *Leopold* ‖. Nay, he goes farther, and, that the *French* Line might be *abſolutely* excluded from the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Spain*, he appoints, that, in Caſe the Houſe of *Auſtria* came to be extinct, the Succeſſion ſhould fall to the Poſterity of *Catharine* of *Savoy*, his Aunt, who had died in 1597.

All which is a clear and certain Proof of the Excluſion of the *French* Line, and of the undoubted Right of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

The lately deceaſed King *Charles* § was not a Stranger to ſo authentick Teſtimonies of the Truth; the perpetual Renunciation of his Siſter, and of her Poſterity, was notorious. The Will of his Father *Philip* did particularly nominate a Succeſſor of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. *Charles* himſelf honoured the Emperor *Leopold*, and conſidered him as his Relation by the Father's Side, as his Uncle by the Mother's Side, as the Eldeſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria* as to both Branches, and as apparent Succeſſor, by Virtue of the Will of his Father; as bountiful and kind by Reaſon of the Part he had lately given him in the Kingdom of *Hungary*; not to mention ſeveral other Reaſons that he had to honour and eſteem him; yea, being yet alive, he gave him a very ample Power over the Forces of *Spain*.

Nevertheleſs, according to the Revolutions and Turns of the World, ſome of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, won by the Brightneſs of a certain Neighbour's ** Gold, uſed all Means to incline the weak and languiſhing King †† another Way, to take him off from his own Family, and wheedle him over to the *French* Side, which he formerly looked upon with great Averſion. They ‡‡ themſelves acknowledged and ſuppoſed the Validity of the Infanta *Maria Tereſa*'s Renunciation, and of King *Philip*'s Will, with all Things which had been done for excluding of the Heirs of *France*; but the Reaſon of all they make to be this, *viz.* The Fear of the Union of both Crowns; which Fear now ceaſing, and the Union being hindered, there ſhould be Way made for the Acceſſion of the Children of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*.

Then they forge a Will, which, by the Help of ſome Lawyers, they put into Form, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou* ‖‖; and preſs the dying King to ſign it, when his Heart was parched and conſumed, and his Brain diſſolved into Phlegm; a fine Piece of Work this; which will raiſe the Wonder of future Ages, both in Schools and Courts; eſpecially if one would but conſider the Sequel and Coherence of the whole Affair, which is in other Places ſufficiently notorious, as well as thoſe Circumſtances already related.

* Is not this truly verified by the preſent Intrigues between *France* and the *French* King of *Spain*? Has not *France* managed all the Councils of *Spain*, ſince *Philip*'s Reign, to the Service of *France*; and to aſſiſt her in the Ruin of all neighbouring States, and the Acquiring Univerſal Monarchy.

† See the Will.

‡ *Viz.* The Renunciation of the Infanta *Maria Tereſa*, and the Treaty that confirmed the ſame.

‖ Grandfather to the preſent Queen of *Hungary*, &c. § *The Second* of *Spain*.

** *French*. †† *Charles the Second* of *Spain*. ‡‡ The *French* Miniſtry. ‖‖ The preſent King of *Spain*.

By the former Will of *Philip* IV, the Caſe is clear, certain, and without Limitation for an Heir of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; in the late Will of *Charles the Second*, they feign a Limitation, which is inconſiſtent with it both in Words and Senſe. The Son claims in the Laſt a Power to make a Will, which they, that forged the Second, endeavour to take away from the Father.

The Renouncing of the Siſter and the Aunt contains an univerſal, unlimited, and direct Excluſion; but the pretended Will of *Charles* will needs ſay, That it has an oblique Reſtriction in it, directly contrary to thoſe Terms and Intentions above alledged. The former ſolemn Acts declare for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and, in order to their greater Force and Certainty, they are eſtabliſhed as fundamental Laws. But is it to love the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to ſtrengthen its Security, the Depriving it of the Kingdoms already ſo renowned for the Name of *Auſtria*, in the Grandfather's Time, and the Nominating *French* Succeſſors? Reaſon therefore thoroughly concurs with the Letter, for a *total* Excluſion of the *French* Poſterity; and it is not true, that in the Treaties of Contracts between *Spain* and *France*, no more than in the Teſtament of *Philip*, the Union of Crowns was the ſole and only Reaſon.

For why ſhould it elſe have been neceſſary to give it away to the Females or younger Family? When in *France* it goes to the Eldeſt, and the Females are for ever excluded the Crown of *France*; this would be in vain to fear the Union of the two Crowns, in a Perſon which is abſolutely uncapable of either.

The Duke of *Orleans*, one of the Sons of *Anne* of *Auſtria*, was heretofore paſſed by in Silence, and, by Virtue of his Mother's Contract of Marriage, has always been neglected; which, in the mean Time, would be contrary to all this, if Regard was had only to the Fear of Uniting the two Crowns.

And, in the laſt Place, the crafty Inventor of the late Will has been ſo bold, as to do a manifeſt Injury to the moſt ſerene Daughters of the Emperor *Leopold*; inaſmuch as he endeavours to exclude all and every of them from the pretended Will, although he has not the leaſt Ground to fear in them the Throne of *France* and *Spain* uniting by Inheritance.

It is, therefore, evident, that the Predeceſſors of the late King of *Spain* have had ſome other Motive, than that of the ſole Fear of the Union; they having bent *their whole Care to prevent any Prince of* France *from Coming to the Throne of* Spain, *upon the Account of the publick Tranquillity*, and for the *particular Benefit of the Houſe of* Auſtria.

And, if we examine the Danger of the ſaid Union, what is there to aſſure the preſent *Spaniards* againſt the Union, which they never ceaſe exclaiming againſt? Is it the Faith of *France* ſo often given, and ſo often broken? Is it the Gravity of the *Spaniards*, which by the Arts of its Enemies is grown as fickle and as variable as a Weathercock, toſſed by frequent and ſudden Whirlwinds? Is it the Trouble or the Contempt of a Crown, in the Vacancy of a neighbouring one, which lies perpetually at Catch againſt the neighbouring States, till they are reduced into Provinces?

But theſe laſt Things are of a private Concern, whereas the other Things mentioned before are of a publick, and may be of pernicious Conſequence for the Future, whatever Way we conſider them here. The Force of Peace, Treaties, Religion, and the very Laws of *Spain* lie at the Stake, and are called in Queſtion.

The *French* Writers themſelves cannot deny this, not even the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, who has made himſelf famous among them, by a Libel heretofore publiſhed, under the Title of *A Defence of the Right* * *of the moſt Chriſtian Queen.*

That Author writing in the ſaid Work with great Care againſt the *Spaniards*, in Favour of the *French* Army, which then invaded *Flanders*, and not thinking it fit that he ſhould be thought to reflect upon the *Pragmatick* † *Sanction* of *Spain*, he endeavours to elude it by all poſſible Means, and magiſterially to inſtruct the *Spaniards* in what was hurtful or profitable to them. The ſaid Sanction, with the other Laws of *Spain*, are in a Book, intituled, *Nueva Recepilation*, or *A new Collection printed at* Madrid, 1640. This Sanction, in moſt expreſs Terms, excludes the *French* from the Succeſſion of *Spain*, ſo that it

* Of *Maria Tereſa*, which ſhe, with the Conſent and Approbation of her intended Conſort, had renounced before Marriage.

† You ſee that the Houſe of *Auſtria* has been deluded before now by a *Pragmatick Sanction*, thro' the Policy and Power of *France*.

leaves

leaves no Power to *Lewis the Fourteenth*, and his Brother, nor to any of their Children, to ſucceed to the Kingdom of *Spain*, or any of the States depending thereon.

The ſaid Archbiſhop acknowledges very well the *expreſs* Terms of that Law, and puts himſelf to a deal of Pains to overthrow ſo ſtrong a Bulwark. He repeats the Quirks and Shifts of ſome Lawyers, which the *Flemiſh* * and *Spaniards* had already anſwered ſo fully, that the *French* might be aſhamed to mention them again; and, that he might ſeem to ſay ſomething of his own, he endeavours, in whole Chapters, and at the End of his Libel, to diſprove the Reaſons of the Uſefulneſs of that Law drawn from the publick Intereſt of *Europe*; ſaying, That it wanted the Authority of a Legiſlator, and the Solemnity of a Publication; as if the Publick was only concerned in increaſing the Power of *France*, without any Regard to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Quiet of *Europe*; whence it would follow, that *no Monarch could eſtabliſh any Conſtitutions without the Approbation of* France, though they were never ſo conform to the moſt ancient Cuſtoms of former Ages. It is enough that, in that Sanction of *Spain*, the Friendſhip and Honour of the Houſe of *Auſtria* did prevail, after they had before been confirmed by Agreements, which the *French* had made and ſwore to. It is enough that the ſaid Pragmatick Sanction has been made and publiſhed by a wiſe and prudent King, on the Requeſt and by the Advice of the States of the Kingdom, according to the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors, as alſo according to other Laws of a later Date.

This Author forgets himſelf, and condemns the *Salique Law*, and the Authority of his own Kings, if he denies the Force of this Sanction, in the Form and Matter of which, all the former Cuſtoms have wholly ceaſed.

The Averſion of the *French* to the *Female Sex* has not always been ſo ſtrong, as to exclude them with their Children and Relations from the Succeſſion; and nevertheleſs what the *Salique Law*, brought in by Proceſs of Time, has forbid, is as clear as the Sun.

The *French* Authors are not ignorant of the ſolemn Act which has been made not many Ages ſince, which forbids to admit the Daughters of *France*, who are in the Appenage of a Royal Brother, to the Succeſſion after his Death, though till then they had ſome Part in it.

In the firſt Family of the Kings of *France*, the younger Brothers had alſo their Part in the Crown ſo far, that even Baſtards were not excluded. Thus *Clovis*, who was the firſt *Chriſtian* King, being dead, his four Sons divided the Kingdom in as many Parts. *Childebert* had that of *Paris*; *Clodomer* that of *Orleans*; *Clotarius* that of *Soiſon*; and *Theodorick* their natural Brother had that of *Metz*. At length, theſe four Kingdoms being united in *Clotarius*, by the Death of the reſt, his four Sons made a like Diviſion of it, each of them retaining the Title of King of *France*.

This Way of Diviſion continued likewiſe in the ſecond Family of the Kings of *France* almoſt to its End, and all the Children of the Kings of *France* were called Kings. Yet none can ſay, that thoſe Things have been unjuſtly changed afterwards, and that they ought not to have been altered.

Hugh Capet, who brought the Sceptre to the third Family, was the firſt that made the Law, and gave Place to *Appenages*, as may be ſeen by an Act of 1282, pronounced only in the Preſence of thirty Nobles; yet the Female Heirs did not think themſelves excluded by the Act, until the Reign of *Philip le Bel*, who expreſly declared againſt their Succeſſion.

It were eaſy to remark ſeveral like Changes touching the Form of Laws in ancient Times, in the Hiſtory of *France*. Now, what *Frenchman* dare accuſe theſe Changes of Injuſtice, or declare them null? Or, who will accuſe their Kings of Want of natural Affection in excluding their Daughters, even againſt their Will, and without having renounced their Right to it? Who dare declare the preſent Laws of no Force, becauſe they differ from the ancient ones? Not to ſpeak of thoſe *Shadows* of Power in *Modern Parliaments*, which make it clearly appear, that it were ridiculous in *France* to make the ancient Laws the Standard of the preſent ones.

Wherefore the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* does but beat the Air, when he ſpeaks in a florid, but empty Stile, againſt the aforeſaid Sanction; proſtituting, by that Means, the Royal Sincerity, and the Sacredneſs of Oaths, in the Opinion of all thoſe who are not blinded with Partiality: But the Evidence and the Reaſonableneſs of that Law appears to all the World.

Kings ſhould have but *one Tongue*, and *one Pen*, and *there is nothing that ſhines more brightly in a*

* Under the *Spaniſh* Yoke.

Prince *than* Honeſty *and* Sincerity. Things that are *promiſed, agreed upon*, and *ſworn to*, if ever they ought to be obſerved, they ſhould be ſo, without Doubt, by thoſe whom we reverence, and eſteem, as Gods on Earth. It is not lawful that what proceeds out of their Lips ſhould not take Effect. The *Contracts* of Kings are not liable to *School Diſputes*, they deſpiſe the Sophiſms of the Rabble; and they require an Obſervation ſo much the more ſincere, by how much they are agreeable to the Matter of Renunciations, to the Laws of Nations, to the Decrees of the Common Law, and to the Statutes of Eccleſiaſtical Canons.

The *French*, *Flemiſh*, and *Spaniſh* Lawyers, and ſome of other Nations, do teach, "That "Stipulations made of the Inheritance of a Per- "ſon in Life, particularly with Reſpect to a "Marriage that is concluded, are approved by "univerſal Cuſtom. That the Example of al- "moſt all the World is for the Validity of Re- "nunciations; and that too, though no Oath "ſhould intervene, even notwithſtanding the "Minority of the Perſon, when they are made "by a general Conſent, and for the publick "Good: That, in the Oaths made by Heirs, "there is implied a ſolemn Conſent of their Fa- "thers, and an Imprecation againſt them; ſo "that they are as much obliged in Conſcience to "ſee the Thing performed, as thoſe who for- "merly ſwore and promiſed it. That Succeſ- "ſion is conveighed to Children by a certain In- "ſtinct of Nature, and not by any Law of Na- "ture. That ſome Things are founded on "ſome Natural Reaſons, yet not ſo as that they "cannot be changed, altered, or revoked. That "one Civil Law may be aboliſhed by another. "That Laws are arbitrary to thoſe, in Favour "of whom they were made, *&c.*

Should one be at the Pains to read all the Books that have been writ theſe thirty Years *, he ſhall find that the *French* have been *fickle* and *inconſtant*, and that *they have no Regard to* Treaties, Laws, *or* Latter Wills, *when they find it their* Advantage *to* break *or* oppoſe *them.* And this certainly ſhould excite *all* the *Powers* of *Europe*, who have any Regard to their *own Welfare*, in the *preſent Juncture* of Affairs, to take *juſt Meaſures in Favour of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *againſt the* Power *and* Avarice *of* France.

The *French* put a malicious Gloſs upon the prudent and wiſe Conſtitution, which is to be ſeen in the Canon Law, touching Renunciations confirmed by Oath, *Cap. Quamvis de Pactis*; as if the Author of the ſaid Conſtitution, either out of Vain-glory, or out of a Deſign to ſtrengthen the Papal Authority, had made that exorbitant *Decretal*, and had endeavoured, by a new Law, to confirm that Dignity to which the See of *Rome* has attained, by Cunning and Deceit.

The *Pyrenean* Treaty, which was ſo prodigal of the *Spaniſh* Dominions to the *French*, and the Sacredneſs of repeated Oaths, by which *France* has *more than once* renounced all Claim to the Succeſſion of *Spain*, now complain of being *maltreated* and *trampled under Foot*, and of being *quite altered* and *deformed* by Law *Quirks* and School *Quibbles.*

The preſent Pope ought to reſent the Contempt that is thrown on his Predeceſſor, and on the See of *Rome*; ſince the Contract of Marriage, which is now thought null, had the Apoſtolical Benediction to give it the more Force, and make it more ſolemn and ſacred.

The *French violate Treaties*, *deny Kings* the *Power* of *making Laws*, *ſlight Wills* and *Teſtaments*, and, in a Word, *overturn* all thoſe Things upon which the *Peace* and *Security* of Society and Government is founded. They have *no Regard* to the *publick Good* of *Europe*, and, *provided* they can but raiſe the Glory and Power of *France*, they do not care if the whole Univerſe beſides ſhould periſh.

The Way to the *Univerſal Monarchy* is now more open to the King of *France* than ever, and it cannot be thought he will ſtop in his Career which he has begun with ſo much Craft and Succeſs, unleſs all the reſt of *Europe*, ſenſible of the Injuries done them by *France*, do ſtir up themſelves, and, without loſing Time, examine what they are obliged to do in Favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, leſt it ſhould be deprived of its ancient Patrimony, and leſt *Italy*, *England*, *Portugal*, the *United Provinces*, and the reſt of *Germany*, be robbed of their beloved Liberties, and of their Riches and Glory.

We heartily condole the Fate of *Spain*, that it has been ſo villainouſly ſeduced to act after ſuch a mean and ſordid Way, as it has done of late. That *Spain*, which has ſo long diſcovered the Snares, and reſiſted the cruel Deſigns of *France*, ſhould now baſely ſubmit to it, yield herſelf a Slave, and quite loſe her former Greatneſs and Glory; which ſhe muſt certainly do, if ſhe do not

* *Anno* 1701.

ſuddenly

ſuddenly and vigorouſly aſſiſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

We do not in the leaſt doubt, but that the evident Danger, which the Dominions and Trade of other Nations are in, will perſuade them to act with all their Might, in Favour of the juſt Cauſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and make them join together for their own Safety and Tranquillity.

Neither can we doubt, but that his Holineſs, according to his great Prudence, does perceive the little Regard the *French* have for keeping of Peace, or obſerving of Covenants and Oaths; how much they profane the Name of God and the Holy Goſpel; how haughty they are in their Threats; how inſupportable their Government is; how treacherouſly active they are in foreign Courts; and what they are capable to undertake, if the *Spaniards*, who ſo long nobly reſiſted them, continue ingloriouſly to ſubmit to them, and keep their Neck under that intolerable Yoke.

We deplore the Scandal that muſt follow thereupon; we foreſee the approaching Danger of our Neighbours, and ſevere Calamities, which threaten ſome remote Nations.

The Emperor *Leopold*, who was always peaceable, and a Lover of Juſtice, is Enemy to none but the *Turks*, and that too only when they provoke him. He is the Avenger of the *Chriſtian* Dignity, and a religious Obſerver of Laws, Treaties, and Oaths. But what ſhould he do now, when he is robbed of his Patrimonial Right, which, upon many Accounts, belongs to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſo inſolently invade the Fiefs of the Empire? The other Princes of *Europe*, who have been injured by *France*, muſt certainly ſee that there is no more effectual Way to ſecure their Peace and Proſperity, than by bringing *France* down, and oppoſing of it with all their Force.

For my Part I ſtop here, and adviſe them only upon the Account of the Dangers with which they are threatened, and upon Account of their Safety, which is now in a very tottering Condition, to remember what has been ſaid of old, *To make Uſe of the preſent Time*. Time runs away with Rapidity and Swiftneſs, and when Men neglect the firſt Opportunity, they ſcarce ever find ſuch a one again.

A Trip to *Dunkirk*: Or, a Hue-and-Cry after the pretended Prince of *Wales*. Being a Panegyrick on the DESCENT. Said to be written by Dr. *Swift*. Printed, and ſold by the Book-ſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. MDCCVIII.

WHY, hark ye me, Sirs,—if this Rumour holds true,
W'are like here, Egad, to have ſomewhat to do:
The *French*, as they ſay (he'll believe it that ſees it)
Are coming, Gadſookers, to pay us a Viſit;
With ſuch a vaſt Fleet—(L—d have Mercy upon's,
And keep us from Popery, Swords, and great Guns)
That, as I'm alive, —tho' I ne'er was afraid yet,
It almoſt had frighten'd me—firſt when I heard it.
Nay, more than all this, it is certainly ſaid
There's a little *Welch Monarch* to come at their Head;
And he (Shame the Devil, and let us ſpeak the Truth)
You know, in your Hearts, is a very ſmart Youth,
And doubtleſs will prove, when he's pleas'd to beſtir him,
As valiant as e'er was his Father before him,
Who, bent on ſome great Expedition in View,
Now glitters in Arms with an Equipage too,
Which, poſitively, you may ſwear is all new.

For

For, as I have heard (if ſome People ſpeak right)
He ne'er march'd before,—unleſs 'twere to ſh—te;
But now at the Head of ten-thouſand brave Fellows,
(That is, as Accounts thence are pleas'd for to tell us)
He's going on ſome ſtrange Advantage or other,
(Perhaps 'tis to ſeek out his Father or Mother)
In *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, or ſome Land or another;
I can't tell you where, but to ſome Place no Doubt,
Which you'll hear Time enough, if he e'er does ſet out,
With an Army of *French*, Popiſh Bridles and Knives,
To cut all our Throats, and to ride all our Wives.
Then ſtand to your Arms, all good People, I'd wiſh ye,
You loyal Train'd-bands, and the valiant Militia,
Bruſh up your Buff Doublets, and *Scotch* Baſket-hilt,
(By which, to your Honour, no Blood was e'er ſpilt
The Nation will now your Aſſiſtance want ſore,
Which, as I remember, they ne'er had before,
Nor will——
I hope in kind Heav'n, e'er want any more.
Altho', for your Zeal, it is not to be queſtion'd,
You've always been ready, when aught has occaſion'd:
At ev'ry Rejoicing you've made a fine Show,
(And that is one Part of a Soldier we know)
Been drunk, and done all that became you to do.
And as for your Valour we cannot deny it,
'Tis known you can fright—tho' you'd rather be quiet.
Nor has the *French* Threats, or their Menaces ſcar'd us,
Becauſe we knew well we'd ſuch a Hero to guard us.
Then, ſince they're ſo hot on't, 'gad e'en let 'em come,
I'll warrant they'll be maul'd—tho' I don't ſay by whom.
We've Rods here in Piſs that will firk off their Tails,
For all their brave Alls—and their Monarch of *Wales*.
Adſheart the young Hero had beſt take a Care,
That he ben't in Concluſion drawn into a Snare:
For, as it is ſaid, his old Godfire intends
(Or at leaſt wou'd be glad, as the Matter now ſtands)
To get ſhut of him handſomely off of his Hands;
And therefore e'en tells him in Words very plain,
That he hopes (which is true) *ne'er to ſee him again.*
So, e'en ſink or ſwim, Fleet, Forces, and all,
He'll venture this Caſt, tho' it coſt him a Fall.
To *Ireland* ſome think this *Welch* Hero is bound,
Tho' Pox that's a Jeſt, one may venture Five Pound:
For there's an old Debt ſtill on *Lewis*'s Score,
He was bit in aſſiſting his Father before,
And therefore he'll hardly come there any more.
No, *Scotland*'s the Place, they ſay, he's deſign'd to,
Where 'tis thought——
H'as a great many Friends—which, perhaps, he'll ſcarce find ſo;
But let him take Care what may follow hereafter,
If he truſts to the *Scots*, he may chance catch a *Tartar*:
And, if he ſhou'd fall in our Clutches ye know,
He'd be damnably mump'd, I can tell him but ſo;

Were

Were I in his Caſe, I'd not truſt my own Brother;
They ſold us one K—, ſhou'd they ſell us another;
For our *Jacks* here at Home—as brave Fellows as may be,
They prick up their Ears at the News on't already;
And, out of their Zeal, they expect him at leaſt
To be here, *French* and all, when the Wind's next at *Eaſt*:
But ſome are more cautious, and queſtion it much,
And doubt th' Invaſion's deſign'd on the *Dutch*;
For the Noiſe of his Landing they ſwear 'tis a Bite all,
They'll truſt to't no more—till they ſee him at *White-Hall*.
But this is but Talk all, and ſo let it reſt,
Some are ſtill of Opinion 'twill all prove a Jeſt:
This Hero at *Dunkirk* will make his Campaign,
And ſo gallop back to St. *Germains* again.

Memoirs* of Queen *Mary*'s Days; wherein the *Church of Enggland*, and all the Inhabitants may plainly ſee (if God hath not ſuffered them to be infatuated) as in a Glaſs, the ſad Effects which follow a *Popiſh Succeſſor* enjoying the *Crown* of *England*.

Humbly tendered to the Conſideration of, &c.

THE firſt remarkable Paſſage in Queen *Mary*'s (Popiſh) Reign, was her wicked Diſſimulation with the Men of *Suffolk*, to get herſelf into the Throne, and Breach of her Faith and Word, after ſhe had obtained it, thus:

As ſoon as ſhe heard of her Brother King *Edward*'s Death, and that he had by his Will, with the Conſent of his Council, excluded her, and nominated the Lady *Jane* to ſucceed (the ſaid Queen *Mary* having been before baſtardiſed by her Father King *Henry* VIII.) ſhe, under Pretence of fearing Infection, rode forty Miles in one Day, and removed from *Norfolk* to her Caſtle of *Frummingham* in *Suffolk*, where taking upon her the Title of Queen, ſhe pretended to all the Nobility and Gentry of thoſe Countries, *That, if they would give her their Aſſiſtance, ſhe would make no Alteration in Religion*; thereupon came to her the Earls of *Oxford*, *Bath*, and *Suſſex*, Lord *Wentworth*, *John Mordaunt*, and *Thomas Wharton*, Barons, eldeſt Sons, and ſeveral Knights, and many others of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with whom ſhe conditioned and agreed, *That ſhe would not attempt, in any Wiſe, the leaſt Alteration of Religion eſtabliſhed by her Brother, King* Edward VI. She, by this Trick, being thus aſſiſted, wrote her Letter to the Lords of the Council, wherein ſhe claimed the Crown, and required them to proclaim her Queen of *England*, in the City of *London*, which in a ſhort Time was done.

As ſoon as ſhe got into the Throne, her fair Promiſes proved falſe Deceits; for ſhe immediately (the very next Day) broke her Word with them, and, in a ſhort Time, thoſe of the Dioceſe in *Suffolk*, whom ſhe thus wheedled to aſſiſt her, taſted the ſharpeſt Perſecution under her Reign; for ſhe was ſo far from keeping her Promiſes and Conditions, made either with them, or any others, in Matters of Religion,

* Printed in the Year 1681.

that

that ſhe acted quite contrary, as appears by the Sequel of her ſad and bloody Reign.

1. It was on the Third of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1553, that Queen *Mary* rode through *London* to the *Tower*, and, the very next Day, ſhe ſet up *Stephen Gardner*, the bloody Perſecutor of the Proteſtants, in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and a few Days after made him High-Chancellor of *England*; this was that cruel Man that the Duke of *Norfolk* came to dine with, who would not go to Dinner till Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, becauſe he would firſt have the News of Biſhop *Ridley*'s and *Latimer*'s being burnt; of whoſe Death, by God's heavy Judgment on him, you may read further in our Chronologies.

2. The Fifth of *Auguſt* (two Days after her Coming to *London*) ſhe turns out the Proteſtant Biſhops of *London* and *Durham*, and re-eſtabliſhed *Bonner* (that blood-thirſty Miſcreant) Biſhop of *London*, and *Turſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*. You ſee her firſt Act was to diſplace Biſhops of the Church of *England*, and put bloody Popiſh Perſecutors in their Room, who worried and deſtroyed the poor Proteſtants.

3. The Fifteenth of *September* after, Mr. *Latimer* and Dr. *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with others, were arraigned and condemned.

4. Preſently after her Coronation, which was the Firſt of *October*, ſhe pretended to ſhew Mercy by a general Pardon, which, ſays my Author, was ſo interlaced with Exceptions of Matters and Perſons, that very few received Benefit thereby; ſo even that, with all the reſt, was a meer Cheat.

5. It was not only the Proteſtant Clergy that ſhe dealt thus withal, but even with the Judges too; for Sir *James Hales*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common Pleas*, who had been her Friend, and ſtood for her Succeſſion, yet he, for giving Charge at a Quarter Seſſions in *Kent*, upon the Statutes of *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. in Derogation of the Primary of *Rome*, was firſt committed to the *King's Bench*, then to the *Compter*, then to the *Fleet*, where he grew ſo troubled in Mind, that he attempted, with a Pen-knife, to kill himſelf, and at laſt did drown himſelf.

6. In this her firſt Year, ſhe alſo cauſed a Synod to be aſſembled about Matters of Religion, who reſtored the *Romiſh* Religion, and the Maſs commanded to be celebrated after the *Romiſh* Manner.

7. The Fourth of *February*, in the ſaid Year, *John Rodgers*, the firſt Martyr of theſe Times, was burnt at *London*.

8. *February* the Ninth, *John Hooper*, late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was burnt at *Gloucester*.

9. *Robert Ferrer*, Biſhop of *Man*, was burnt at *Caermarthen*; after him *John Bradford*, with many others, was burnt.

10. *October* the Sixteenth, 1554, thoſe two famous Men, *Ridley*, late Biſhop of *London*, and *Latimer*, late Biſhop of *Worceſter* (no leſs famous for their conſtant Deaths, than their religious Lives) were moſt inhumanly and barbarouſly burnt at *Oxford*, after they had firſt been conveighed from the *Tower* thither, upon Pretence to diſpute with the *Romaniſts* about the real Preſence in the Sacrament.

11. The next worthy Thing, that this *Popiſh Succeſſor* did, was to ſet up the *Pope's Supremacy* amongſt us; for, as ſoon as ſhe was married to King *Philip*, ſhe ſent to *Rome* for Cardinal *Poole*, to come into *England*, who came inveſted with great Authority as the Pope's Legate *a Latere*, who made a ſolemn Speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the Boſom of the Church, for which End he was come to reconcile them to the Church of *Rome*; and, for their firſt Work of Reconcilement, he required them to repeal and abrogate all ſuch Laws as had been formerly made in Derogation of the Catholick Religion.

Upon which Speech the Parliament begged Pardon for their former Errors, and told the Queen, they were moſt ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*. And thereupon the Cardinal gives them Abſolution in theſe Words:

[*We, by the Apoſtolical Authority given unto Us by the Moſt Holy Lord, Pope* Julius III. *(Chriſt's Vicegerent on Earth) do abſolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and the Dominions thereof, from all Hereſy and Schiſm, and from all Judgments, Cenſures, and Pains in that Caſe incurred; and alſo We do reſtore you again to the Unity of our Mother, the Holy Church.*]

The Report hereof, coming to *Rome*, was Cauſe of a ſolemn Proceſſion made for Joy of the Converſion of *England* to the Church of *Rome.*

Rome. And thus was all the Kingdom of *England* turned Papiſts in one Day, by having a *Popiſh Succeſſor.*

12. *March*, 1555, the Queen called to her four of her Privy-Council, and ſignified unto them, *That it went againſt her Conſcience to hold the Lands and Poſſeſſions as well of Monaſteries and Abbies, as of other Churches; and therefore did freely relinquiſh them, and leave them to be diſpoſed as the Pope and the ſaid Cardinal ſhould think fit.* And ſhortly after, in Performance hereof, *John Fecknam*, late Dean of St. *Paul*'s, was made Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Lands belonging to it.

13. Before this, *Stephen Gardner*, the Queen's great Creature, uſes malicious Practices againſt the Lady *Eliſabeth*, the Queen's only Siſter and next Heir to the Crown, and endeavoured very much to take away her Life, ſhe being a Proteſtant; he laid all the Snares for her that he could invent, and, at laſt, by his Procurement, the Lady was kept in hard Durance, and a Warrant, at laſt, was framed under certain Counſellors Hands to put her to Death; and had been done, but that Mr. *Bridges*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, pitying her Caſe, went to the Queen about it, who denied that ſhe knew any Thing of it, by which Means her Life was preſerved; this bloody Perſecutor, *Gardner*, ſaying at the Council-Board, *My Lords, we have but all this While been ſtripping off the Leaves, and now and then lopped a Branch; but, till we ſtrike at the Root of Hereſy* (meaning the Lady *Eliſabeth*) *nothing can be effected to Purpoſe.*

14. All beneficed Men of the Clergy that were married, or would not forſake the Proteſtant Religion the firſt Year of her Reign, were put out of their Livings, and *Romaniſts* put in their Room.

15. On the Twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*, in the ſame Year, the Service begun to be ſung in *Latin*, in St. *Paul*'s Church.

16. The ſame Year the *Pope*'s Authority was reſtored in *England*, and the Maſs was commanded in all Churches to be uſed.

17. In her fourth Year, Monaſteries were begun to be re-edified and reſtored, and, had ſhe but reigned long enough, undoubtedly, ſhe would have had all the Abby-lands in *England* reſtored, had not Death put a Period to all.

18. Neither was her Perſecution leſs to the common People, and plain-hearted Countrymen, than to the Proteſtant Clergy; for obſerve and conſider, that, within the Compaſs of leſs than four Years, there ſuffered Death, for the Teſtimony of their Conſciences in the Proteſtant Religion, two-hundred and ſeventy-ſeven Perſons, without any Regard either of Degree, Age, or Sex; in the Heat of whoſe Flames were conſumed five Biſhops, twenty-one Divines, eight Gentlemen, and eighty-four Artificers; one-hundred Huſbandmen, Servants, and Labourers; twenty-ſix Wives, twenty Widows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants; and nigh as many died in Priſon, through Hunger and other Cruelties.

Oh the bloody Cruelty of the *Papiſts*, through their Popiſh Religion! Shall I call it Religion, which is more properly a Butchery? And thus you ſee the Effects of a *Popiſh Succeſſor.*

This is no Romance, it was *de facto*, and would you have it ſo again? Or will you put it in the ſame Hazard once more? No ſure, unleſs you are infatuated; let *Experience* teach us which is the beſt Miſtreſs; let the burnt Child dread the Fire. Oh, never forget the Burnings, the Scorchings, the Tortures, and the Flames that were in Queen *Mary*'s Reign! We beg and beſeech you all in your Places, uſe all the Care imaginable now in Time to ſecure us, our Wives and Children, and the Proteſtant Religion.

19. Though many Perſecutions laſted longer, yet it is obſervable by Dr. *Heyling*, that none ſince *Diocleſian*'s Time raged ſo terribly, *Eccleſ. Reſtaur.* but God, being merciful to the poor Land and perſecuted Church, of all, ſince the Conqueſt, her Reign was the ſhorteſt, only excepting that of *Richard the Tyrant*, yet much more bloody than was his.

[*She reigned five Years and four Months, wanting two Days.*]

20. She lieth buried in *Weſtminſter*, without any Monument or Remembrance at all; as in her Life ſhe deſerved none, ſo in her Death her Memory is rotten; a juſt Reward for her who was ſo cruel and bloody: Yet one hath given

her this Inſcription to remain to Poſterity, *viz.*

Whoſe Name was polluted with the Blood of ſo many Martyrs.

Unfortunate by ſo many Inſurrections.
Made inglorious by the Loſs of Calais *(the Key of* France*) in eight Days, which had been Two-hundred and eleven Years in the Poſſeſſion of the* Engliſh.

Some COROLLARIES.

IN this Hiſtory we may obſerve ſeriouſly theſe Things as the ſad and fatal Conſequence:

I. How *Popiſh Succeſſors* will, at firſt, blind us with Wheedles, till they have got the Power and Kingdom in Poſſeſſion; and will tell us, *That not one Tittle of our Religion ſhall be changed, or altered*; nay, and make Compacts, Agreements, and Conditions to that Purpoſe.

II. But, when once ſet in the Throne, let what Promiſes will be, they ſhall be ſo far from being performed, that quite the Contrary ſhall be acted, or elſe Thunder and Lightning will come from the *Pope*, till he hath done it by his Legates *a Latere*.

III. That, when a *Popiſh Succeſſor* came to the Crown, the *Pope's Supremacy* was immediately ſet up in *England*, even the very firſt Year, and we all made tributary to *Rome*, and Slaves to the *Pope*, and would you have it ſo again?

IV. The Popiſh Religion and the Maſs ſet up immediately all over *England*, and would you have it ſo again?

V. The Proteſtant Biſhops put out, and Popiſh ones put in; and all the Clergy that were married, or would not abjure the Proteſtant Religion, were turned out; therefore, you of the Clergy, that mean to be ſincere, and not turn Papiſts, it behoves you well to conſider of it.

VI. And not only ſo, but truly farther, they muſt be brought to the Stake with their Wives and Children, and burnt for Hereticks; for *Popery* is a mercileſs Perſuaſion, and, if they make never ſo many Promiſes otherwiſe, yet you know it is their Opinion, *That no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks*; ſo we can never be ſecure, if ever ſuch reign.

VII. Obſerve further, That, if a *Popiſh Succeſſor* comes to the Crown, there will be all the Endeavours uſed to take off all the next Heirs that are Proteſtants, as there was to deſtroy the Lady *Eliſabeth*, which ought to be of no ſmall Conſideration with us.

VIII. Obſerve, *Popiſh Monks* and *Friars* were brought into *England*, and great Endeavours uſed to reſtore all *Monaſteries* and *Abby-lands*, wherein, no Doubt, but ſhe and good Cardinal had prevailed, and they had been all reſtored, had ſhe reigned but a little longer; therefore, it doth not a little behove all you Gentlemen that have any *Prieries*, *Abbies*, or *Monaſtery-lands* to loſe, to conſider well how to put yourſelves or your Poſterity in any ſuch great Hazard to loſe your Eſtates; as for thoſe that have ſuch Lands, of the *Romiſh* Religion, they muſt not, out of Conſcience, detain them, if they will have any Abſolution from their ghoſtly Father; and as to thoſe Proteſtants that have ſuch Lands, they will be reckoned *Hereticks*, and, to be ſure, ſhall not be ſuffered to keep Church-lands from them. And this highly concerns all to conſider, how, with our Religion, we give up our Liberties and Eſtates, by admitting a *Popiſh Succeſſor*; which God of his infinite Mercy to *England*, and in Oppoſition to ſuch Blood-thirſty, Heaven-daring, King-killing Principles and Practices, be pleaſed to deliver us.

POSTSCRIPT.

NOW as you have plainly ſeen the great and manifold Inconveniences, eminent Dangers, and moſt certain Ruin, to follow the Admitting of a Popiſh Succeſſor, *in the ſad Effects of Queen* Mary's *Reign; ſo we may alſo conſider and behold, as the bright Side of the Cloud, the vaſt Advantages of Peace, Plenty, Glory, and Happineſs that accrued to this Kingdom by a* Proteſtant Succeſſor's *enjoying the Imperial Crown, in the long and proſperous Reign of that magnanimous thorough-hearted Proteſtant Queen,* Eliſabeth, *of bleſſed Memory, who, after having ſuffered five Years*

Years fiery Trials, reigned above forty-four Years, maugre all her deſperate and bloody Enemies; yet could they not anticipate her Death, nor ſtain her glorious Government, by all the black and helliſh Contrivances of her, and our treacherous Popiſh *Adverſaries.*

Many, I may ſay, infinite, were the Advantages and Felicities that thoſe poor Kingdoms enjoyed by her happy Reign; I will only hint a few general Heads now:

Firſt then, *By this* Proteſtant Queen, *a Period was put to all the bloody and* Popiſh *Perſecution againſt the* Church of England, *which all the poor Proteſtants had groaned under, all the* Reign of Popiſh Queen *Mary.*

Secondly, *By this true* Proteſtant *Princeſs, the Proteſtant Religion, was eſtabliſhed in this Nation, and Idolatrous Popery caſheered.*

Thirdly, *By her were our Anceſtors Lives protected, the Church of* England *defended, our Eſtates preſerved, and our Liberties ſecured.*

Fourthly, *By her Reign did the Kingdom enjoy Tranquillity, and flouriſhed wonderfully, to the great Benefit of all our Forefathers.*

Fifthly, *And, by her Reign, this Nation became both* Glorious *and* Formidable, *as well to her and its Enemies* Abroad, *as at* Home, *and kept the Balance of all* Europe *in her Hands, by her Winning the Love of her People, and her continual Adhering to the Advice of her* Parliaments, *by which, as ſhe had their* Hearts, *ſo ſhe had their* Purſes *at Command; though ſhe was always ſo kind and juſt to them, as ſometimes to refuſe their Grants of Subſidies, and would never make Uſe of their Aids in Money, though offered by her Parliament, but when there was real Occaſion for her People's* Good *and* Safety.

The Concluſion of all is the ſame that Moſes *ſaid to the Children of* Iſrael, *Deut.* xxx. 15, 19. Behold, I have ſet before you this Day Life and Death, Good and Evil. I call Heaven and Earth to record this Day againſt you, that I have ſet before you Life and Death, Bleſſing and Curſing; therefore chuſe Life, that both thou and thy Houſe may live.

The Life and Death of the illuſtrious *Robert*, Earl of *Eſſex*, &c. Containing, at large, the Wars he managed, and the Commands he had in *Holland*, the *Palatinate*, and in *England*: Together with ſome wonderful Obſervations of himſelf, and his Predeceſſors, and many moſt remarkable Paſſages, from his Infancy, unto the Day of his Death.

By *Robert Codrington*, Maſter of Arts.

London, Printed by *F. Leach*, for *L. Chapman*, Anno Dom. 1646.

The Author, Mr. Codrington, *was born of an antient and genteel Family in* Glouceſterſhire, *elected Demy of* Magdalen *College in* Oxford, *the Twenty-ninth of* July, 1619, *about ſeventeen Years old, and took the Maſter's Degree in* 1626. *After that, he travelled into ſeveral foreign Lands; and, at his Return, lived a Gentleman's Life, firſt in* Norfolk, *where he married; and finiſhed his Life at* London, *by the Plague, in the*

Year 1665, *having publiſhed many Pieces of different Taſte in his Life-time, and left ſeveral Manuſcripts prepared for the Preſs.*

As for the Hiſtory before us, it is true, that he plainly declares himſelf a Parliamenteer; yet, ſo far as it goes, it is the leaſt exceptionable, and the moſt comprehenſive, of any Writings on the ſame Subject, in thoſe Times: For, beſides the Character of his Hero, *the Earl of* Eſſex, *he gives us the general Opinion, and the Ground of the firſt Part of the Civil War; ſeems to relate the natural Facts without Aggravation, and always ſpeaks of the King's Majeſty with Reſpect, aſcribing the ill Conduct of his Affairs, and bad Succeſs, to the Wickedneſs and Heat of his Counſels; and heartily wiſhing a good and laſting Reconciliation and Peace between the King and his Parliament.*

BEFORE we do begin with the Diſcourſe of the Life and Death of this illuſtrious Earl, it will not be impertinent to ſpeak one Word of the renowned Earl, his Father, who, as he rendered himſelf admirable, by the many great and glorious Actions which he performed both by Land and Sea; ſo I may call it his Maſter-piece, that he did beget ſo brave a Son, and I may call it his Son's Maſter-piece, that he did lively reſemble ſo brave a Father, in the Height and Perfection of his Virtues, which he did expreſs in his Love unto his Country, and in his Atchievements for the Honour and Safety of it; and this ſhall ennoble both their Names unto all Poſterity.

To give you a Parallel of theſe two Worthies, is a Taſk almoſt as impoſſible as impertinent; for if you will excuſe in them the Priority of Time, we may, in the Courſe of their Lives and Honours, make a Parallel, as ſoon, betwixt two Beams of the Sun, who are the ſame in Heat, in Glory, and in Influence, and who do differ in nothing but in Number only; we will therefore ſave that Art and Labour, and, as ſuccinctly as we can, we will addreſs ourſelves to the great Taſk we have undertaken.

This moſt noble Earl was born in *London*, in the Year of our Lord 1592, and almoſt in the Evening of the Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, who, for his excellent Endowments, did countenance his Father living, and did lament him, being dead. His Mother had the Happineſs to be eſpouſed to three of the moſt gallant Perſonages which that Age did know. Her firſt Huſband was Sir *Philip Sidney*, whoſe Virtues are too high for the Praiſes of other Men to reach them, and too modeſt to deſire them; his Pen and his Sword have rendered him famous enough; he died by the one, and by the other he will ever live. This is the Happineſs of Art, that although the Sword doth atchieve the Honour, yet the Arts do record it, and no Pen hath made it better known than his own. Her ſecond Huſband was the renowned Father of this moſt noble Earl, who died beloved, and honoured, as well by his Foes, as by his Friends, and whoſe Loſs even Heaven might lament, did not Heaven enjoy him. Her third Huſband was the Earl of *Clanrickard*, a gallant Gentleman, who exceeded the Wildneſs of his native Country, by his ſecond Education, and who exceeded his Education by the Happineſs of his Wedlock; and though, peradventure, ſome vain Men do account it but as two Threads put together, he did make it his Band, by the Advantage of which, he did ſo twiſt himſelf into the *Engliſh* Virtues, that nothing remained in him as ſpun from *Ireland*, as *Ireland* now doth ſtand.

To omit the Preſages, and the unfaithful Kiſſes of the promiſing Madams who rocked his Cradle, I will not ſay, that in that moving Wicker [like another *Hercules*] he ſtrangled in each Hand the two invading Dragons of tranſcending Prerogative and Superſtition: This was the Buſineſs of his Life to come; a Buſineſs which did grow up with his Youth in Hope, and which, in the Event, did crown his Age with Glory.

Though the Laurels, that crown the Brows of Conquerors, are the thickeſt and the heavieſt, yet, I believe, the Wreaths that court the Brows of Art are the greeneſt; we conquer, in our Age, our Foes in the Field, but we overcome our greateſt Foe, which is Ignorance, in our Youth; to conquer which, he received hereditary Courage from his Father, who not only overcame, but triumphed over it, and did accept the Formality of two Degrees, and, with great Reputation, performed the Exerciſes belonging to them in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

It is moſt certain, that illuſtrious and extraordinary Perſonages have oftentimes extraordi-

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nary Illuminations of the Events, both good and bad, which ſhall befal them; of this we can give you remarkable Inſtances in this Family. When Sir *Walter Devereux* was created Viſcount of *Hereford*, and Earl of *Eſſex*, about the twelfth Year of the Reign of Queen *Eliſabeth*, becauſe he was deſcended, by his Mother's Side, from the antient and honourable Family of the *Bouchiers*, it was the deliberate Pleaſure of the Queen and State to increaſe his Honours, by the Knowledge of the Fulneſs of his Merit, and to make him Governor of *Ireland*; and this Place being preferred unto him [for, indeed, he was a Gentleman of incomparable Indowments] he did manage the Affairs of that Kingdom with great Honour and Judgment; and, by a ſecret Power of Attraction, which is natural and inherent to that Family, he gained the Approbation and Applauſe of all Men, and did much advance the Affairs of *England* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; but the Ambition and Policy of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who would have no Man more eminent than himſelf, did ſo prevail at Court, that, upon no Cauſe at all, but that he was as good as great, he muſt be diſhonoured from his Dignity, and the Government of that Kingdom conferred on Sir *Henry Sidney*, a deſerving Gentleman, indeed, and the more meritorious, becauſe he was the Father of Sir *Philip*. This Indignity did ſtick ſuch an Impreſſion on this noble Earl, who had now only a Charge of ſome empty Regiments of Horſe and Foot, that his Melancholy brought a Fever on him; and the ſooner, becauſe his Friend was the Author of this Injury, for the Earl of *Leiceſter* did pretend to no Man greater Affection than to himſelf. After ſome Days, his Sickneſs did confine him to his Chamber, and afterwards to his Bed. His dying Words were remarkable; He deſired that his Son, who was then not above ten Years of Age, might refrain from the Court, and not truſt his Ear with the Flatteries, nor his Eye with the Splendor of it; and, above all Things, that he ſhould be mindful of the ſix and thirtieth Year of his Age, beyond which, neither he, nor but few of his Forefathers, lived. His inſtructed Son did obey his Father's Will, and for many Years did lead a contented and a retired Life in *Angleſey*, until [I know not by what Spell] the Earl of *Leiceſter* did work him into the fatal Circle, and betrayed him to Deſtruction. Being condemned to the Block, he remembered his Father's Prediction, which now he could not avoid: And which is, indeed, moſt wonderful, on the very ſame Hour, and [as it is believed] on the very ſame Minute, that he was beheaded, his Son, who at that Time was a Student in *Eaton* College, did ſuddenly, and diſtractedly, leap out of his Bed, where he was faſt aſleep, and to the Amazement of all, he cried out, that his Father was killed, his Father was dead; and not many Hours after, the ſad News was brought, which ſo early in the Morning, and ſo ſtrangely, he preſaged.

His Father being dead, this young Earl was now looked on with more than ordinary Obſervance; and the rather, becauſe it was generally reported, that his Father had too ſevere a Tryal, and that his Life was made a Sacrifice, to ſatisfy the Ambition of ſome great Perſonages, high in Favour at the Court. Sure it is that there appeared ſomething of Injuſtice in his Death, for otherwiſe, why ſhould Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others, who were condemned, as acceſſary to it, ſo publickly afterwards, and in Print, diſclaim it.

Queen *Eliſabeth* being deceaſed, King *James* was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, but he reſtored to this young Earl his Father's Titles and Eſtate, and his eldeſt Son (the Mirror of his Age, and the Weſtern World) Prince *Henry* was pleaſed to be very converſant and familiar with him, being near unto him in Age, but more near in Affection, than in Years. Betwixt whom and this Earl, there happened a remarkable Paſſage, which I conceive, in this Place, not improper to inſert.

Prince *Henry*, and this young Earl, delighting themſelves one Morning, with the Exerciſe and the Pleaſure of the *Tennis-Court*, after that a Set or two were played, there did ariſe ſome Difference upon a Miſtake: From Banding of the Ball, the Prince, being raiſed into a Choler, did begin to bandy Words, and was ſo tranſported with his Paſſion, that he told the Earl of *Eſſex*, that he was the Son of a Traytor. The Earl of *Eſſex* was then in the Flouriſh of his Youth, and full of Fire and Courage, and being not able to contain himſelf, he did ſtrike the Prince, with his Racket, on the Head, and that ſo ſhrewdly, that [as it is ſaid] ſome Drops of Blood did trickle down. The News of this was preſently brought to the King's Ear, who having examined the Buſineſs, and fully underſtood the Manner, and the Occaſion of it, did diſmiſs the Earl, without any great

great Check, and (being a true Peace-maker) he told his Son, that he, who did ſtrike him then, would be ſure, with more violent Blows, to ſtrike his Enemy in Times to come.

This being in this Manner reconciled, the Report of this young Earl did ariſe every Day higher and greater. His Recreations were Riding of the great Horſe, Running at the Ring, and the Exerciſe of Arms. His other Hours were taken up in Study, and in Peruſal of Books, that yielded moſt Profit, not moſt Delight, and from theſe he would always ariſe better, than when he ſat down unto them; his Delights were Hunting of the Hare, or Buck, and he would ſeldom fail to be amongſt the foremoſt, at the Fall of the Stag, or when the Falcon on his Wing was ſtooing to his Prey. He, from his Infancy, was well affected to Religion, and to the Reformation of the Church; and this he received by Inheritance from his Father, for when the Biſhops (that felt the Smart of it) had cried out againſt that laſhing Pamphlet, called, *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, and there was a Prohibition publiſhed, that no Man ſhould preſume to carry it about him, upon Pain of Puniſhment, and the Queen herſelf did ſpeak as much, when the Earl was preſent: Why then, ſaid the Earl, what will become of me? And, pulling the Book out of his Pocket, he did ſhew it to the Queen. I have heard grave Men, and of great Judgment, ſay, that he was the leſs inclined to Dr. *Whitgift*, a Reverend Divine, and his Tutor alſo, becauſe he was a Biſhop. But the Ambition and Pride of the Prelates, and the Clergy, were not then arrived to their utmoſt Period; the Suppreſſing of them muſt remain to be the Work of my Lord, his Son, whom the Parliament of *England* ſhall find to be their happy Inſtrument, ordained for ſo great an End, by a greater Power.

The Earl of *Eſſex* being confirmed in his Father's Honours and Poſſeſſions, that a perfect Reconcilement might be made in all Things, a Marriage was contracted and concluded in the Year 1606, betwixt him and the Lady *Frances Howard*, Daughter to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Suffolk*. She was a Lady as tranſcendent in her Spirit as her Beauty: They were much about one Age when they were married, the Lady *Frances* being about Thirteen, and the Earl not above Sixteen at the moſt; therefore for ſome few Years, by reaſon of the Nonage of the Earl, they lived a-part until about the Year 1610, at which Time they enjoyed the Society of one Bed, and ſo continued until about the Year 1613, when a Complaint was made, and ſo cloſely proſecuted, that a Way was contrived, and carried on with great Power, for the procuring of a Divorce betwixt the Earl of *Eſſex* and this Lady. I ſay it was carried on with great Power, for both Divinity and Law did not only look on, but were inforced to be Actors in it. And yet they, who ſo much laboured in it, had afterwards the Leiſure to repent it, for this Divorce was no ſooner made, but the Earl of *Somerſet* (who, at that Time, was high in the King's Favour) married this Lady, the King himſelf and the Archbiſhop being preſent, and allowing it: At that Time there was a Gentleman of excellent Underſtanding, Sir *Thomas Overbury* by Name, who, being beloved by the Earl of *Somerſet*, did compoſe a Poem, intituled *The Wife*, to diſſuade the Earl of *Somerſet* from this Marriage; but the Lady, conceiving that it did reflect upon her Honour, did ſo prevail with the Earl, that ſhe turned his Love unto Hatred, and wrought his Hatred unto ſo great a Height, that nothing but the Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury* could ſatisfy their Revenge. His Death being reſolved on, they put it to the Queſtion by what Means it ſhould be performed, and it was concluded on by Poiſon. There was a Woman in thoſe Days famous for thoſe Arts, Mrs. *Turner* by Name; they propound it unto her, and ſhe is eaſily drawn into any Miſchief. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *Jervis Elwayes**, was alſo made acquainted with it: The Tragedy was no ſooner acted but diſcovered; the Actors were apprehended. Sir *Jervis Elwayes* was examined, found guilty, condemned, and ſuffered on *Tower-Hill*: There was alſo one *Frankling* hanged, who brought the Poiſon. Mrs. *Turner*, that prepared it, did alſo loſe her Life at *Tyburn*. This is the Woman who firſt invented, and brought into Faſhion the Uſe of yellow Starch. The Earl of *Somerſet* and his new-married Lady were, upon Pain of Death, prohibited not to approach the Preſence of the King, nor to come within ten Miles of his Majeſty's Court. This did beget ſo great a Diſcontent, that their Love by Degrees did begin to ſuffer Diminution with their Pomp: And the Lady on her Death-bed, being troubled in her Mind, did much cry out upon the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom ſhe had ſo much injured.

* Or, *Yelvis*.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, perceiving how little he was beholden to *Venus*, is now reſolved to addreſs himſelf to the Court of *Mars*; and to this Purpoſe he deſcendeth into the *Netherlands*, which, at that Time, was the School of Honour, for the Nobility of *England*, in their Exerciſe of Arms: There he was no ſooner arrived, but, with magnificent Joy, he was entertained by Grave *Maurice*, who ſaw both in his Carriage, and his Courage, the lively Image of his Father. He at firſt trailed a Pike, and refuſed no Service in the Field, which every ordinary Gentleman is accuſtomed to perform. This did much endear him to the Soldiers, and his Liberality and Humanity did the more advance him. He not long after had there the Command of a Regiment. At the ſame Time the Earl of *Oxford* was in *Holland*, a great and gallant Commander, from whoſe Valour and whoſe Actions, other Soldiers may take Example, both to fight, and overcome. With him, and ſome others, who alſo had the Charge of Regiments, the Earl of *Eſſex* was very converſant; and the Preſence and Command of theſe Noblemen in the Army did much add to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Regiment, and did enlarge and dilate their own Fame into adjacent Kingdoms.

He continued certain Years in the *Netherlands*, and having gained Renown, by his Experience and Perfection in the Feats of Arms, he advanced thence to the *Palatinate*, to which Place went alſo the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Earl of *Oxford*, and Sir *John Borlans*, with their Regiments; they arrived moſt welcome to the King and Queen of *Bohemia*, the preſent Condition of their Affairs much wanting the Preſence of ſuch brave Commanders, who gave a new Life and Spirit to the Soldiers whereſoever they came. At that Time there were great Hopes that the King of *England* would, out of his three Kingdoms, ſend ſuch a continued Stock of Men to the *Palatinate*, that the Crown of *Bohemia* ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the Head of the Elector *Palatine*, and that by no Courſe ſooner than by Virtue of the *Engliſh* Arms: But King *James* never ſtood greatly affected, either to this War, or to the Cauſe thereof, and thereupon ſome Regiments of unexperienced Voluntiers going over, inſtead of a well-compoſed Army, it was one Reaſon, amongſt many others, that not only *Bohemia*, but the *Palatinate* were alſo loſt, which were both invaded by ſo mighty an Enemy as was then the Emperor, and ſeconded by ſo puiſſant a Potentate as was the King of *Spain*.

The Earl of *Eſſex* having adventured all Things for the Relief of that diſtreſſed Lady, and finding an Impoſſibility, with ſuch weak Forces, to oppoſe ſo great a Power, he reſolved to return into *England*, but not without ſome Hope that his Majeſty would be ſenſible of his Daughter's Sufferings, and of thoſe illuſtrious and hopeful Cradles, which *Grief* and *Fear* did rock, and that he would ſend over ſuch full Recruits of Men, as might advance again his ſpeedy Return into *Germany*.

But God did otherwiſe ordain it, for not long after King *James*, by the Privation of Death, enjoyed the Poſſeſſion of a better Life. And, Prince *Charles* being inveſted with the Crown, he was ſo far from ſending Forces into *Germany*, that the *German* Horſe were called over into *England*.

The Delight of King *James* was Peace, but almoſt the firſt Deſigns of King *Charles* were War. To this Purpoſe, that he might make his Kingdoms as terrible by Arms, as his Father had left them flouriſhing in Peace, he calleth a Parliament, which (the Sickneſs, at the ſame Time raging with great Violence in the City of *London*) did meet at *Oxford* on the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*, in the firſt Year of his Reign; but this King was never fortunate either in his Parliaments, or in his Wars, for, the Duke of *Buckingham* being queſtioned, the Parliament was not long after diſſolved. Howſoever, a Deſign went on for a ſudden Expedition into *Cadiz* in *Spain*, which was committed to be managed by the Viſcount *Wimbleton*, and by the Earl of *Eſſex*. The Earl of *Eſſex* did the more readily undertake it, becauſe the Judgment and the Valour of Sir *Edward Cecill*, created by the King Viſcount *Wimbleton*, was highly regarded by him, having had ſufficient Experience of it in the *Low-Countries*, where Sir *Edward Cecill* alſo for a long Time, and with great Reputation, commanded a Regiment, for the Service of the States: His other Reaſon was, becauſe that his Father heretofore had taken *Cadiz*, and he believed that a more gallant Action could never be impoſed on him, than to be deſigned unto that Place, where he might enlarge his own, and renew his Father's Glory. Being imbarqued for the Proſecution of this Service, which promiſed ſo much Honour; being at Sea, and by a fair Wind brought almoſt

almoſt as far as *Cadiz*, the chief Commanders opened their Commiſſion, and finding, to their great Grief, that they had not that Power granted them, which they expected, they had many Conſultations on it: Sir *Edward Cecill* was loth to exceed the Bounds of the Commiſſion, well knowing what Danger, on his Return, might enſue thereby.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was unwilling to return without effecting any Thing: And the rather, becauſe the *Spaniards* (according to the Oſtentation natural to that Nation) did begin to dare him from their Walls and Battlements; inſomuch that ſome of his Men were landed, and entered ſome Part of the Town; and the Earl found that it was no difficult Matter for the *Engliſh* again to be Maſters of the Town, had they but Authority to fall on: Howſoever the *Spaniards* had Notice before hand that the *Engliſh* Ships had a Deſign upon that Place; and ſome withal, are of Opinion, that they knew how far their Commiſſion did extend: All along the Shore their Horſe and Foot ſtood ready to entertain us at our Landing, who wanted neither Deſire, nor Reſolution, to encounter them, had but the Word been given. The Earl of *Eſſex*, being ſorry that he was employed on ſo unneceſſary an Expedition, and ſo unſuitable to the *Engliſh* Temper, did reſolve with himſelf, on his Return to *England*, to adventure no more on ſuch Employments, but to repair again to *Holland*, where the Courage of himſelf, and his Soldiers, ſhould be ſure of Action, and where their Action ſhould be attended with Honour: He there reſided a certain Time, and by his exemplary Virtue did much advance the Affairs of that State. Being called back into *England*, by the Importunity of his Friends, he afterwards married with Mrs. *Eliſabeth Paulet*, who (if I am not miſtaken) had then ſome Relation to the Marchioneſs of *Hertford*, Siſter to this Earl. This Mrs. *Paulet* was a young Lady of a delicate Temper; ſhe was Daughter of Sir *William Paulet* of *Hedington* in *Wiltſhire*, and deſcended by the Father's Side, from the illuſtrious Family of the *Paulets*, Marquis of *Wincheſter:* By her, the Earl of *Eſſex* had a Son, who was chriſtened *Robert*, after his Father's Name, and died in the Year 1636, and lies buried at *Drayton* in the County of *Warwick*.

There is nothing born ſo happy, which is abſolute in every Part, for, much about the ſame Time, there did ariſe ſome Diſcontents, betwixt the Earl and this Lady alſo, upon which this Earl did ever after abandon all uxorious Thoughts, and wholly applied himſelf to the Improvement of thoſe Rules, which conduce to the Soundneſs of Church and State: And, if any unſeverer Hours of Leiſure offered themſelves in his Study, he would employ that Time in the Peruſal of ſome laboured Poem, and having great Judgment, eſpecially in the *Engliſh* Verſe, it was his Cuſtom to applaud the Profeſſors of that Art, as high as their Deſert, and to reward them above it; and he was no Way inclined to the ſullen Opinion of thoſe Men who diſclaim the Muſes, and eſteem all Poems to be as unlawful, as unprofitable.

When the Ambition and the Exceſs of the Biſhops did ſwell them up to ſuch an uncompaſſed Greatneſs, that they were not only become unwieldy to themſelves, and intolerable to their Dioceſſes, but endeavoured alſo to lay unconſcionable Burdens by compulſive Ceremonies, on the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Women there did firſt begin the Coil, which was afterwards followed by their Youth, their Youth, who muſtered themſelves into Arms for the Defence of their Religion, proteſting themſelves to be Enemies to all Thoughts, that had but the leaſt Relation to the Church of *Rome*.

To this Reſolution (it being for the Cauſe of God) the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* did join their devoted Hands. The King was ſeduced by the *Engliſh* Biſhops to make a War againſt them, and great Preparations were in Hand, to that Intent: In the firſt Year that the King advanced againſt the *Scots*, the Earl of *Eſſex* was one of his principal Commanders, but it pleaſed God to make that Year no Year of Blood. In the Year following, a Parliament was called, and, Money being gained for the Proſecution of the War, it was again broke off. To this War, the Biſhops did contribute much, and Doctor *Peirce*, the Biſhop at that Time of *Bath* and *Wells*, did not doubt to call it in his Pulpit, *the Biſhops War*. But what had the Biſhops to do with the Sword, and indeed it thrived with them accordingly, for, the Army of the King being beaten by the *Scots*, and the Town of *Newcaſtle* being ſeized by them, it was thought expedient by the King's beſt Counſellors that a Parliament ſhould be called again. This is the Parliament which unto this Day doth continue, and which have laboured ſo much to their perpetual Glory, for the Reformation of Religion, for the Liberty of the Subject, and the Safety of the Kingdom.

On the Beginning of this Parliament, which repreſented the whole Body of the Kingdom, the King who, without all Doubt, was inforced to ſummon it, to relieve the crying Oppreſſions of his Subjects, did appear like a Man in a Fever; ſometimes very hot to give Satisfaction to the Complaints and Deſires of his Subjects, and ſometimes again cold and froward.

The moſt noble Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery*, being diſmiſſed from his Place, by the Pleaſure of his Majeſty, the Parliament did move the King, that the Earl of *Eſſex* might ſucceed him, to which (his Majeſty unwilling openly to deny them) did give his Aſſent; he knew very well that received Maxim that (during their Time of ſitting in Parliament) Subjects are greater than they are, and the King leſs.

The Earl, although (for a long Time) he had diſcontinued the Court, yet did deport himſelf, with ſo much Honour and Judgment, that the old Courtiers, and thoſe who were moſt intire unto his Majeſty could not find the leaſt Subject of Diſtaſte. But the Diſcontents betwixt the King and Parliament increaſing, and the King forſaking *London*, the noble Earl of *Eſſex* (being a Member of the Houſe of Peers) would not forſake the Parliament, although there is no Queſtion but that he had Inſtigations enough from the Followers of the Court to perſuade him to it: Of ſuch a Vertue is Honour and Conſcience in the Breaſt of true Nobility.

The King beginning his Geſts towards the Weſt, and afterwards wheeling in earneſt towards the North, the Parliament did ſend Petition on Petition to beſeech his Majeſty to return unto the Parliament; to which the King did return moſt plauſible Anſwers, there being no where to be found more Art that ſuborned Reaſon to attend it, or more accurate Language. But the Parliament finding a great Diſproportion betwixt the Inſinuations of his Majeſty to delude the People, and his Actions to ſtrengthen himſelf, and that his Voice was the Voice of *Jacob*, but the Hands were the Hands of *Eſau*; and underſtanding withal that his Majeſty had ſummoned in the Country about *York*, where there appeared many Thouſands that promiſed to adhere unto him, and that he had a Reſolution to beſiege *Hull*, and force it to his Obedience, they were compelled (though with Hearts full of Sorrow) to have Recourſe to Arms.

Money is the Sinew of War, to provide themſelves with which, the City were deſired to bring in their Plate to make it Sterling for that Service. The publick Faith of the Kingdom was their Security for it; and indeed what better Security could any Man expect than the Faith of the whole Kingdom, of which the Parliament were the Body repreſentative, and (as it were) the *Feoffees* in Truſt. You would admire what Sums of ready Money, what Rings of Gold, what Store of maſſy Plate both ſilver and gilt were brought in a few Days to *Guildhall*. *Guildhall* did never deſerve its Name ſo properly, as at this preſent. In the mean Time, *Moor-fields* and thoſe Places, where Horſes for Service were to be liſted, were almoſt thronged with excellent Horſe; and the Youth of *London*, who devoted themſelves to the Service of the Parliament, and to hazard their Lives for the Safety of the two Kingdoms, did look with Emulation on one another who ſhould be the firſt ſhould back them.

This being provided, in the next Place Care is taken for the Raiſing of an Army, and for a General to conduct them: There was no Man could be poſſibly thought upon more able to undertake ſo great a Charge than the illuſtrious Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Name in Arms was great, and the Love of the People to him did ſtrive to be great as was that Name. At the firſt Appearance in the Artillery-Garden, where the Voluntiers were to be liſted, there came in no leſs than Four-thouſand of them, in one Day, who declared their Reſolutions to live and die with the Earl of *Eſſex*, for the Safety and the Peace of the Kingdom; and every Day (for a certain Space) did bring in Multitudes of ſuch well affected People, who preferred their Conſciences above their Lives, and who would hazard with them their deareſt Blood for the Preſervation of the Reformed Religion, and for the Parliament that did reform it.

Not long after, the Earl of *Eſſex*, having ſent before him his whole Equipage of War, who were quartered and exerciſed in the Country, and were now expert in their Arms, did paſs through the City of *London* towards them, being accompanied with many Lords and Gentlemen, as alſo with many Colonels and Commanders of the City, and many Hundreds of Horſe-men, and the Trained-Bands who guarded him through *Temple-Bar* unto *Moor-fields*; from thence in his Coach he paſſed to *High-gate*,

the People, on each Hand, having all the Way made a Hedge with their own Bodies, and with loud Acclamations all crying out, *God bleſs my Lord General, God preſerve my Lord General.*

His Excelleney being now in his March to oppoſe the Forces of the King, the high Wiſdom of the Parliament (although they had often moved the King before by diverſe Petitions) did think it expedient to ſend one humble Petition more unto his Majeſty, to beſeech him to remove himſelf from thoſe evil Counſels and Counſellors, who had fomented the horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, and had endeavoured the like bloody Maſſacre in *England*, by inciting him to make War with the Parliament, who were the beſt Subjects in his Kingdom: We will in this Place deliver to you the Petition of both the Houſes of Parliament, which Petition being ſo full of high Concernment and humble Addreſſes, and becauſe it was to be delivered by his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex*, we conceive it very requiſite in this Place to inſert it.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons, now aſſembled in Parliament.

WE Your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot, without great Grief, and Tenderneſs of Compaſſion, behold the preſſing Miſeries, the imminent Danger, and the devouring Calamities, which do extremely threaten, and have partly ſeized upon both your Kingdoms of England *and* Ireland, *by the Practices of a Party prevailing with your Majeſty; who by many wicked Plots and Conſpiracies have attempted the Alteration of the true Religion, and of the ancient Government of this Kingdom, by the Introducing of* Popiſh *Superſtition and Idolatry into the Church, and Tyranny and Confuſion in the State, and, for the Compaſſing thereof, have long corrupted your Majeſty's Counſels, abuſed your Power, and, by ſudden and untimely Diſſolving of former Parliaments, have often hindered the Reformation, and Prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs; who, being now diſabled to avoid the Endeavours of this Parliament by any ſuch Means, have traiterouſly attempted to overawe the ſame by Force, and, in Proſecution of their wicked Deſigns, have excited, encouraged, and foſtered an unnatural Rebellion in* Ireland, *by which, in a cruel and moſt outrageous Manner, many of your Subjects there have been deſtroyed; and by falſe Slanders upon your Parliament, and by malicious and unjuſt Accuſations, they have endeavoured to begin the like Maſſacre here, but, being diſappointed therein by the Bleſſing of God, they have (as the moſt miſchievous and bloody Deſign of all) won upon your Majeſty to make War againſt your Parliament and good Subjects of this Kingdom, leading in your own Perſon an Army againſt them, as if you intended by Conqueſt to eſtabliſh an abſolute and an illimited Power over them, and, by the Power and the Countenancing of your Preſence, have ranſacked, ſpoiled, impriſoned, and murdered diverſe of your People: And, for their better Aſſiſtance in theſe wicked Deſigns, do ſeek to bring over the Rebels of* Ireland, *and other Forces from beyond the Seas to join with them: And we finding ourſelves utterly deprived of your Majeſty's Protection, and the Authors, Counſellers, and Abettors of theſe Miſchiefs in greateſt Power and Favour with your Majeſty, and defended by you againſt the Juſtice and Authority of your High Court of Parliament, whereby they are grown to that Height and Inſolence as to manifeſt their Rage and Malice, againſt thoſe of the Nobility and others who are any Way inclined unto Peace, not without great Appearance of Danger to your own Royal Perſon, if you ſhall not in all Things concur with their wicked and traiterous Courſes, we have for the juſt and neceſſary Defence of the* Proteſtant *Religion, of your Majeſty's Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Power and Privilege of Parliament, taken up Arms, and appointed and authoriſed* Robert *Earl of* Eſſex *to be Captain General of all the Forces by us levied, and to lead and to conduct the ſame againſt theſe Rebels and Traytors, and them to ſubdue and to bring to condign Puniſhment; and we do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to withdraw your Royal Preſence and Countenance from theſe wicked Perſons, and, if they ſhall ſtand out in Defence of their rebellious and unlawful Attempts, that your Majeſty will leave them to be ſuppreſſed by that Power, which we have ſent againſt them, and that your Majeſty will not mix your own Dangers with theirs, but in Peace and Safety (without your Forces) forthwith, return to your Parliament, and by your faithful Counſel and Advice compoſe the preſent Diſtempers and Confuſions abounding in both your Kingdoms, and provide for the Security and Honour of yourſelf,*

your

your Royal Poſterity, and the proſperous Eſtate of all your Subjects; wherein, if your Majeſty pleaſe to yield to our moſt humble and earneſt Deſires, we do, in the Preſence of Almighty God, profeſs, that we will receive your Majeſty with all Honour, yield you all due Obedience and Subjection, and faithfully endeavour to ſecure your Perſon and Eſtate from all Danger; and to the uttermoſt of our Power procure, and eſtabliſh to yourſelf, and to your People, all the Bleſſings of a moſt happy and glorious Reign.

The Earl of *Eſſex* having received this Petition, he made Uſe of the Earl of *Dorſet*, (who was then at *Shrewsbury* with his Majeſty) that it might find Acceſs unto him. And within a few Days after the Earl of *Dorſet* ſent a Diſpatch to the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſignifying that (according to his Deſire) he had acquainted the King concerning ſuch a Petition to be preſented, and the King returned this Anſwer, *That he would receive any Petition that ſhould be preſented to him from his Parliament, from any that ſhould bring the ſame; but that he would not receive a Petition out of the Hands of any Traytor.*

His Excellency, having received this Anſwer, did conceive it expedient to acquaint the Parliament with it. Whereupon, after a ſerious Debate upon the Buſineſs, it was voted by the Houſe of Commons, That his Majeſty refuſing to receive any Petition from thoſe whom he accounted Traytors, and withal, having proclaimed the Earl of *Eſſex*, and his Adherents, Traytors, he had, in that Word, comprehended both the Houſes of Parliament, which is not only againſt the Privileges of Parliament, but the fundamental Laws of the Land. It was therefore agreed upon by both Houſes, That the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould go forward in advancing his Forces according to his Inſtructions, with all convenient Speed; and to lay by the Petition which was to be preferred to his Majeſty.

Much about this Time the King advanced from *Shrewsbury*, with an Army, conſiſting of Six-thouſand Foot, Three-thouſand Horſe, and Fifteen-hundred Dragoons; his Deſign was to march towards *London* with all his Forces; of which the Earl of *Eſſex* being advertiſed, he advanced, with a Reſolution to encounter with them; and being a grave Counſellor, as well as a great Commander, he deſired the Parliament, that the Trained-Bands, in and about the City of *London*, might be put in a Readineſs for their own Defence; and that the City might be fortified, and an eſpecial Care taken to ſecure the Perſons of the chiefeſt of thoſe malignant Citizens, who were ſuſpected to contrive Miſchief, and were able to perform it. Whereupon the Houſe of Parliament did order, That the Trained-Bands of *London*, *Middleſex*, and *Surry*, ſhould forthwith be put into a Readineſs, and that the Cloſe Committee ſhould make a diligent Enquiry, after the chief Malignants of the City; and Warrants were iſſued forth with Power to apprehend them, and to bring them to the Parliament.

On the 22d of *October*, his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex* did march to *Kinton*, with about twelve Regiments of Foot, and above forty Troops of Horſe; he made haſte to meet with the Army of the King, and therefore was forced to leave behind him three Regiments of Foot, and ten Troops of Horſe; for, the Country being deſtitute of Proviſion, it was thought requiſite that they ſhould not follow the main Body of the Army, in ſo ſwift a March: On the next Morning Intelligence was received, that the King's Army was drawing near, with a Reſolution to encounter with the Forces of his Excellency. They had got the Advantage of *Edge-Hill*, which ſerved them for a Place of ſafe Retreat, it being of a high and ſteep Aſcent. The Earl of *Eſſex* made a Stand about half a Mile from the Hill, and did there draw forth his Army into a Body, and did ſet them in Battalia: He marſhalled the Field with great Judgment, having but little Time to do it; which was no ſooner done, but he beheld many Regiments of the King's Foot come down the Hill, and there were a ſtrong Body of Dragooners with them. The Horſe alſo came down in order, and placed themſelves at the Foot of the Hill, on the right Hand of our Army. It was ſomething long before their Cannon and the Rear of their Foot could be brought down: Our Foot were marſhalled a good Space behind our Horſe; three Regiments of Horſe were on the right Wing of our Army, namely, the Lord General's Regiment, commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, who that Day did excellent Service; Sir *William Belſore*'s Regiment, who was Lieutenant-General of the Horſe; and the Lord *Feilding*'s Regiment, which ſtood as a Reſerve unto them. In our left Wing were Twenty-four Troops of Horſe, commanded by Sir *James Ramſey*, Commiſſary-General.

The Cannon on each Side having diſcharged their cholerick Errands, the Enemy's Foot advanced againſt our right Wing, and they were

gallantly received by Sir *William Stapleton*'s and Sir *William Belfore*'s Regiments of Horſe, which were at that Inſtant ſeconded by the noble Lord *Roberts*'s and Sir *William Conſtable*'s Regiments of Foot, who charged on the Enemy's Foot, with ſo much Reſolution, that they forced them, in great Diſorder, to ſhrowd themſelves amongſt their Pikes. That Day, Sir *William Belfore* ſhewed excellent Demonſtrations of his Valour, for after this he charged a Regiment of the Enemy's Foot, and broke quite through them, and cut many of them in Pieces, and not long after, having received ſome Aſſiſtance of Foot, he defeated another Regiment, and ſeized upon a Part of the Enemy's Ordnance; but we did afterwards leave them, having none to guard them. The Enemy's Horſe, on the left Wing, had the better of ours; for, at the firſt Shock, they routed them, and did beat them back upon our Foot, and forced their Way clean through Colonel *Hollis*'s Regiment; which ſtruck ſuch a Terror to ſome other of our Foot Regiments, on the left Wing, that four Regiments, without ſtriking one Stroke, did run quite away, their Officers being not able to ſtay them, who therefore came up to the Van, in the right Wing, and did extraordinary Service, amongſt which was Colonel *Charles Eſſex*, who, performing all the Parts of a gallant Soldier, was unfortunately ſhot in the Thigh, of which, not long after, he died.

His Excellency perceiving that four Regiments of the left Wing of his Army were fled, and never fought with, it doubled his Reſolution on the right Wing, where, with undaunted Valour, he charged the King's Regiment: Once he charged with his own Troop of Horſe, and often with his Regiment of Foot. An admirable Man, who, for the Safety of the Kingdom, and to pluck the King from the Hands of thoſe that did miſlead him, did this Day admirable Service. He was always at the Head of his Army, and, having at laſt got the Advantage of the Wind and Ground, he charged the King's Regiment ſo home (having the Regiment of the Lord *Brooks* to aſſiſt him) that he utterly defeated it; he took the King's Standard, and the Earl of *Lindſey*, General of the King's Army: His Son was alſo taken Priſoner, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Vavaſor*, who commanded that Regiment; Sir *Edward Varney*, who carried the King's Standard, was ſlain; the Lord *Aubigny* was alſo ſlain; Colonel *Munroe*, a great Commander on the King's Side, was ſlain. Two Regiments of the Enemy's Foot (the Night coming on) retiring themſelves towards the Hill, found their Ordnance without any Guard at all, where they made a Stand, and diſcharged many great Shot againſt us. By this Time the Body of the Enemy's Horſe, which had been pillaging the Waggons at *Kinton*, had the Leiſure to wheel about, ſome on one Hand of our Army, and ſome on the other, and ſo at laſt they united themſelves to the Body of their Foot; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, who did remarkable Service this Day, ſeeing in what Diſorder they came along, did ride forth with his Troop, to charge four or five Troops of theirs; which they perceiving, did put Spurs unto their Horſes, and, with what Speed they could, joined themſelves with the reſt of their broken Troops, which had now recovered their Foot that did guard their Ordnance. Our Horſe were alſo gathered to our Foot, and thus both Armies of Horſe and Foot ſtood one againſt another till Night.

This great Victory being obtained, the Earl of *Eſſex* marched to *Warwick*, where he refreſhed his Army for a few Days, where Mr. *Marſhall* ſpeaking of the admirable Succeſs of this Battle; his Excellency replied twice together, *That he never ſaw leſs of Man in any Thing than in this Battle, nor more of God.*

Not long after his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex* came to *London*, with ſeveral of his Regiments of Horſe and Foot, who, with much Joy, were entertained by the Citizens. And, on the *Lord's-Day* following, many good Miniſters, about the City of *London*, praiſed God for their ſafe Return to their Parents, Friends, and Maſters.

About the 4th of *November* 1672, at a Conference in the *Painted Chamber*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, in the Name of the whole Houſe of Peers, did acquaint the Commons, that the Committee for the Safety of the Kingdom had ſome Thoughts to ſend certain Propoſitions to his Majeſty, to prevent the farther Effuſion of Blood, and to re-eſtabliſh the Peace of the Kingdom, before which Time they held it requiſite to acquaint his Excellency with it, who returned an Anſwer to the Parliament to this Effect:

That what he had done was in Obedience to the Commands of both Houſes, and what they ſhould command further he would be careful to obey: That he was now with his Army, and could not leave his Charge, to come, in Perſon, to contribute any Thing for his Majeſty's Honour, and the Safety of the Kingdom. That he

he believed the Committee had ſuch Reaſons for thoſe Propoſitions, as were laid on ſure Grounds; but withal, that he hoped that they had no Fear of any Weakneſs of his Army, or that the Courage of thoſe who ſtood to it ſo ſtoutly, in the late Battle, would fail them, if nothing but a ſecond Encounter muſt decide the Matter, and end the Quarrel.

There was now a Treaty for Peace agreed upon on both Sides, when behold, on a ſudden, unexpected News is brought unto the Parliament that the King's and Parliament's Forces were engaged at *Brentford*, and that Prince *Rupert*, with about thirteen Troops of Horſe, had (undiſcovered to our Scouts) taken the Advantage of a miſty Morning, with a full Reſolution to cut off the Forces of the Parliament that were quartered thereabouts, and from thence to force his Way to *London*, truſting, that, upon their Approach ſo near unto the City, the Malignants would riſe in Arms, and declare themſelves for the King; but it pleaſed God ſo in Mercy to ordain it, that he fell ſhort of his Expectation; for he was ſo well entertained at *Brentford* and *Turnham-green*, by Colonel *Hollis*'s Regiment, and a Part of the Lord *Roberts*'s Regiment, the Regiment of Colonel *Hampden* coming alſo to their Aſſiſtance, that Prince *Rupert* durſt not adventure to make his Approaches nearer to the City. And the Parliament forthwith diſpatched a Committee to *London*, to raiſe all the Forces both of Horſe and Foot, to defend the City, and to ſecure the Out-works. Immediately his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex* departed from *London*, and marched againſt the Enemy, who, at the firſt Shock, over-powered our Forces by their Number, who were many of them deſtitute both of Powder, and all Furniture of War: We loſt in that Service Serjeant-major *Quarles*, and Capt. *Lacy*, and many Soldiers of inferior Quality. Capt. *Lilburn* with ſome others were taken Priſoners: There were diverſe of the Enemy ſlain, and many Carts laden with their Wounded, and their Dead; beſides, they buried many, very privately, to conceal the Ignominy of their great Loſs.

Immediately after this the Lord General cauſed a Bridge to be made of long and flat-bottomed Boats, over the River of *Thames*, from *Fulham* unto *Putney* (a ſudden Work of War) to prevent, and the better to enable his Men to aſſault the Cavaliers in their March from *Kingſton* into the County of *Kent*, and to oppoſe them in their further invading the County of *Surry*.

This Bridge, at each End, was fortified with Ordnance and Muſqueteers to defend it from the Enemy, who, at that Time, had miſerably plundered *Kingſton* and ſome Villages adjacent thereunto, and now, being full of the Pillage of the Towns of *Brentford*, *Kingſton*, and other Places, and not daring to attempt further, they were retiring towards *Maidenhead*, and from thence to *Reading* and *Oxford*, the Seat of the Court, and the Rendezvous of the malignant Army during the War.

The Parliament (as they had juſt Cauſe ſo to do) did, on this, publiſh a Declaration, to teſtify to the World the Carriage of the Matter at *Brentford*, in the Time of a Treaty for the Peace of the Kingdom, to the End that all Men, diſcerning how far they had been deceived with fair Shows and bare Pretences, might now, at laſt, ſtand upon their own Defence, and their ſtrongeſt Guard, and to aſſociate themſelves together to defend and preſerve their Religion, Laws, and Liberty of Parliament and Kingdom; yea, themſelves, their Wives, and Children from Rapine and Ruin, who were all concerned in the common Danger now round about them; on this the Counties of this Kingdom did begin, by Degrees, to aſſociate themſelves.

The King having, after this, made another Motion for Peace, and the Parliament having returned a fair Anſwer to it; upon ſome new Counſels, his Majeſty was ſo impatient as to reply:

That he looked on the Parliament's Anſwer, as penned by a malignant Party in both Houſes, whoſe Safety is built upon the Ruin of this Nation, who have chaced his Majeſty, his Peers, and Commons from the Parliament; the Truth whereof, he ſaid, might appear by the ſmall Number left; and, moreover, that they had raiſed an Army to take away his Life, and the Life of his Children, and that theſe Rebels are now come to *London*; and, ſince they cannot ſnatch the Crown from his Head, they would invite him, tamely, to come up, and to lay it down. And, for the Expreſſions of that Accident at *Brentford*, his Majeſty hoped (if it be permitted by them to be publiſhed) that his Declaration would ſatisfy his People.

The Parliament, upon Conſideration of this, being compelled to look unto themſelves, did reſolve

reſolve to forbear all further Treaties, and gave Order to his Excellency, forthwith to advance with his Army; and the rather, becauſe, they underſtood, by an intercepted Letter, ſent unto Sir *Edward Nicholas*, that many experienced Commanders, and, with them, great Proviſion of Money, Arms, and Ammunition, were deſigned, from *Holland*, to land at *Newcaſtle*, for the Service of the King, and the Advancement of this unnatural War.

This did ſet ſo ſharp an Edge on the Affections of the City, that, whereas the Parliament did deſire them to aſſiſt them with a Loan of Thirty-thouſand Pounds, to pay the Army, they cheerfully ſubſcribed to pay in Threeſcore-thouſand Pounds, and would have made it a far greater Sum, to further the Lord General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, to proceed with his Army to reſcue his Majeſty from the Hands of thoſe, who detained him from his People, and his Parliament.

But the Winter did now grow heavy, and immoderate Showers of Rain had ſo corrupted the Ground, that the Body of Foot could not march, nor the Train of Artillery move; therefore, the Lord General was inforced to continue in his Winter Quarters, at *Windſor*, until the Spring; howſoever, our Horſe did excellent Service in the Weſt, under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, and the Right Honourable the Lord *Fairfax*, and his renowned Son, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, atchieved many glorious Victories in the North, of which, it is not ſo proper, in this Place, to deliver the Story, it being the Taſk of this Pen to expreſs only thoſe particular Services, in which his Excellency was perſonally preſent.

The Spring now coming on, his Excellency, about the Middle of *April*, did quit his Winter Quarters, and advanced towards *Oxford*; he ſeemed to paſs by *Reading*, to render that Garriſon more ſecure, and that, the chiefeſt Strength being gone where the chiefeſt Danger did appear, he might take *Reading* with the more Eaſe and Speed; having, therefore, wheeled about, he unexpectedly came and ſat down before *Reading*, and ſent his Trumpeter to the Governor to ſurrender that Town unto him, for the Service of the King and Parliament: Colonel *Aſhton*, who was Governor of it, returned a ſtubborn Anſwer, That he would either keep the Town or ſtarve and die in it. Thereupon his Excellency, taking Compaſſion of the Women and Children, which were to undergo the common Danger, he ſent unto the Governor, that they might be ſuffered to come forth, but this alſo was refuſed by the Colonel.

Hereupon our Soldiers began to intrench themſelves, and daily to make their Approaches nearer and nearer to the Town; his Excellency incamped on the Weſt-part thereof betwixt *Reading* and *Oxford*, to hinder any Relief that might come from *Oxford* to it. The Enemy had many ſtrong Outworks, which were defended alſo by ſome main Bulwarks; from thoſe they continually plied us with their great and ſmall Shot, who were not remiſs to anſwer them with Advantage. They had in the Garriſon three-thouſand Soldiers beſides Townſmen, many Pieces of Ordnance, and great Store of Proviſion and Ammunition. The Enemy had ſtrongly fortified *Cauſham* Hill which commands the whole Town; from this Place, by fine Force, they were beaten and driven into their Works nearer unto the Town. This Hill being gained, we inſtantly raiſed our Batteries on it, which much annoyed the Enemy, and, by this Means, we got the Opportunity with the greater Safety, to make our Approaches nearer unto their Works, and in many Places within leſs than half a Muſquet-ſhot; hereupon the Enemy endeavoured to make ſome Sallies, but they were always beaten in with Loſs. They had planted ſome Ordnance in a Steeple, believing, that from that Height they might play upon our Men with more Advantage; but our Cannon were levelled againſt it with ſuch Dexterity, that both the Cannoniers and Cannon were quickly buried under the Ruins of the Steeple. After this, the Enemies would not adventure themſelves on Towers, but kept for the moſt Part in Places more ſecure, our Ordnance perpetually beating down the Houſes, and Colonel *Aſhton*, the Governor, being ſorely wounded in the Head, by the Fall of Bricks, from a battered Chimney, which made him the more willing to offer the Surrender of the Town to my Lord General, if his Soldiers might have the Honour to march away with Bag and Baggage; but his Excellency did ſend him Word, that he came for Men, and not for the Town only.

Whilſt this was in Agitation, Intelligence was received that the King, Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* were on their Advance towards *Reading*, for the Relief of the Town; whereupon his Excellency did ſend out a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons under the Command

mand of Colonel *Middleton* and Colonel *Milles*, who did beat up the Enemies Quarters at *Dorcheſter*, about ſeven Miles from *Oxford*, and routed and ſurpriſed many of the King's Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Vavaſor*, who was taken Priſoner at *Kinton*, and afterwards releaſed; he was abſent in this Service, but his Captain-Lieutenant was taken Priſoner. The King's Standard was again in Danger, and about one hundred and forty gallant Horſe were taken. Howſoever, the King continued his Reſolution for the Raiſing of the Siege at *Reading*, and, being advanced to *Wallingford*, he marched from thence towards *Reading*, with about nine Regiments of Horſe, and nine Regiments of Foot, and twelve Pieces of Ordnance. His Regiments of Foot were but thin and empty. His Excellency underſtanding of the Approach of this Army, and that his Majeſty himſelf and the two *German* Princes were there in Perſon, he commanded, that two Regiments ſhould be drawn forth to oppoſe them, which were the Regiments of the Lord *Roberts*, and the Regiment of Colonel *Barcley*; although the King's whole Body of Infantry were near, he only ſent two Regiments of his, the Green and the Red, to encounter theſe two Regiments.

The Fight was fiercely begun about *Cauſham* Bridge, and on both Sides excellent Demonſtrations of Valour and Reſolution were expreſſed; at the firſt Charge the Lord *Roberts* was abſent from his Regiment, but, hearing that they were engaged with the Enemy, he did ride up with all Speed unto them, and by his Courage and Example did admirably ſerve to expedite and increaſe the Victory; after leſs than half an Hour's Fight, the Enemy began to give Ground, and to leave many of their Men behind them, and about three-hundred Arms; their Horſe alſo, which came down the Hill to aſſiſt their Foot, were gallantly repulſed, and forced to retreat to the Hill from whence they came. There were about one-hundred of the Enemy ſlain upon the Place, amongſt whom Serjeant-Major *Smith* was one, whoſe Pockets being ſearched, there was found good Store of Gold. The Number which were ſaid to be ſlain, on our Side, are ſo few, that I am afraid to name them, leſt (being too ſhort in my Account) I ſhould be accuſed to diſſemble with the Truth. I dare not grow too bold on the common Report; there is, undoubtedly, a Moderation with Judgment to be uſed by all thoſe who undertake to deliver to Poſterity the Actions of their own, or foregoing Times, which, whoſoever, either through Faction or Affection, ſhall wilfully tranſgreſs, ſhall loſe the Grace of a true Hiſtorian, and the Reputation of an honeſt Man.

The Enemy being thus beaten in the Field, and retreated unto *Wallingford*, his Excellency, the Earl of *Eſſex*, did proceed in the Treaty with the Governor of *Reading*, for the Surrender of the Town. Colonel *Bolles*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Thelwell*, and Serjeant-Major *Gilby* were ſent forth to treat on the Articles for the Surrender of it, and the Lord *Rochford*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Ruſſel*, and Serjeant-Major *King* were ſent in as Hoſtages for their ſafe Return. It was deſired, in the Town, that ſome might go to the King's Army, to acquaint the Commander in Chief with the Terms. This was granted, and, upon the Return, his Excellency received a Letter from Prince *Rupert*, and not long after it was concluded on, that the Town of *Reading* ſhould be ſurrendered on theſe Conditions:

I. *THAT the Enemy ſhould march away with Arms and Ammunition, with Colours flying, Bag and Baggage.*

II. *That thoſe Perſons, who are not Inhabitants, ſhould have Liberty to go away with their Goods, except ſuch who had been of the Army of the Parliament.*

III. *That thoſe Goods be excepted from the Baggage of the Soldiers which had been taken from thoſe who were Friends to the Parliament, and from the Weſtern Carriers.*

IV. *That they ſhould have Liberty to march to* Wallingford, *or* Oxford, *without any Moleſtation from our Forces, provided they offer no Aſſault to any in the Way.*

V. *That they ſhall carry but four Pieces of Ordnance, and the Town not to be plundered either by them or by the Forces of the Parliament.*

VI. *That four and twenty Hours be allowed them for the Performance of their Articles, and that they give up their Outworks immediately, and three Perſons of Quality as Pledges for the faithful Performance of theſe Articles.*

Not long after this, it pleaſed Almighty God, to viſit the Army of the Parliament with Sickneſs, by which many of our young Men periſhed, and the reſt by Reaſon of their Weakneſs were diſabled from doing any great Service in the Field. His Excellency omitted nothing that might

might give Redreſs unto them. Phyſick, and whatever elſe was thought expedient, was ſent from *London*, and Care was taken, both for Money and Cloaths for the Soldiers; and, to make our Condition yet worſe, Sir *William Waller* had received ſome Loſs not far from *Briſtol*, and the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* was grown very powerful in the North. In the mean Time, the King, having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Briſtol*, was marching up to *London* with a puiſſant Army; in his Way he ſummoned *Glouceſter*, unwilling to leave any Town behind him to continue in the Power of the Parliament, and, *Briſtol* being taken, diſdained to ſit down before a Town and not to carry it; but the Courage of the gallant Governor, Col. *Maſſey*, was ſo remarkable, that he not only did put a Stop to the furious March of the King, who, having gained *Glouceſter*, would have forthwith advanced to *London*, but, by holding him in Play, he gave an Opportunity to his Excellency to recruit his Army, and, under God, was a principal Inſtrument of the Safety of this Kingdom.

In extraordiary Neceſſities, we do uſe extraordinary Expedients; the Trained-Bands of the City of *London*, who, before, were never known to make ſo long a March out of the City, did now readily conſent to lend their beſt Aſſiſtance, and, to their eternal Honour, preferring the publick, before their private Good, they reſolved to adventure their own Lives, to preſerve the City, State, and Kingdom.

In this Reſolution they met his Excellency on *Hounſlow-Heath*, who being right glad to ſee them, he thanked them for their Love, and applauded them for their Courage, and uniting the Armies both into one, he forthwith marched to the Relief of *Glouceſter*, which, at that Time, did much need the Aſſiſtance of ſo brave an Army. The King's Forces, with great Violence, did proſecute the Siege, which continued from the Tenth of *Auguſt*, to the Fifth of *September*; on which Day, the Enemy hearing of the Approach of his Excellence, did begin to ſend away their Carriages, and their Foot and Horſe did march after them, and the Beſieged (it being a Day ſet a-part for a publick Faſt) did turn it into a Day of Joy, and paid unto God their humble Thanks, for ſo gracious a Deliverance.

We have not the Liberty to give unto you the Diſcourſe of this Siege at large, becauſe it doth not ſo properly belong unto this Subject: It may ſuffice, that, as it was raiſed by the Proweſs of the moſt noble the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſo it was moſt reſolutely ſuſtained by the Valour, Induſtry, and Dexterity of the heroick Governor, Colonel *Maſſey*, who contrived all Stratagems, and occaſioned all the Sallies, for the Ruin of his Enemy, and the Protection of the City.

The City of *Glouceſter* being thus bravely relieved, and the Siege raiſed, his Excellency, the Earl of *Eſſex*, did prepare to follow the Enemy, who always fled before him, and refuſed to ſtand to the Hazard of a Battle. The Earl perceiving that the main Intent of the Enemy was to cut off all Proviſion from his Army, he made a Bridge over the River of *Severn*, as if he would march to *Worceſter*, to amuſe the Enemy, and to cauſe them to draw Part of their Forces that Way, which accordingly they did; and, on a ſudden, he wheeled about another Way, and marched to *Tewkſbury*, and from thence to *Cirenceſter*, where he found two Regiments of the King's Horſe, which were but newly entered into Service. In one of their Standards, the Invention was the Effigies of the Parliament-Houſe, with two Traytors Heads fixed on two Poles on the Top thereof; the Inſcription was this, *Sicut extra ſic intus*; which is, *As without, ſo within.* The Indignity whereof left ſuch a juſt Impreſſion of Diſdain in the Breaſts of the Parliament, that it was voted, that the Contriver of this ignominious Invention ſhould be ſtrictly ſearched out, and, being known, that he ſhould be for ever baniſhed the Kingdom, as being unworthy to live in the *Engliſh* Air. This good Service was performed about Two of the Clock in the Morning, the Enemy, for the moſt Part, being taken Priſoners in their Beds, and their Horſes feeding in the Stables: There was alſo a Magazine of Victuals ſeized on, which was a welcome Booty to our Soldiers. There were taken, in all, four-hundred Priſoners, and as many Soldiers.

From hence his Excellence marched into *Wiltſhire*, and, being advanced towards *Auburn-Hills*, he had a Sight of his Majeſty's Horſe, which appeared in ſeveral great Bodies, and were ſo marſhalled to charge our Army of Foot, being then on their March in ſeveral Diviſions; which cauſed our Foot to unite themſelves into one Groſs, our Horſe perpetually ſkirmiſhing with them, to keep them off from the Foot. In the mean Time, the Dragoons on both Sides gave Fire in full Bodies on one another, on the Side of the Hill, that the Woods above, and the Vallies below, did eccho with the Thunder

of the Charge. There were about fourſcore ſlain upon the Place, and more than as many more were ſorely wounded.

Our Horſe alſo made a great Impreſſion upon the Queen's Regiment of Horſe, and charged them again and again, and cut in Pieces many of her Life-Guard. In this Service, the Marquis of *Vivile* was taken Priſoner: It ſeems he would not be known who he was; but endeavouring to reſcue himſelf from a Lieutenant that took him Priſoner, and thereupon, having his Head almoſt cloven aſunder with a Pole-ax, he acknowledged himſelf, in the laſt Words he ſpoke, which were, *Vous voyez un grand Marquis mourant*; that is, *You ſee a great Marquis dying*. His dead Body was carried to *Hungerford*, by the Lord General's Command. It had not been long there, but the King did ſend a Trumpet to his Excellency, conceiving that the Marquis had been wounded only, and taken Priſoner, and deſired that his Chirurgeons and Doctors might have free Acceſs unto him for his Recovery. His Excellency certified the Trumpet that he was dead, and returned his Body to the King, to receive thoſe funeral Rites as his Majeſty would give it. Some ſay, that his Body was ranſomed for three-hundred Pieces of Gold.

His Excellency being come to *Hungerford*, the Army of his Majeſty, which was more numerous in Horſe, had got before him, and was advanced towards *Newbury*, and ſweeping the Country before them, had left it deſtitute of Proviſion, inſomuch that, his Excellency finding little or nothing at *Hungerford*, to ſatisfy the Neceſſity of his Army, he was forced to march away that Night towards *Newbury*, to which Place (although it is but ſeven Miles Diſtance) it was the next Day before he came; when he was within two Miles of it, he did underſtand, by his Scouts, that the whole Army of the King were at Hand, and that they had not only poſſeſſed themſelves of *Newbury*, but that they had made themſelves Maſters of all Advantages that could be deſired, for the Diſpoſing of the Battle.

Their main Body did ſtand in a large Plain, and were reſolute and ready to receive our Forces, which, in the Van, were to paſs through a Lane unto them, in which, but ſix Men could march on Breaſt.

Beſides, by this Means, our Foot were deprived in thoſe Places of the Succours of our Horſe, and our Cannon was made unprofitable. Neither was this all, for our Army was alſo in great Danger to be charged in the Rear; and therefore, the moſt worthy Major *Skippon* was called off from the Front, to provide a valiant Remedy againſt all Dangers that ſhould invade the Rear. All that Night our Army lay in the Fields, impatient of the Sloth of Darkneſs, and wiſhing for the Morning's Light, to exerciſe their Valour; and the rather, becauſe the King had ſent a Challenge over Night to the Lord General, to give him Battle the next Morning. A great Part of the Enemy's Army continued alſo in the Field, incapable of Sleep, their Enemy being ſo nigh; and, ſometimes looking on the Ground, they thought upon the melancholy Element of which they were compoſed, and to which they muſt return; and ſometimes looking up, they obſerved the ſilent Marches of the Stars, and the moving Scene of Heaven.

The Day no ſooner did appear, but they were marſhalled into Order, and advanced to the Brow of the Hill; and not long after, the Ordnance was planted, and the whole Body of their Horſe and Foot ſtood in Battalia. The Officers and Commanders of their Foot did many of them leave off their Doublets, and, with daring Reſolution, did bring on their Men; and, as if they came rather to triumph than to fight, they, in their Shirts, did lead them up to the Battle.

The firſt that gave the Charge, was the moſt noble Lord *Roberts*, whoſe Actions ſpeak him higher than our *Epithets*. He performed it with great Reſolution, and, by his own Example, ſhewed excellent Demonſtrations of Valour to his Regiment: The Cavalry of the Enemy performed alſo their Charge moſt bravely, and gave in with a mighty Impreſſion upon him. A prepared Body of our Army made Haſte to relieve him. Upon this, two Regiments of the King's Horſe, with a fierce Charge, ſaluted the Blue Regiment of the *London* Trained-Bands, who gallantly diſcharged upon them, and did beat them back; but they, being no Whit daunted at it, wheeled about, and on a ſudden charged them; our Muſqueteers did again diſcharge, and that with ſo much Violence and Succeſs, that they ſent them now, not wheeling, but reeling from them; and yet, for all that, they made a third Aſſault, and coming in full Squadrons, they did the utmoſt of their Endeavour to break through our Ranks; but a Cloud of Bullets came at once ſo thick from our Muſquets, and made ſuch a Havock amongſt them, both of Men and Horſe, that, in a Fear, full of con-

fuſed Speed, they did fly before us, and did no more adventure upon ſo warm a Service.

In the mean Time, Sir *Philip Stapleton* performed excellent Service with the Lord General's Regiment of Horſe, and five Times together did charge the Enemy: But, above all, the Renown and Glory of this Day is moſt juſtly due unto the Reſolution and Conduct of our General; for, before the Battle was begun, he did ride from one Regiment to another, and did inflame them with Courage, and perceiving in them all an eager Deſire to battle with their Enemies, he collected to himſelf a ſure Preſage of Victory to come. I have heard, that when, in the Heat and Tempeſt of the Fight, ſome Friends of his did adviſe him to leave off his white Hat, becauſe it rendered him an Object too remarkable to the Enemy: No, replied the Earl, *It is not the Hat, but the Heart*, the Hat is not capable either of Fear or Honour. He, himſelf, being foremoſt in Perſon, did lead up the City Regiment, and when a vaſt Body of the Enemy's Horſe had given ſo violent a Charge, that they had broken quite through it, he quickly rallied his Men together, and, with undaunted Courage, did lead them up the Hill. In his Way, he did beat the Infantry of the King from Hedge to Hedge, and did ſo ſcatter them, that hardly any of the Enemy's Foot appeared at that Preſent to him, to keep together in a Body. After ſix Hours long Fight, with the Aſſiſtance of his Horſe, he gained thoſe Advantages which the Enemy poſſeſſed in the Morning, which were the Hill, the Hedges, and the River.

In the mean Time, a Party of the Enemy's Horſe, in a great Body, wheeled about, and about three Quarters of a Mile below the Hill, they did fall upon the Rear of our Army, where our Carriages were placed. To relieve which, his Excellency ſent a ſelected Party from the Hill to aſſiſt their Friends, who were deeply engaged in the Fight. Theſe Forces, marching down the Hill, did meet a Regiment of Horſe of the Enemy's, who, in their Hats, had Branches of Furz and Broom, which our Army did that Day wear, for Diſtinction-ſake, to be known by one another from their Adverſaries, and they cried out to our Men, *Friends, Friends*; but, they being diſcovered to be Enemies, our Men gave Fire upon them, and having ſome Horſe to ſecond the Execution, they did force them farther from them: Our Men being now marched to the Bottom of the Hill, they increaſed the Courage of their Friends, and, after a ſharp Conflict, they forced the King's Horſe to fly with remarkable Loſs, having left the Ground ſtrewed with the Carcaſes of their Horſes and Riders.

In the mean Time, his Excellency, having now planted his Ordnance on the Top of the Hill, did thunder againſt the Enemy, where he found their Numbers to be thickeſt; and the King's Ordnance (being yet on the ſame Hill) did play with the like Fury againſt the Forces of his Excellency: The Cannon on each Side did diſpute with one another, as if the Battle was but new begun. The Trained-Bands of the City of *London* endured the chiefeſt Heat of the Day, and had the Honour to win it; for being now upon the Brow of the Hill, they lay not only open to the Horſe, but the Cannon of the Enemy; yet they ſtood undaunted, and Conquerors againſt all; and, like a Grove of Pines in a Day of Wind and Tempeſt, they only moved their Heads or Arms, but kept their Footing ſure, unleſs, by an Improvement of Honour, they advanced forward, to purſue their Advantage on their Enemies.

Although the Night did now draw on, yet neither of the Armies did draw off: The Enemy's Horſe, in a great Body, did ſtand on the furtheſt Side of the Hill, and the broken Remainders of their Foot, behind them, and having made ſome Pillage, about the Middle of the Night, they drew of their Ordnance, and retreated unto *Newbury*: On the next Morning, his Excellency, being abſolute Maſter of the Field, did marſhal again his Soldiers into Order to receive the Enemy, if he had any Stomach to the Field, and to that Purpoſe diſcharged a Piece of Ordnance, but no Enemy appearing, he marched towards *Reading*.

The Loſs which the King's Forces received, in this memorable Battle, is remarkable, for beſides the Multitudes that were carried away in Carts, there were divers found, that were buried in Pits and Ditches. There were many Perſonages of Note and Honour ſlain, as the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord of *Faulkland*, more famous for his Pen, than for his Sword, Colonel *Morgan*, Lieutenant Colonel *Fielding*, Mr *Strode*, and others: There were hurt the Lord *Andover*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, Colonel *Eevers*, the Earl of *Carliſle*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, Lieutenant Colonel *George Liſle*, Sir *John Ruſſel*, Mr. *Edward Sackville*, Mr. *Henry Howard*, Mr. *George Porter*, Mr. *Proger*

Prygers, Colonel *Darcy*, Lieutenant Colonel *Edward Villars*, with many more of Note and Eminence whoſe Names are unknown unto us.

On the Parliament Side, there were ſlain Colonel *Tucker*, Captain *George Maſſey*, and Captain *Hunt*, and not any more of Quality, that I can learn; but before his Excellency advanced towards *London*, he did direct his Ticket to Mr. *Fulke*, Miniſter of the Pariſh of *Enburn*, adjoining unto *Newbury*, and to the Conſtables thereof, giving them ſtrict Command to bury the Dead, which followeth in theſe Words:

THeſe are to will and require, and ſtraightly charge and command you, forthwith, upon Sight hereof, to bury all the dead Bodies, lying in, and about Enburn *and* Newbury-waſh, *as you, or any of you, will anſwer the Contrary, at your utmoſt Perils.*

Dated, *September* 21,
1643. *Eſſex.*

His Majeſty having underſtood the pious Care of his Excellency, for the Burial of the Dead, on both Sides, he iſſued out his Warrant to the Mayor of *Newbury*, for the Recovery of the Wounded that were taken Priſoners on our Side, which we have here inſerted:

OUR Will and Command is, that you forthwith ſend into the Towns and Villages adjacent, and bring thence, all the ſick and hurt Soldiers of the Earl of Eſſex's *Army, and although they be Rebels; and deſerve the Puniſhment of Traytors, yet out of our tender Compaſſion upon them, being our Subjects, our Will and Pleaſure is, that you carefully provide for their Recovery, as well, as for thoſe of our own Army, and then to ſend them unto* Oxford.

His Excellency's Forces had not marched above three or four Miles from *Newbury*, but they perceived, that a ſtrong Party of the Enemy made haſte to follow them, who were commanded by the Earl of *Northampton*, and the Lord *Wilmot*; Prince *Rupert* was alſo there in Perſon; they took our Forces, upon a great Advantage in a narrow Lane, expecting no Enemy ſo near at Hand. Our *London* Brigade marched in the Rear, and there was a forlorn Hope of ſix-hundred Muſqueteers, that marched in the Rear of them: But our Horſe, that brought up our Rear, perceiving ſo ſtrong a Body of Horſe and Foot ſo near at Hand, and conceiving themſelves not able to oppoſe them, in great Confuſion and Diſorder, they made their Way through our own Foot, and trampled on many of them, in that Height of Fear, under their Horſes Feet. Howſoever, although this Confuſion of our Horſe did put our Foot into ſome Diſorder, yet remembering the gallant Service performed by them, the Day before, and not willing now to loſe their Honour, which they knew was gained by Fighting, and not by Flying, they made a Stand, and diſcharged ten Drakes at the Enemy, who with great Fury did aſſault them, with their Cavalry, and had lined the Hedges with their Foot. The Lane on our Rear was ſo crouded with the Enemy, that the Execution which the Drakes performed was very violent, for it did beat down both Horſe and Man, and in the Midſt of the Lane, made a new Lane amongſt them. The Fall of theſe Men was the Riſe of the Courage of their Companions, and thereupon adding Fury to their Valour, and Deſperateneſs to their Fury, they adventured on the Mouth of our Ordnance, and on the Jaws of Death, and became Maſters of two of our Drakes. In the mean Time, a ſelected Party of our Foot were drawn out of the Lane, into a Field, where, on the ſecond Charge (ſo hot was the Service) they forced the Enemy's Foot, who lined the Hedges, to betake themſelves unto their Heels, and through the Hedges, ſo gauled the Enemy with the Shot, that about one hundred of them loſt their Lives upon the Place, and the reſt did fly for their Safety, and were well content to leave the Prize, which they had taken, and the Purchaſe of our two Drakes behind them. It is moſt certain, and the Papers printed at *Oxford* do confirm it, that Prince *Rupert*, in this laſt Service, had three Horſes ſhot under him; peradventure he was one of thoſe, who in the Vanity of their Morning Mirth, did boaſt at *Newbury*, that although the Roundheads were marching unto *Reading*, they would make Calves of many of them, before they came unto the *Veal*.

The Enemy in this Manner being beaten back, the Forces of the Parliament, who had expreſſed themſelves to be gallant Men, had afterwards an unmoleſted March unto the *Veal*, and the next Day to *Reading*, where having repoſed themſelves for a few Days, they marched in Triumph unto *London*, their Companies ſo full, that it hardly could be diſcerned, where any were miſſing; with a general Conſent, they

declared their chearful Reſolution, that whenſoever his Excellency, their heroick General, ſhould command their Service, they would moſt readily advance with him, and eſteem it their greateſt Happineſs, to partake with him in the Honour of his Dangers; the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City did meet the Trained Bands at *Temple-Bar*, and entertained them with great Joy, and they had many Thouſand Welcomes from the People, as they paſſed in martial Order through the Streets. His Excellency alſo [being come to *London*] had ſolemn Thanks returned him by the Parliament for his faithful unwearied Services for the State and Kingdom; and now, the Winter coming on, he had the Leiſure for a While to refreſh himſelf, and to make new Proviſions for War againſt the enſuing Spring, to reduce Peace unto the Kingdom, and the King unto his Parliament, and *Oxford* and the Malignant Gariſons in the Weſt, to the Obedience of both; and this great Work muſt aſk ſome Time, for the Preparations of it.

Therefore on *Monday*, *May* the 13th, he ſent his Carriages from *London*, his Soldiers were marched away before, and on *Tueſday May* the 14th, very early in the Morning, he followed after them, towards *Oxford*. The gallant Commander Sir *William Waller* advanced with him, but at ſome Diſtance to eaſe the Countries, through which they marched, and great Care was taken to puniſh all Diſorders in his Soldiers, as may appear by this his Proclamation:

ROBERT, Earl of *Eſſex*, Captain General of the Army, employed for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, King, Parliament, and Kingdom.

WHereas theſe Countries have been very much afflicted and oppreſſed by the Enemy, and we are now come to relieve them of their hard Bondage: It is therefore my expreſs Will and Pleaſure, and I do hereby ſtraightly charge and command all Officers, and Soldiers, of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, belonging to the Army, under my Command, that they, and every of them, due forthwith, after Proclamation *hereof made, forbear (notwithſtanding any Pretence whatſoever) to plunder or ſpoil any of the Goods of the Inhabitants of theſe Countries, or to offer any Violence, or other Prejudice unto them, upon Pain of Death, without Mercy.*

Given under my Hand and Seal.

Eſſex.

His Excellency being now in the Field, with a Reſolution to encounter with the King's Armies, whereſoever he could meet them, he received Intelligence, that the Earl of *Forth*, and the Lord *Hopton*, had made a late Muſter of them upon *Wautage* Downs. There is no where to be found a fairer Place for two Armies, to try the Juſtice of their Cauſe by Battle: But they, hearing that the Earl of *Eſſex* was advancing towards them, retired towards *Abingdon*; his Excellency did ſend a Party after them, of three-thouſand Horſe and Foot, which were commanded by the Field-Marſhal, the moſt Noble Lord *Roberts*, and by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Lieutenant General of the Horſe, who advanced towards them, with ſo much Reſolution, that in ſome Diſorder they abandoned the Town, which was immediately entered by the Lord *Roberts*, his Excellency, with the main Body of the Army, following after, and intending to take up his Quarters in that Town himſelf.

The Enemy, at their Departure, had drawn off their Artillery, and took with them their Magazine, which they did ſend to *Oxford*, but a great Body of their Army, conſiſting of five-thouſand Horſe and Foot, and commanded by the Lord *Hopton*, did march by *Oxford* unto *Iſlip*, which is in the Way to *Worceſter*, and there they took up Quarters for one Night; but Captain *Temple*, who was ſent from *Newport-Pagnel* with ſome Troops of Horſe to diſcover only, and not to charge the Enemy, being in the Height of his Youth, and full of the gallant Fire of Courage, and finding withal ſo fit an Opportunity, he reſolved to beat up the Enemy's Quarters; which he performed with ſo much Reſolution and Succeſs, that he took fifty brave Horſes, eighteen Priſoners, whereof one was a Knight, eight Packs of Kerſey, which came from *Exeter*, and 150 *l.* in ready Money, and gave ſuch an Alarm to the Enemy, that they fled from *Iſlip* to *Oxford*, crying out, *Eſſex was at their Heels*; which did ſtrike ſuch a Terror into them at *Oxford*, that they did ſhut the Gates of the City, and for a While (until better Infor-

ma-

mation was received) they would not ſuffer Colonel *Aſton*'s own Troop to enter, which was one of the three Troops which this gallant Captain did ſo bravely rouſe in their Quarters at *Iſlip*.

Not long after, the Earl of *Eſſex*, having firſt rode round about the City of *Oxford*, and taken a perfect View of it, did ſit down before it, with ſo powerful an Army, that his Majeſty on *Monday*, *June* the third, about Twelve of the Clock at Night, did take Horſe, attended with certain Troops who carried ſome Foot mounted behind them: There followed him thirty Coaches of Ladies, who, conceiving that *Oxford* would be beſieged, were unwilling to endure the Fury of the Siege, and therefore the Danger being manifeſt, and our Armies almoſt round about them, in great Tumult and Diſorder they hurried away, leaving behind them many coſtly Moveables, which afterwards became a rich Booty to their unfaithful Servants.

The King being gone, immediately the Intelligence thereof was brought unto his Excellency, and the active and vigilant Sir *William Waller* was deſired to attend him, who being come to *Whitney*, with his Forces, which is but five Miles from *Burford*, where the King then was, his Majeſty's Scouts came galloping in, and brought the ſad News that our Forces were at hand: On this, in a great Fright, they all cried out, *To Horſe*, *To Horſe*; and the King, with his Sword drawn, did ride about the Town, to haſten his Men away.

About a Day or two after, his Majeſty's Forces, in a flying March, did come to *Parſhaw* Bridge, which they pulled up, and (Neceſſity being the Mother of Invention) they laid looſe Boards upon Stones, for a Party of their Forces, then behind, to paſs over; which being done, they intended to take the Boards away, to hinder the Paſſage of Sir *William Waller*'s Forces that were in their Purſuit; but, this Party being come to the Bridge, and haſtily paſſing over it, the looſe Boards did ſlip from the Stones, and they who were upon the Bridge did fall into the River, and were drowned: The valiant Sir *William Waller* did loſe no Time to overtake the Forces of the King: And his Excellency well knowing what a conſiderable and ſufficient Strength he had to proſecute the Purſuit, and believing that Colonel *Maſſey* would join his Forces with him, he reſolved to march Weſtward, and, with what Speed he could, to ſend Relief to the diſtreſſed Town of *Lyme*; but, before the Forces intended could arrive, Prince *Maurice* was gone, and the Siege raiſed by our renowned Lord Admiral, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Warwick*.

This Town being thus ſeaſonably relieved (where the Beſieged, both Male and Female, and of all Ages ſhewed incomparable Examples of Fortitude and Patience, to the Wonder of their Adverſaries, and of Generations to come) the Lord Admiral did advertiſe his Excellency, that, for the more ſpeedy Reducing of the Weſt, he would be aſſiſtant to him, and to that Purpoſe, that, as he moved by Land, he would ſail by Sea, to attend him in his Marches. The Town of *Weymouth*, a Haven-Town, was ſummoned, which, underſtanding that his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex* was coming before it by Land, and the Lord Admiral by Sea, it preſently did ſubmit unto the noble Sir *William Belfore*, who did ſummon it for his Excellency, upon Conditions, That the Commanders and Officers ſhould go away on Horſe-back, with their Swords and Piſtols, and the common Soldiers only with Staves in their Hands: There were taken in the Town twenty-ſeven Pieces of Ordnance, fifty Pieces lying in the Harbour, and all the Ships in it, and near unto it, and above an Hundred Barrels of Powder, beſides much Arms and Ammunition.

His Excellency being now come into the Center of the Weſt, the Countries round about did come in unto him, and the Gariſons did ſurrender at the firſt Sound of his Trumpet; they opened their Gates to entertain his Army, and they opened their Hearts to entertain himſelf. There came unto him at *Chard*, within the Circuit of twelve Miles, at leaſt Four-thouſand Men, who were all, in one Meadow, drawn into Ranks and Files, where his Excellency came in Perſon to welcome them, and the Lord *Roberts*, Lord Marſhal of the Field, made them an excellent Speech, which they received with loud and repeated Acclamations, offering to live and die, in the Cauſe of the Parliament, as their Friends at *Dorcheſter* did before them.

Much about the ſame Time, his Excellency having underſtood that Prince *Maurice* had drawn a great Part of the Gariſon from *Barnſtable*, and the Inhabitants being confident of his Aſſiſtance and Approach, the other Part of the Gariſon being marched forth upon ſome plundering Deſign, they reſiſted them upon their Return, and would not grant Admittance to them; and a Party of Horſe commanded by the Lord *Roberts*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, came ſo opportunely to

their

their Aid, that they chaced them from that Gariſon, and, being received themſelves with great Joy, they became abſolute Maſters of it for the Parliament.

Not long after, the moſt Noble the Lord *Roberts* was deſigned by his Excellency to march into *Cornwall*, which did ſo encourage the Gariſon of *Plymouth*, that they did put on a gallant Reſolution to make a Sally forth; which they ſo well performed, that, about ſeven Miles from *Plymouth*, they did beat up a Quarter of their Enemies, and took forty-four Horſe, with their Riders; and although that Sir *Richard Greenvile* did attempt to reſcue them, with a conſiderable Strength, he was beaten off, and forced to fly in great Diſorder, with the Loſs of divers of his ableſt Men. In this Service two of the chiefeſt Commanders of the Enemy were ſlain, and Colonel *Digby*, Brother to *George* Lord *Digby*, was wounded in the Face, and *Greenvile* himſelf, who before had loſt his Honour, was ſo cloſe put to it, that he was in apparent Danger of the Loſs of his Life.

The Concluſion of one Victory was the Beginning of another; for this gallant Service was no ſooner atchieved, but his Excellency underſtood the glad Tidings of the taking of *Taunton* Caſtle, by the Forces which he ſent thither, under the Command of Sir *Robert Pye*, and Colonel *Blake*. This was a Caſtle-Town, and of great Strength and great Concernment, as in the Year following the Enemies proved to their Coſt, who, with a mighty Power, did lie long before it, but were never able to take it, either by Force, or by Perſuaſion. In it they found four iron Pieces, ſix Murtherers, great Store of Arms, of Ammunition, and Proviſion.

His Excellency was now on his March towards *Plymouth*, which his Enemies no ſooner underſtood, but, though they were at leaſt Three-thouſand ſtrong, they preſently abandoned their Holds, and retreated into *Cornwall*; by this Means his Excellency poſſeſſed himſelf of *Mount-Stamford*, *Plimpton*, *Salt-Aſh*, and divers other ſmall Gariſons, with their Ordnance, which, by Reaſon of the Strength of their Fear, and the Apprehenſion of their ſudden Danger, they were not able to draw off: From theſe Places adjoining unto *Plymouth*, his Excellency advanced towards *Taviſtock:* Here Sir *Richard Greenvile*'s Houſe was ſtormed, the Enemy, in vain, hanging out a white Flag, and deſiring Parley; Quarter for Life was granted to all, the *Iriſh* excepted. In this Houſe were taken two Pieces of Cannon, Eight-hundred Arms and more, a great Quantity of rich Furniture, and Three-thouſand Pounds in Money and in Plate. Sir *Richard Greenvile* was not here in Perſon, he was retired to *Newbridge*, which is a Paſſage into *Cornwall*, which he ſtrongly guarded, but the Forces of his Excellency, after ſome Diſpute, did beat him from it, having ſlain about an Hundred and fifty of the Enemy, and taken many Priſoners, and became Maſters of that Paſſage: *Lanceſton* at the firſt Approach of his Excellency did ſubmit itſelf unto his Mercy: From *Newbridge* Sir *Richard Greenvile* retreated, or rather fled to *Horſebridge*, but the right valiant the Lord *Roberts* did purſue him with his Brigade, and forced his Paſſage over the Bridge; and, about *Leſtuthiel*, overtook him, and encountered with him: He found his Forces to be ſtronger than *Fame* had at the firſt reported them. But Valour regards not Numbers, for he charged on them with ſuch Dexterity, Judgment, Succeſs, and Reſolution, that he covered the Place with the Carcaſes of his Enemies, and took about one Hundred and fifty of them Priſoners. Immediately upon this, *Bodwin*, *Tadcaſter*, and *Foy* did ſtoop unto his Excellency, and that with ſuch willing Humility, that they ſeemed rather to honour and embrace, than to fear their Conqueror: A Conqueror he was, who overcame his Enemies as much by his Goodneſs as his Greatneſs, and obliged them rather by his Humanity than his Power.

His Majeſty underſtanding that his Excellency, with his Army, was advanced into *Cornwall*, he was reſolved to march after him, for he found that his Army did daily increaſe in Number, the Preſence of a Prince, by a ſecret Attraction, always prevailing on the Affections of the People; whereupon his Excellency did write unto the Parliament, that a conſiderable Party might be ſent unto him, to charge the Rear of his Majeſty's Army, whilſt he did fall upon the Van, which might prove a ſpeedy and a happy Means for the Securing of the King's Perſon, and for the Concluding of the War. He advertiſed them, that he found the People to be a wild and diſproportioned Body of ſeveral and uncertain Heads, and uncertain Hearts, and that they were apt to profane in the Evening, what with ſo much Zeal and Joy they received in the Morning. He deſired that Money might be ſent unto him, to encourage his Soldiers, and to confirm the People.

But his Majeſty, although he was marched up after his Excellency, and was now about *Exeter*, was forced to ſend for Proviſions for his Army into *Somerſetſhire*, of which Lieutenant-General *Middleton* having received Intelligence, he valiantly encountered their Convoy, and took many of their Horſe, and ſeized on many of their Carriages.

Not long after he encountered with Sir *Francis Dorrington*'s and Sir *William Courtney*'s Forces, which conſiſted of a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Dragoons, and, although the Dragoons had lined the Hedges, he did beat them from them, and, with great Reſolution charging the Horſe, at the firſt Encounter he did rout them, and purſued the Victory almoſt as far as the Town of *Bridgewater*. In this Service he took ſome Commanders Priſoners, divers Troopers, and fourſcore Horſe. Much about the ſame Time, a pernicious Deſign of the Enemy, to blow up his Excellency's Train of Artillery, was wonderfully diſcovered and prevented.

His Excellency, with a labouring Expectation, did attend the Supplies of Men and Money, to be ſent unto him. The Armies of the King, and of his Excellency, were now drawn near, and daily facing one another. A Party of the Enemy, conſiſting of about Three-hundred Horſe, had one Morning caſt themſelves into three Diviſions, and, advancing near his Excellency's Quarters, did dare our Men to an Encounter: The gallant young Gentleman Major *Archibald Straughan*, not able to endure the Indignity, deſired of his Excellency, that he might have Leave to charge them, but with one hundred Horſe. His Excellency applauding his Courage did eaſily condeſcend unto it.

He received the firſt Impreſſion of the Enemy without ſtirring from the Place whereon he ſtood, and not firing on the Enemy, until they came Breaſt unto Breaſt, he made ſuch a Havock amongſt them, that many of them were obſerved to fall to the Ground together, and the reſt began to fly: Encouraged with this Succeſs, he charged the ſecond Diviſion, and that, with ſo much Fury, that they began to fly in great Confuſion, not able to endure the Shock and Tempeſt of the Charge.

After this he charged the third Diviſion, and having his Men well armed, their Piſtols being all before diſcharged, they did now fall in pell-mell upon them with their Swords, and did ſoon force them, by an ignominious Speed, to fly to the main Body of their Army for their Protection: The King himſelf was then in Perſon in the Field, and was a ſad Beholder of this Slaughter, and Diſorder of his Men.

For this brave Service his Excellency rewarded this victorious Major, who was a Gentleman of *Scotland*, with many Thanks, and Appellations of Honour, and with a gallant Horſe, eſteemed to be worth one Hundred Pounds.

His Excellency having a long Time waited for the Supplies of Ammunition, Money and Men, and finding that none arrived, he much wondered at the Cauſe; and the rather, becauſe that he was ſo ſtraitened, by the Iniquity of the Place wherein he was encamped, that his Horſe had no Room for Forage, and he found the Army of his Enemy did daily increaſe in Number, and in Power; wherefore a Council of War being called, it was concluded, that Three-thouſand of our Horſe, under the Command of the reſolute Sir *William Belfore*, ſhould break through the main Body of the Enemy, which was accordingly performed; and that with ſuch a Tempeſt, that they did bear down many of the Enemy before them, and ſnatched from them ſeveral Colours, which they brought with them ſafe to *Plymouth*, as the Teſtimony of their Valour: His Excellency diſpoſed of himſelf to Sea, attended with the Lord *Roberts*. He took Shipping at *Foy*, and the Seas danced to receive him whom our Land was not worthy of. He landed firſt at *Plymouth*, and not long after he put to Sea again, and ſafely arrived at *Southampton*.

In the mean Time, the moſt reſolute Major-General *Skippon*, improving his Neceſſity into a Virtue, did gallantly encourage his Soldiers, who were all reſolved to live and die, like Soldiers, with him; and, the Forces of the Enemy advancing towards them, they were received with ſuch undaunted Courage, that the Enemy were forced, for their own Safety, not only to give them Quarter, but to condeſcend to very honourable Articles on our Parts, but thoſe Articles were violated, and that almoſt in the Face of the King.

I have been often informed, that Major-General *Skippon*, being diſpoiled of his ſcarlet Coat, his Caſe of Piſtols, and Rapier, did ride up unto the King, and, very roundly, told him of the Violation of the Articles by his Soldiers, as at all Times in general, ſo at this preſent in particular. The King, not well remembering him, did aſk him who he was; he replied, that his Name was *Skippon*. The King demanded who were thoſe Soldiers who had thus injured him;

him; he ſhewed them to his Majeſty, for, as yet, they continued within the Reach of his Eye; they were about nine in Number.

Immediately, the Marſhal was called, and theſe Soldiers were apprehended; ſeven of the nine were condemned to the Tree, and ſuffered according to their Sentence.

I do believe, therefore, that his Majeſty was not acceſſary to this perfidious Rudeneſs of his Soldiers, which though, peradventure, it had a Connivance and a Toleration from others, it received a Puniſhment from him; but the proteſting *Corniſh*, who, before the Advance of his Majeſty's Army, had ſo freely devoted themſelves to the Obedience of the Parliament, and the Commands of his Excellency, did ſhew the deepeſt Diſſimulation, and expreſſed the greateſt Inhumanity that could be put in Execution, for they ſtripped our Soldiers ſtark naked from Head to Foot, and left them nothing to comfort themſelves in this Diſtreſs, but the Fellowſhip and the Number of the Diſtreſſed.

In this Condition of Innocency and Injury, they came unto *Southampton*; but the Indignity thereof in lively Characters was written in their Breaſts, and will ſhortly be revenged by their Hands. And, indeed, not long after they did meet them again at *Newbury*, and forgetting almoſt the military Order to actuate their Revenge, they did fall upon them like ſo many Lions, and, having made a great Slaughter of them, they did redeem their Clothes, with the Deſtruction of their Adverſaries, who having nothing to cover them but their own Blood, they did remain, the next Day, a woeful Spectacle to the Conquerors.

His Excellency was not then preſent, but, remembering his Virtue, they fought by his Example; he was about that Time at *Southampton*, ſick in Body and in Mind.

There is no Man who by honourable Dangers did ever adventure more for Wounds than he, and yet in all the Wars he managed he never received any Hurt, but what he did take inwardly, which, by a magnanimous and gallant Patience, he admirably always both concealed and cured.

The Wiſdom of the Parliament thought it now expedient to call home thoſe Commanders in Chief, who conducted their Armies in the Field, that, after the great Service performed for the State, the Kingdom might now enjoy as much Benefit by the Strength of their Counſels, as it received Safety by their Arms; and, indeed, who can give better Inſtructions for the Field, than thoſe who have been the Leaders of our Armies in it?

His Excellency, with as much Chearfulneſs, was ready to lay down his Arms, as with Reſolution he did take them up, and joining with the Parliament, as well in Perſon and Preſence, as in Affection, he did much advance and facilitate the Victories to come.

And now, about the latter End of *March*, there was a Conference between both Houſes of Parliament, concerning the new Model, for the Settling of the Army, the former Commanders being called to ſit in the Houſes of Parliament. It was before ordered, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhould be Commander in Chief of Twenty-one thouſand Horſe and Foot, to be ſelected for this Service, and that Major-General *Skippon*, now Governor of *Briſtol*, ſhould be Major-General of the whole Army. At this Conference there was a perfect Concurrence of the Houſe of Lords with the Houſe of Commons, concerning the Ratification of the Liſt of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Officers, in which was made no Alteration at all. And this was, indeed, ſo acceptable to the Houſe of Commons, that, upon Report thereof unto the Houſe, they appointed a Committee to prepare a Meſſenger to the Lords, to congratulate their happy Concurrence, and to aſſure them of the real Affection, and Endeavours of the Houſe of Commons, to ſupport their Lordſhips in their Honours and their Privileges. And now, an Ordinance was drawn up for raiſing of Money to maintain this Army; which Army was ſhortly after compleated, and, with admirable Succeſs, did take the Field, under the Command of the renowned Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Particulars whereof ſhall be the happy Labour of ſome other Pen, and not of this, which preciſely only muſt depend upon the Relations of the Actions and ſaving Counſels of his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Long did he thus continue a mighty Agent for the Health of this Land, until it pleaſed God to ſtrike him with a violent, a ſudden, and a fatal Sickneſs; and now, being confined to his Bed, he had no more to do with his Hands, but to lift them up to Heaven, and his Tongue was the Orator to render their Devotion the more acceptable. It was the Force of his Body that overcame his Foes by Arms, but it was the Humility of his Soul that overcame the Almighty by his Prayers, which being a Conqueſt for the Body not to attain unto, the exa-

ed Soul hath now preſented the Laurels which the Body had won for the Cauſe of the Almighty. And theſe being laid down at the Feet of God, they will be reſerved in a Temple not built with Hands, until both Soul and Body ſhall be united, and, in the Perfection of Joy, ſhall triumph through all Eternity.

The ſame Love, which did follow him alive, did continue to his Death; many of the Nobility being always round about his Bed, and attending him with their Grief, whom they could not relieve with their Greatneſs. My Lord of *Holland* had his Hand ſo locked in his, when the Coldneſs and Sloth of Death had begun to make heavy both his Underſtanding and his Limbs, that he uſed ſome Strength to get it from him, as if *by this*, at his Departure, he would leave ſome Earneſt behind him, that he would carry with him the Love of his Friends into a better World.

And thus, having made Peace with Heaven, and Peace with Earth, he departed this Life on the Fourteenth of *September*, leaving, in all Nations, to a World of thoſe that honoured him the Grief of his Loſs, the Luſtre of his tranſcendent Virtues, and the attractive Example of them, which whoſoever ſhall inherit, ſhall become the Wonder and Delight of this Age, the lively Model and Portraict of himſelf, and the immortal Heir of his Fame and Glory.

ANCIENT CUSTOMS of *ENGLAND**.

BEING deſirous for my own particular Satisfaction to ſearch and enquire after reverenced Antiquity, it was my Hap to light on an old Manuſcript, which, altho' in Sound is *Saxon*-like, yet in ſomething it favours of the *Daniſh* Matters, and of the ancient *Britiſh* Laws under the Rule and Government of the *Danes*; which Writing, writ in the *Saxon* Tongue, I have tranſlated into *Engliſh* Word for Word, according to the true Senſe and Meaning thereof.

"IT was ſometimes in the *Engliſh* Laws, "that the People and the Laws were in "Reputation; and then were the wiſeſt of "the People worſhip-worthy, each in his De- "gree, *Lorle* and *Chorle*, *Theyn* and *Undertheyn*. "And if a *Chorle* ſo thrived, that he had full "five Hides of his own Land, a Church and "a Kitchen, a Bell-houſe and a Gate, a Seat "and ſeveral Offices in the King's Hall; then "was he thenceforth the *Theyn*'s Right-worthy. "And if a *Theyn* ſo thrived, that he ſerved "the King, and on his Meſſage, or Journey, "rode in his Houſhold; if then he had a "*Theyn* that him followed, who to the King's "Expedition five Hide had, and in the King's "Palace his Lord ſerved, and therewith his "Errand had gone to the King, he might, "afterward, with his Fore-oath his *Lord*'s Part "play at any Need. And if a *Theyn* ſo thrived, "that he became an *Earl*, then was he right- "forth an *Earl* right-worthy. And if a *Mer-* "*chant* ſo thrived, that he paſſed thrice over "the wide Sea of his own Craft, he was "thenceforth the *Theyn*'s Right-worthy. And "if a *Scholar* ſo thrived through Learning, "that he had Degree, and ſerved *Chriſt*, he "was thenceforth of Dignity and Peace ſo "much worthy as thereto belonged, unleſs he "forfeited ſo, that the Uſe of his Dignity "might be taken from him."

Theſe Ruins of Antiquity make Shew of a Perpetuity of Nobility, even from the Beginning of this Iſland; but Times are changed, and we in them alſo. For King *Edward the Confeſſor*, laſt of the *Saxon* Blood, coming out of *Normandy*, bringing in then the Title of *Baron*, the Thane from that Time began to grow out of Uſe; ſo at this Day Men remember not ſo much as the Names of them. And, in Proceſs of Time, the Name of Baronage began to be both in Dignity and Power ſo magnificent above the reſt; as that, in the Name of the Baronage of *England*, all the Nobility of the Land ſeemed to be comprehended. As for Dukes, they were (as it were) fetched from long Exile, and again renewed by King

* Printed in the Year 1641.

Edward the Third. And Marquiſſes and Viſcounts were altogether brought in by King *Richard the Second*, and King *Henry the Sixth.*

But our Kings deſcended of the *Norman* Blood, together with the Crown of the Kingdom, granted an hereditary and ſucceſſory Perpetuity unto honourable Titles; ſuch, I mean, as are the Titles of Earldom, and Baronies, without any Difference of Sex at all, which Thing I thought good to make manifeſt, by the Examples of the more ancient Times.

In the Reckoning up whereof, that I may the better acquit and diſcharge myſelf, I ſhall, in the firſt Place, deſire the Reader to obſerve three Things.

Firſt, Concerning the Diſpoſition and Inclination of our King in the Creating of the Nobility.

Secondly, Of the Cuſtom of transferring of Honours and Dignities by Families. And,

Thirdly, Of the Force of Time, and the Change and Alteration of Things.

For why; our Kings (who in their Kingdoms bear alone the abſolute Rule and Sway) are with us the efficient Cauſes of all political Nobility. The Titles of named Nobility, by our Cuſtom, have this natural and common, together with the Crown itſelf, that, the Heirs Male failing, they devolve unto the Women, except in the firſt Charters it be in expreſs Words otherwiſe provided; and yet, ſo that Regard is always to be had of the Time, which is every where wont to bear Sway in the Formality of Things.

In this Manner (*Harold* being overcome) *William the Firſt*, King and Conqueror, having obtained the Sovereignty according to his Pleaſure, beſtowed Dignities and Honours upon his Companions and others; ſome of them ſo connexed and conjoined unto the Fees themſelves, that, yet to this Day, the Poſſeſſors thereof may ſeem to be ennobled even with the Poſſeſſion of the Places only; as our Biſhops at this Day, by Reaſon of the Baronies joined unto their Biſhopricks, enjoy the Title and Preeminence of Barons in the higheſt Aſſemblies of the Kingdom, in *Parliament*. He gave and granted to others Dignities and Honours, together with the Lands and Fees themſelves. He gave unto *Hugh Lupus*, his Kinſman (a *Norman*) the Earldom of *Cheſter: Ad conquirendum & tenendum ſibi & Hæredibus, adeo libere per gladium, ſicut ipſe Rex tenuit Angliam per Coronam.* To *Hanus Rufus* (then Earl of *Bretagne* in *France*) and his Heirs, the Earldom of *Richmond: Ita libere & honorifice, ut eundem Edwinus Comes antea tenuerat.* And the Earldom of *Arundel* (which *Harold* poſſeſſed) he granted, with a Fee, unto *Roger* of *Montgomery*. The firſt two of which Honours (the Heirs Male failing) by Women paſſed unto other Families; but the latter Earldom, *Robert*, the Son of *Roger*, being attainted of Treaſon, returned unto King *Henry the Firſt*, who gave the ſame in Dowry unto Queen *Adeliza*, his Wife. But the ſucceeding Kings, more ſparingly, beſtowed ſuch Dignities, to be holden of them in Fee, granting, for the better and more honourable Maintenance of their Stock and Honour, the third Part of the Pleas of the County (as they term it) which they, in their Charters, call *Tertium denarium*, or the third Penny; ſo that he, that received the third Penny of any Province, was called Earl of the ſame; and ſo by Cuſtom the Women, the Heirs Male failing.

And if any Earl or Baron, dying without Sons, had many Women his Heirs, howſoever Order was taken, either by Way of Covenant, or Partition, concerning the Lands and Poſſeſſions, according to the Common Laws of the Kingdom, yet the Dignity and Honour (a Thing of itſelf indiviſible) was ſtill left to be diſpoſed of, according to the King's Pleaſure, who, in beſtowing thereof, uſually reſpected the Prerogative of Birth; by which Right, King *Henry the Third*, after the Death of *John* the *Scot*, dead without Iſſue (other Lands and Revenues being, by Agreement, given to his three Siſters) united the Earldom of *Cheſter*, with the Honour thereof, unto the Crown. This is manifeſt in the Earldom of *Arundel*, which (after *Robert Belliſme*, Son to the aforeſaid *Roger Montgomery*, driven out by *Henry the Firſt*) King *Henry the Second* beſtowed upon *William* of *Albany*, Queen *Adeliza* his Mother's Husband, and, by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the Inheritance, to him and his Heirs, with the third Pleas of *Suſſex*, whereof he created him Earl. But *Hugh the Great*, Nephew of this *William the Firſt*, being dead without Iſſue, all the Earldom was divided among his four Siſters, whoſe Dignity and Honour, for all that, together with the Caſtle of *Arundel*, was, by *Edward the Firſt*, at length given to *Richard Fitz-Alan*, (the Nephew) Son to *John Fitz-Alan*, and *Iſabella*, the ſecond of the aforeſaid Siſters.

I will now paſs from *Henry the Third*, to *Edward the Firſt*, his Son, there being for a Time great Diſſenſion betwixt him and certain of his Nobility.

Nobility, *viz. Gilbert* of *Clare*, Earl of *Hertford* and of *Glouceſter*; *Humphrey* of *Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Suſſex*, and Conſtable of *England*; and *Roger Bigod*, Earl of *Norfolk*, Marſhal of the Kingdom; and that all thoſe Noblemen, at length, had loſt their Earldoms and Offices; they being reconciled to the King, afterward they again, by new Charters, received the ſame in this Manner: The firſt of them to himſelf and *Joan* his Wife, the ſame King's Daughter, his ſecond Wife, for Term of both their Lives; and to the Children to be by both of them begotten (his two Daughters by his firſt Wife being excluded.) This *Joan* (called *Joan* of *Acon*) bare unto her Husband *Gilbert* a Son, called alſo *Gilbert*; but ſhe, the ſecond Time, ſecretly married unto one *Radulph*, of *Mount Hermeri* (without the King her Father's Knowledge) and, in her own Right, made the ſame *Radulph* Earl, ſo long as ſhe lived; but, ſhe being dead, *Gilbert*, her Son by the aforeſaid *Gilbert*, ſucceeded again into the Earldom, *Radulph*, his Father-in-Law, being yet alive. In the ſame Manner he reſtored to the aforeſaid *Humphry* of *Bohun* his Earldom and Conſtableſhip, unto whom he alſo gave in Marriage *Eliſabeth*, another of his Daughters, Widow to *John* Earl of *Holland*; and to the third he reſtored the Earldom of *Norfolk*, and the Office of Marſhal, with the yearly Increaſe of a thouſand Marks, upon Condition, if the Heirs Male of his Body to be begotten failed, both ſhould return again to the King. At length this *Roger* died, without Iſſue, in the 35th Year of him the ſaid *Edward the Firſt*, *viz.* in the laſt Year of his Reign; and King *Edward*, his Son, the ſecond of that Name, both by a new Creation and Charter, gave the Earldom, and the Marſhalſhip, to *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, and his Heirs Male.

Theſe Things I have thus propounded, thereby to ſhew, how, according to the diverſe Diſpoſitions of Princes, and Change of Times, it hath, by little and little, varied in the firſt Beſtowing of Dignities and Honours: Of which Thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient Time unknown, made by King *Edward the Firſt*, ſeemed afterward to be of no ſmall Moment, whereby, he favouring certain private Men, more careful of their own Sirname, than of their Poſterity, it was thought good by him to decree to make Fees to belong to Men only. That Law which I would in *Latin* call *Gentilitium Municipale*, and which the Lawyers commonly call, *Jus talliatum*, and *Talliabile*; or the Law of Cutting off; for that it cutteth off Succeſſions before general, and reſtraineth them to the particular Heirs of Families, which ſeemeth to have given an Occaſion of Change in the giving and beſtowing of Dignities and Honours. For, ever ſince that Time, in the creating of any new Earl, it is begun to be altered by expreſs Words in all Charters, provided that it ſhall be but for Term of Life only, or deſcend unto the Heirs Male alone, the Women being quite excluded. And for this I need not Examples to prove; for why, the Thing itſelf proveth the ſame. But the Force and Efficacy of this Law of Entail (or of Cutting off) I have thought good, thus, in few Words, to declare.

And what I have ſaid concerning Earls, the ſame may be ſaid alſo of Barons, created by Charters; but in Barons created by Reſcripts, or Writs of Summons, yet reſting upon moſt ancient Cuſtom, not ſo.

For in them (one only excepted, ſent forth to *Henry Bromflet*, wherein it was provided him, that ſame *Henry*, and his Heirs Male of his Body, lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of *Veſey*) Women, the Heirs Male failing, were not in ancient Time forbidden, or imbarred, but that they might be accounted, and by Name ſtiled Honourable, with the Pre-eminence of the Dignity, and Calling of Barons; and after they had borne a Child, according to the ancient Favour of our Laws (and the Cuſtom of the Kingdom) graced their Husbands alſo with the ſame Honour, and with the ſame, by Inheritance, ennobled their Children, yea, without the Poſſeſſions of thoſe Places, from whence the Name of ſuch Dignities and Honours may ſeem firſt to have riſen. For Fees and local Poſſeſſions, circumſcribed by the Law, are tranſlated and carried from one Family unto another, and uſually inrich their Lords, and Owners, the Poſſeſſors thereof, but yet of themſelves neither being, nor taking away Nobility, either dative or native; by Example, to manifeſt theſe Things, were but needleſs, and of little Conſequence, for why, all the moſt ancient Baronies, and the more ancient Sort of Barons, at this Day, are, in this Point, on my Side; and, if any ſhall object againſt me in this Point, unto him I will oppoſe either the Force of Time, or the Careleſneſs and Lack of looking unto. But Cuſtoms are ſtill like themſelves, nor muſt we detract from the Authority of Kings, who although they have ſuch ſupereminent and un-

determinate Prerogative, as that they may ſeem *ſometimes to have of Favour granted ſome Things beſide the Law, yet it ſhall not* appear they requeſted to have done, or yet ſuffered to have been done, any Thing contrary to the Cuſtom of Stocks and Families; ſo ſometimes they, not regarding the Solemnities of Ceremonies, and Charters, have only by their Becks (that I may ſo ſay) ſuffered Dignities and Honours to be transferred, as in *Randulph Blundeville*, Earl of *Cheſter* and of *Lincoln*, is to be ſeen, for the Earldom of *Cheſter* he permitted, after the Manner, to deſcend to *John* the *Scot*, his Nephew, by *Maud*, the elder of his Siſters: But the Earldom of *Lincoln* (the King thereunto conſenting) he, yet alive, delivered unto *Hawiſia*, another of his Siſters, then married to *Robert Quincey*, by his Deed, in the ſeventh Year of *Henry the Third*.

Theſe Things, I ſay, were of old and ancient Time, but at this Day not ſo, for ſuch is the Force of Time, and Change in altering the Forms of Things, as that, in eating out of the old, bringeth ſtill in new; ſo unto Earls, whom we ſaid in ancient Time to have been rewarded with the third Penny of the Province, whereof they were Earls, to maintain their Honour and Dignity, a certain Sum of Money is, at this Day, yearly paid them out of the Exchequer, and they enjoy the Titles of ſuch Places, as wherein they have no Juriſdiction, Adminiſtration, or Profit at all. Barons alſo, who, as the Fathers and Senators in ancient Times, among the *Romans*, were choſen by their *Seſtertia*, were in like Manner wont to be eſteemed and valued by Knights Fees, for why, he which had, and poſſeſſed, thirteen Knights Fees, and a little more, was to be accounted among the Barons, are now more ſeldom Times choſen for their Virtue, their great Wealth, and large Poſſeſſions.

Neither is there any Let, but that a Man may hold, and ſtill retain, the Name and Title of a Barony, the Head of which Barony (as they term it) he hath afterward ſold, or alienated to ſome other common Perſon.

In brief, our King's Royal Majeſty is always, like itſelf, conſtant and the ſame; which having Regard to the Virtue, Stock, Wealth, and Subſtance of any Man (whereby he may with, his Counſel's Service, profit the Commonwealth) may in every Place freely give and beſtow Dignities and Honours, ſometimes chuſing no more Barons than one, out of one and the ſame Family. The Cuſtom of the Succeſſion of the former and more ancient Baron being ſtill *kept whole, and not in any Hurt, as we ſee Edward the Sixth* wiſely *to have done in the Family of the Willoughby's of Erſby*, which brought forth alſo another Barony of *Parham*; wherefore we acknowledge our Kings to be the Fountains of political Nobility, and unto whom we may, with Thanks, refer all the Degrees of Honours and Dignities; wherefore I may not, without Cauſe, ſeem to rejoice, on the Behalf of our Nobility of *Great-Britain*, which hath had always Kings themſelves Authors, Patrons, Governors, and Defenders thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Poſſeſſions, ſubject to Covenants, or Agreements, are ſtill toſſed and turmoiled with the Storms of the judicial Courts, and of the Common Law, it is only unto the Kings themſelves beholding, and reſteth upon heroical Order and Inſtitutions, proper and familiar unto itſelf; ſo that,

Per Titulos numerentur avi, ſemperque renata
Nobilitate virent, & prolem fata ſequantur:
Continuum propriâ ſervantia lege tenorem.

viz.

By Titles great Men's Anceſtors are known, the Poſterity of whom enjoy the ſame, to their flouriſhing and everlaſting Fame.

William the Conqueror, after the Death of *Harold*, having confined the Kingdom to himſelf, laid theſe Foundations of ancient and worthy Nobility, which afterwards, by his Succeſſors, according to the diverſe Occurents, and Occaſions, by little and little, became at length, in the Reign of King *Henry the Third*, and *Edward the Firſt*, to appear a godly and ſtately Building, who having vanquiſhed the *Welchmen*, and contending with the *Scots*, bordering upon them, for Principality and Sovereignty, intreating of all Things, concerning the Common-weal, with the three States of the Kingdom (which conſiſteth of the Nobility, the Clergy, and Commonalty) they themſelves in their Royal Majeſty, ſitting in *Parliaments*, appointed unto every Man a Pre-eminence, according to the Place of his Dignity, from whom eſpecially all the Nobility of our Age may ſeem to derive the diverſe and appointed Degrees of Dignities and Honours.

Now to abreviate much that might be writ, in the Continuance of this Diſcourſe, I ſhall

deſire

deſire to ſtraighten my Purpoſe to ſome handſome Concluſion, by the Obſervation of the Degrees and Sitting of our *Engliſh* Nobility, in the *Parliament* Chamber, out of the Statute of the 31ſt of King *Henry the Eighth*, who of his princely Wiſdom, with the full Aſſent of the whole *Parliament*, cauſed a particular Act to be made, for the Placing of the Nobility, in the upper Houſe of *Parliament*, the Effect whereof I have here recited.

That foraſmuch as in all great Aſſemblies and Congregations of Men, having Degrees and Offices in the Commonwealth, it was thought fit and convenient, that Order ſhould be taken for the Placing and Sitting of ſuch Perſons, as are bound to reſort to the ſame, to the Intent that they, knowing their Places, might uſe the ſame without Diſpleaſure; the Places of which great Offices deſerve Reſpect and Admiration; and though meerly Officiary, and depending on Life, and the King's gracious Election, without any hereditary Title or Perfection; yet are they of ſuch high Dignity, that all hereditary Honour whatſoever, under the Degree of Royalty (may at all Times) without Diſparagement give them Place and Precedency. The Placing of theſe moſt Noble and great Officers both in the *Parliament* Houſe, and other Aſſemblies, is after this worthy and diſtinct Order:

That is to ſay, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Preſident of the King's Privy-Council, and the Lord Privy Seal, being of the Degree of Barons of the *Parliament*, are above to ſit on the higheſt Part of the Form, on the left Side, in the *Parliament* Chamber; and above all Dukes, except thoſe, which are the King's Sons, the King's Brothers, his Uncles, his Nephews, or his Brothers or Siſters Sons; but if any of theſe four great Officers aforeſaid ſhall be under the Degree of a Baron, then he, or they, to ſit on the uppermoſt Part of the Sacks, in the midſt of the *Parliament* Chamber, in ſuch Order as is afore ſhewed.

As touching the other, it was enacted, that the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord Conſtable, the Lord Marſhal, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold ſhall be placed, next to the Lord Privy Seal, each of them above all other Perſonages, being of their own Eſtates or Degree, and holding the ſame Precedence, as they are formerly named.

Laſtly, the principal Secretary, being of the Degree of a Baron, ſhall be ranged above all Barons (not having any of the former Offices alſo) and this Range and Precedency to continue to all the great Officers in general, which are before named; both in *Parliament*, in the Council-Chamber, in the Star-Chamber, at the Tryal of Peers, and in all other Aſſemblies whatſoever.

This in brief is the Effect of the Statute, expreſſing the Dignity and Place of our moſt principal and ſupremeſt temporal Officers, of which the firſt and chiefeſt is the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, who is ſaid to be the King's Conſcience, his Mouth, and Confirmation, for by him all the Rigours of the Law are bridled, the King's Will in Grace Conſultations revealed, and his Gifts and Prerogatives confirmed; before him, all the great Buſineſs of the Commonwealth is diſpatched, either at Council-Table, in the Star-Chamber, or in the Chancery, where he hath a principal Voice and Precedence; and laſtly, he hath the Keeping of the great Seal of the Kingdom, in which is expreſſed a Reputation ſo ſerious, that all Subjects Lives and Eſtates are depending on the ſame.

The next Place is the Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, to whoſe Truſt the King's Treaſure is committed, who is a Man of that noble, worthy, ſweet, and generous Diſpoſition, of important Confidence, of noble Eſtimation, excellent in Wiſdom, and high in Eſtimation, that to his Wiſdom, and excellent Judgment, is referred the whole Management of the King's intire Eſtate, and the provident Regard of the Wealth and flouriſhing Proſperity of all the King's Subjects: He is the prime Officer of Judicature, between the King and his Tenants, and hath Dependence on the Council-Table, the Exchequer, and the King's Royal Houſe and Family.

The next to theſe is the Lord Preſident of the King's moſt honourable Privy-Council, and is the chief Man (next the King) belonging to the high and honourable Aſſembly, and hath in his Power, under the King's Majeſty, the Management of the Privileges of that honourable Table.

The next is the Lord Privy Seal, an eſpecial Enſign of Credit belonging to this Kingdom, having Cuſtody and Charge of the King's leſſer Seal, which gives Teſtimony of the King's Favours and Bounty, but alſo making the Way clear and acceſſible to the Great Seal, in which conſiſts the Strength of his Majeſty's Confirmations.

tions. Theſe firſt four great Officers are Civil, and of Judicature, as depending on the publick State. After whom, follow ſix other, which are as well Military as Civil, having the Managing of all Matters of Honour, and warlike Proceedings.

The firſt of which is the Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom, whoſe Office is of the greateſt Employment in all publick Aſſemblies, as Coronations, Parliaments, Triumphs, or any Solemnity, where the King himſelf rideth in Perſon: Which Office is not Officiary, but Honorary, depending, by a feudal Right, unto the noble Houſe of the Earls of *Oxford*.

After this, is the Lord Conſtable of the Kingdom, who was the firſt and principal General, under the King, of all the Land Forces, and in all Occaſions of martial Affairs, had the principal Nomination of Officers, and Ordering of Ammunition for ſuch Employment.

Then is the Lord Marſhal of the Land, a great and renowned Officer, in whom conſiſt the Solutions of all Differences in Honour, and Diſpenſation of all Things appertaining to the great or leſſer Nobility.

Next followeth the Office of the Lord Admiral of the Land, who is the King's General, and chief Commander at Sea, and hath Care and Charge of all his Majeſty's Royal Navy, and the Cenſuring of all marine Cauſes whatſoever.

The next following is the Lord Steward of the King's Houſhold, in whoſe Truſt and Government is repoſed the Ordering of all the great and noble Families, the Diſcuſſion of all Controverſies, the Placing and Removing of Officers, and the Diſpoſing of all Things therein, for his Majeſty's Renown and Dignity.

The laſt of theſe great Officers is the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Royal Houſhold, unto whoſe great Truſt, Faith, and Integrity, is committed the Guard of the King's Royal Perſon; he hath the Controul and Commandment of all Officers, and others, whoſe Dependence is on the King's Perſon; and howſoever ſome would limit his Rule above the Sayters, yet it is over the whole Court, and in all Places whereſoever the King is preſent; with many other Privileges, which at this Time cannot be fully recited.

After all theſe great Offices, and Officers, I muſt neceſſarily add one great Officer more, namely, the King's chief and principal Secretary of State, who deſerves a due Reſpect, by his high and honourable Place, in regard he is ſo intimate and nigh to all Affairs of his Majeſty, either private or particular.

The Form of the King's Majeſty's Writ, to the Peers, to aſſemble in *Parliament*.

CAROLUS, *&c. Chariſſimo conſanguineo ſuo E. Comit. D. ſalutem. Quia de adviſamento & aſſenſu concilii noſtri pro quibuſdam arduis urgentibus negotiis nos, ſtatum & defenſionem regni noſtri Angliæ & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ concernent. quoddam Parliamentum noſtrum apud Civitatem noſtram* Weſtmonaſt. *tertio die* Novembris *prox. futur. teneri ordinavimus, & ibid. vobiſcum ac cum Prælat. Magnatibus & proceribus dict. Regni noſtri colloquium habere, tractare, vobis ſub fide & ligeanciis, quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungend. mandamus, quod conſiderat. dictorum negotiorum arduitate & periculis imminentibus, ceſſante excuſatione quacunque, dict. die & loco perſonaliter interſitis nobiſcum, ac cum prælatis, magnatibus & proceribus prædictis, ſuper dictis negotiis tractatur. veſtrumque conſilium impenſur. & hoc ſicut nos & honorem noſtrum ac ſalvationem & defenſionem Regni & Eccleſiæ prædictorum expeditionemque dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teſte me apud* Weſt. *decimo octavo die* Septembris, *Anno Regni noſtri* 16.

The

The Form of the Writ to the Sheriff, *&c.* for the Election of the Knights and Burgeſſes to aſſemble in *Parliament.*

REX Vic. N. *&c. Salut. quia de adviſamento & aſſenſu concilii noſtri pro quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis nos, ſtatum & defenſionem. Regni noſtri Angliæ & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ concernent. quoddam* Parliamentum *noſtrum apud Civitatem noſtram* Weſt. *tertio die* Novembris, *prox. futur. teneri ordinavimus, & ibid. cum prælatis magnatibus & proceribus dicti Regni noſtri colloquium habere & tract.*

Tibi præcipimus firmiter injungentes quod facta proclamation. in prox. Comitat. tuo poſt receptionem hujus brev. noſtri tenend. die & loco prædict. duos Milit. gladiis cinct. magis idoneos & diſcretos Comit. prædict. & de qualib. Civitate Com. illius duos Cives, & de quolibet Burgo duos Burgenſes de diſcretior. & magis ſufficientibus libere & indifferenter per illos qui proclam. hujuſmodi interfuer. juxta formam ſtatutorum inde edit. & proviſ. eligi, & nomina eorundem Milit. Civium & Burgenſium, ſic Electorum, in quibuſdam Indentur. inter te & illos qui hujuſmodi electionis interfuerit, inde conficiendum, ſive hujuſmodi electi præſentes fuerint vel abſentes, inſeri, eoſque ad dict. diem & locum venire fac. Ita quod iidem Milites plenam & ſufficientem poteſtatem pro ſe & communitate Comit. prædicti, ac dict. Cives & Burgenſes pro ſe & communitate Civitatum & Burgorum prædictorum diviſim ab ipſis habeant ad faciendum & conſentiendum his quæ tunc ibid. de communi conſilio dicti regni noſtri (favente Deo) contigerint ordinari ſuper negotiis antedictis; ita quod pro defectu poteſtatis hujuſmodi, ſeu propter improvidam Electionem Milit. Civium, aut Burgenſium prædictorum, dicta negotia infecta non remaneant quovis modo. Nolumus autem, quod tu nec aliquis alius vic. dicti Regni noſtri aliqualiter ſit electus. Et Electionem illam in pleno Comitatu factam, diſtincte & aperte ſub ſigillo tuo & ſigillis eorum qui Electioni illi interfuerint nobis in Cancellar. noſtr. dict. diem & locum certifices indilate, remittens nobis alteram partem Indentur. prædictarum præſentibus conſuet. una cum hoc breve. Teſte meipſo apud Weſt. 18 *die* Septembris, *Anno Regni noſtri* 16.

The Prerogative of the high Court of Parliament.

OF all the Courts of Judicature in *England*, the Court of *Parliament* is the chiefeſt and greateſt Council of Eſtate, called and appointed by the King's Majeſty; the Lords of the upper Houſe, by perſonal Writs of Summons; and for the Commons Houſe, a general Writ is ſent to the Sheriff, of every Shire, or County, to call together all ſuch Freeholders (which can diſpend forty Shillings yearly out of their own free Lands, at leaſt) for the electing two Gentlemen for Knights of the Shire; the like is directed to the Cinque-Ports, for Choice of their Barons; to each City, Burrough-Town, and Univerſity, for Choice of two Burgeſſes, for every of them, to repreſent their ſeveral Bodies in *Parliament.*

The Time and Place of Meeting.

This honourable Aſſembly's Meeting is noticed by the King's Majeſty, to all his Subjects, by Proclamation.

The End of Calling this great Aſſembly, is either the Diſturbance of the Church, by Hereſy or Schiſm, Danger of the Kingdom, by War offenſive or defenſive, or for the Relief of the Subject, diſturbed in the Courts of Juſtice by ill Cuſtoms, undue Execution of the Laws, Oppreſſion, *&c.*

From this high Court, lies no Appeal, the Determination thereof being preſumed to be the Act of every particular Subject, who is either preſent perſonally, or conſenting by his Aſſignee, ſuffraged by himſelf.

This honourable Aſſembly conſiſts of two Houſes, Upper and Lower. The Upper is made up by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, Barons, no Member of that Houſe being under the Degree of a Baron, all which await the Writ of Summons, without which, no Place, no Vote there; and none may abſent themſelves after Summons, without ſpecial Proxy from his Majeſty, whence he hath

Power to depute one of the ſaid Members to give his Voice for him in Abſence.

His Majeſty, who, by his Prerogative Royal, hath the Sole Power, as of calling, ſo diſſolving this honourable Aſſembly, ſits on a Throne in the upper End of the Houſe; on his Right-hand the Prince of *Wales*, on the Left, the Duke of *York*. The greateſt Officers of the Kingdom, as the Lord-keeper (who is the Speaker or Mouth of the Houſe) Treaſurer, Privy Seal, *&c.* have Places ſome on the Right, ſome on the Left-hand of the Throne: The Form whereof is recited in the Statute of 31, *Henry* the VIII.

The Manner of giving Voices in the Upper Houſe is, thus.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal in their *Parliamentary* Robes, the youngeſt Biſhop reads Prayers; thoſe being ended, the Clark of the Houſe readeth the Bills (being firſt writ in Paper) which being once read, he that pleaſeth may ſpeak either for, or againſt it.

The Manner of the Lower Houſe is in this Sort.

The firſt Day each Member is called by his Name, every one anſwering for what Place he ſerveth; that done, they are willed to chuſe their Speaker, who (though nominated by the King's Majeſty) is to be a Member of that Houſe; their Election being made, he is preſented by them to the King ſitting in *Parliament*, where after his Oration or Speech (the Lord-keeper approving in Behalf of the King) he petitions his Majeſty in Behalf of the Houſe: *Firſt*, for their Privileges, from all Moleſtations, during the Time of Sitting. *Secondly*, that they may enjoy Freedom of Speech. *Thirdly*, that they may have Power to correct any of their own Members that are Offenders. *Fourthly*, to have favourable Acceſs to his Majeſty upon all Occaſions, the Speaker (in Behalf of the Houſe of Commons) promiſing Regard and full Reſpect, as befitting loyal and dutiful Subjects.

The Uſe of the Parliament

Conſiſts in abrogating old, or making new Laws, reforming all Grievances in the Commonwealth, whether in Religion or in temporal Affairs, ſettling Succeſſion to the Crown, Grants, Subſidies, *&c.* and, in Sum, may be called the great Phyſician of the Kingdom or Republick.

The Speaker's Place in the Houſe of Commons.

The Speaker ſits in a Chair, placed ſomewhat high to be ſeen and heard the better of all; the Clark of the Houſe ſits before him in a lower Seat, who reads ſuch Bills as are firſt propounded in their Houſe, or ſent down from the Lords, for, in that Point, each Houſe hath equal Authority to propound what they think meet.

All Bills be thrice in three ſeveral Days read, and diſputed on, before put to Queſtion; and ſo good Order is uſed in the Houſe, that he, that intends to ſpeak to any Bill, ſtands up bareheaded (for no more than one ſpeaks at a Time) ſpeaking to the Speaker, not one to another, being againſt the Rule of the Houſe; and he that ſpeaketh is to ſpeak no more that Day, to the Bill he hath ſpoken to, to avoid Spinning needleſly out of Time; and their Speeches muſt be free from Taunts of their Fellow Members, that are of contrary Opinions.

The Speaker's Office is, when a Bill is read, as briefly as he may to declare the Effect thereof to the Houſe; and to Bills firſt agreed on by the Lords, and ſent to the Commons for Aſſent, if they do aſſent, then are they returned, ſubſcribed thus, *Les Communs ont aſſentus:* So likewiſe, if the Lords agree to what is ſent to them from the Houſe of Commons, they ſubſcribe, *Les Seigneurs ont aſſentus:* If the two Houſes cannot agree (every Bill being thrice read, in each Houſe) then ſometimes the Lords, ſometimes the Commons, require a Meeting of ſome of each Houſe, whereby Information may be had of each others Mind, for the Preſervation of a good Correſpondency between them, after which Meeting, for the moſt Part (though not always) either Part agrees to the Bill in Queſtion.

The Aſſent or Diſſent of the Upper Houſe, is each Man ſeverally by himſelf, and then for ſo many as he hath by Proxy, they ſaying only, Content or Not content, and by the Major Part, it is agreed to, or daſhed. But, in the Lower Houſe, no Member can give his Voice to another by Proxy; the Major Part, being preſent only, maketh the Aſſent, or Diſſent. After a Bill is twice read there, and engroſſed (being diſputed

diſputed on enough, as conceived) the Speaker aſketh if they will go to Queſtion, and if agreed to, holding the Bill up in his Hand, ſaith, As many, as will have this Bill paſs concerning ſuch a Matter, ſay Yea; and thoſe that are againſt it, No: And if it be a Doubt, which Cry is bigger, the Houſe is divided; the one Part that agrees not to the Bill, being bid to ſit ſtill; thoſe that do, to go down with the Bill, ſo Plurality of Voices, Allows or Daſhes. But no Bill is an Act of *Parliament*, Ordinance or Edict of Law, though both the Houſes unanimouſly agree in it, till it hath the Royal Aſſent.

Touching the Royal Aſſent.

When Bills are paſſed by both the Houſes, they ought to have for Approbation the Royal Aſſent, which uſually is deferred till the laſt Day of the Seſſions, but may be given at any Time during the *Parliament*, touching which, it hath been a Queſtion much debated, whether the Royal Aſſent given to any one Bill doth not, *ipſo facto*, conclude that preſent Seſſion? The Queſtion is of great Conſequence, for, if thereby the Seſſion be at an End, then ought every other Bill, although paſſed both the Houſes, to be read again, three Times in either Houſe, and to have the ſame Proceeding as it had at firſt, as if nothing had been formerly done therein; ſo muſt it be done of all other Acts of the Houſe: But, the firſt Seſſion of the firſt *Parliament* of King *James*, the Houſe being then deſirous to have a Bill paſſed forthwith by the Royal Aſſent, which ſhould be Security to the Warden of the Fleet, touching the Delivery of Sir *Thomas Sherly*, out of Execution (for it was then queſtionable whether he was ſubject to an Action of Eſcape) did agree that the Giving of the Royal Aſſent to one Bill or more did not diſſolve the Seſſions, without ſome ſpecial Declaration of his Majeſty's Pleaſure to that Purpoſe, 18th of *April*, 1604. And likewiſe in the Journal *Anno* 1 & 2. *Phil. & Mariæ.* 21 *Novem.* That the King and Queen came on Purpoſe into the *Parliament Houſe* to give their Aſſent to Cardinal *Pool*'s Bill, and upon Queſtion made it was then reſolved by the whole Houſe, that the Seſſion was not thereby concluded, but that they might proceed in their Buſineſs, notwithſtanding the Royal Aſſent given.

At the Giving of the Royal Aſſent, it is not requiſite the King ſhould be preſent in Perſon, for, by the expreſs Word of the Statute of 33 *Henry the Eighth, Cap.* 21, the King's Royal Aſſent by his Letters Patents, under his great Seal ſigned by his Hand, and declared and notified in his Abſence to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, is, and ever was of as good Strength and Force, as if the King had been there in Perſon perſonally preſent, and had aſſented openly and publickly to the ſame, according to which Statute the Royal Aſſent was given by Commiſſion, *Anno* 38. *H.* 8, unto the Bill for the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*.

The Manner of giving the Royal Aſſent.

The Royal Aſſent is given in this Sort: After ſome Solemnities ended, the Clark of the Crown readeth the Titles of the Bills in ſuch Order as they are in Conſequence; as the Title of every Bill is read, the Clark of the Parliament pronounceth the Royal Aſſent according to his Inſtructions given him by his Majeſty in that Behalf; if it be a publick Bill to which the King aſſenteth, he anſwereth, *Le Roy le voet*; if a private Bill be allowed by the King, the Anſwer is, *Soit fait come il eſt deſire.* If a publick Bill which the King forbeareth to allow, *Le Roy ſe amſera.* To the Subſidy Bill, *Le Roy remercie ſes Loyaulx*, Subjects accept Benevolence *et auſi le voult.*

To the general Pardon.

Les Prelates Seigneurs et Commons en ceſt preſent Parliament aſſemblies, en nom de touts voutre autres ſubjects, remercient treshumblement voſtre Majeſtie, et preut Dieu vous donere eu ſuite bene vie et longe.

viz.

The Biſhops Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, in the Name of all your other Subjects, do moſt humbly thank your Majeſty, and beg of God to give you a long and happy Reign.

The preſent State of *Chriſtendom*, and the Intereſt of *England*, with a Regard to *France*. In a Letter to a Friend, 1677.

The Subject of this Treatiſe is of that Conſequence, that it needs no Recommendation, in the preſent Poſture of Affairs; and the Intereſt of every State of Chriſtendom, *to oppoſe and curb the Ambition of* France, *is here ſo clearly and juſtly deſcribed and proved, that nothing can be added to its Perſpicuity and Strength of Argument.*

YOU gave me a brief and a pertinent Deduction, the other Day, of the *French Practices* and *Deſigns*; the Progreſs of their *Arms*, and the *Methods* of their *Proceedings*: Together with a Scheme of the inevitable Ruin, and Slavery, that threatens *Europe*, without a ſpeedy and a powerful Conjunction, againſt them. After this general Contemplation of the preſent State of *Chriſtendom*, you were pleaſed to take a particular Proſpect of the Intereſt of *this Nation*; and how far we are to reckon ourſelves concerned in the common Calamity: Coming, at laſt, to this Concluſion, that *England cannot reaſonably expect to ſtand long, after the Loſs of* Holland *and* Flanders. For the Support of this Opinion (beſides the Force of your own Reaſoning) you referred me to ſeveral Hiſtorical and Political Treatiſes upon the Subject; which I have diligently examined, and made Uſe of, in this following Diſcourſe; wherein I take the Freedom to give you my Thoughts upon the whole Matter.

Your firſt Charge upon the *French* was, *Breach of Faith*; and you pitched upon the Caſes of *Spain* and *Portugal*; the barbarous Uſage of the Duke of *Lorrain*; and the Nulling of the moſt *Chriſtian Queen's Renunciation* upon Marriage; (which was the very Foundation of the *Pyrenean Treaty*) by a *pretended Devolution of the* Spaniſh *Netherlands in the Right of that Match*: Their underhand Tampering of *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, to draw the one *from* us, and hinder the other from joining *with* us; the Influence they had upon our Diſgrace at *Chatham*; their Playing Booty on both Sides, betwixt *England* and *Holland*, in the *Dutch* War: And to theſe Inſtances (which are all ſo notorious, that they need no Expounding) you might have added a Thouſand more of the like Quality. But theſe may ſuffice for a ſeaſonable and a neceſſary Caution, and without the Helps of Aggravation and Clamour; eſpecially that extraordinary Action of deſtroying the *Queen's Renunciation*, and then invading the *Spaniſh Netherlands* upon it: An Action, hardly to be paralleled in the Story of the whole World, for a Concurrence of ſo many enormous Circumſtances. There was in it *the publick Faith of the two Crowns*; which is the only Security of Government, and the Bond of human Society: There was in it *the Solemnity of an Oath, at the very Altar*; which is the moſt ſacred Tye of a *Chriſtian*: There was alſo *the higheſt Profeſſion and Aſſurance of Friendſhip imaginable*; which is accounted one of the moſt binding Obligations betwixt Man and Man: And then there was *a Brother, a Couſin, and an Infant, in the Caſe*; which makes it Matter of Humanity and Honour. And yet all theſe Cords were as eaſily broken as Bulruſhes. This ſingle Precedent may ſerve, however, for a Warning to all Princes, and States, not to leave themſelves at the Mercy of Men of ſuch Principles. But *his moſt* Chriſtian *Majeſty is not the only Prince, that has been abuſed by corrupt and ambitious Miniſters.*

Your next Obſervation was, that they are *the greateſt Intermeddlers in the World, in other People's Affairs*; that *they imbroil all wherever they come*; and that *there is hardly any Rebellion, but they are in the Bottom of it.* For their Money walks in all the Courts and Councils of *Chriſtendom*; nay, and beyond it too; for it is ſaid, that the laſt *Grand Viſir* was their Penſioner. Was it not *France*, that debauched *Scot-*

Scotland firſt, and afterwards, *England*, into the late Rebellion? Nay, did they not ſtand ſtill, and look on, to ſee the Crowning of the Work, which they themſelves began, in the execrable Murther of the late King? And did they not refuſe to our gracious and perſecuted Sovereign, that now is, even a Retreat in their Dominions? How did they prolong the War in *Portugal?* What Havock have they made in *Poland*, and what Work in *Hungary?* And are they not, at this Day, in Counſel with the *Port* againſt the *Empire*, and undermining the *Bulwark* of *Chriſtendom?* How have they daſhed *England* againſt *Holland*; blinded the Eyes of ſeveral Princes of the *Empire*; and baffled all Mediations toward a general Peace? Did they not formerly, under the Colour of Protecting *Germany*, cut off *Alſatia* from the *Empire?* And in a Word, this has been their Practice, whereſoever they have come: *They covet Harbours in* Spain (ſays the admirable *Baron del' Iſola*) *Leagues in the Empire*; *Factions in* Poland; *Wars in* England *and* Holland; *Paſſes into* Italy; *and the Sovereign Arbitrage every where. Their Quiet conſiſts in the Trouble of all others, and their Advantage is in the publick Calamities.* Nor have they any other Way, than, by dividing and weakening of the Parts, to maſter the Whole, which is the Capital Deſign. And if ſo, *There is no Fence againſt a common Enemy, but a common Union.*

It is already made appear, by what is above ſaid, how dangerous they are to *Mankind.* The next Hint, you gave me, was to conſider on it, *Whether the* Engliſh *may reaſonably expect any better Quarter from them, than* other People? In which Point, I ſhall only lay the Matter before you, and leave you the Judge on it.

The *Four main Intereſts* of a Nation, are, *Religion*, *Reputation*, *Peace*, and *Trade.* For the firſt of theſe, we ſhall neither fare the better, nor the worſe; but loſe juſt as much for being of *another Communion*, as his *Catholick Majeſty* gets, by being of the *ſame.* The Queſtion, now on Foot, is, a Communion of *State*, not of *Faith.* The *Alcoran* and the *Goſpel* go Hand in Hand; and at the ſame Time, the *Proteſtants* are *protected* in *Hungary*, and *perſecuted* in *France.* To ſay nothing of the Encouragements they give there to the *Janſeniſts* *, which may, for aught we know, prove the greateſt Blow to the Church of *Rome*, that ever it received ſince the Reformation. But what do I talk of *Religion*, in a Cauſe that is dipped in *Chriſtian Blood*, and in the *Tears of Widows and Orphans?* A *Cauſe that is* propagated by *Sacrilege*, *Rapes*, *Depopulation*, *Slavery*, *Oppreſſion*, *and at leaſt a Million of Lives*, *ſacrificed to it already?* The very Thought of it is enough to ſtrike the Soul of any Man with Horror and Indignation.

If you would ſee now, how tenderly they have handled us in the Buſineſs of *Reputation*; pray do but caſt an Eye upon the Character of an *Engliſhman* in their *Politique de France* †.

" As for the *Engliſh*, they are a People with-
" out Friends, without Faith, Religion, Ho-
" neſty, or Juſtice; diſtruſtful and fickle to
" the higheſt Degree imaginable; cruel, im-
" patient, gluttonous, proud, audacious; they
" will do well enough for a Rubber at Cuffs,
" or a ſudden Exploit, but they underſtand no-
" thing at all of the Government of a War.
" The Country is paſſable enough for them to
" live in, but not rich enough to offer at any
" Conqueſt abroad; nor did they ever make
" any, but upon the *Iriſh*, which are a weakly
" People and ill Soldiers."

I think it were not amiſs, in this Place, to deſire our impertinent Undertaker to turn back to the Hiſtory of *Philip de Valois*, and he ſhall there find that our *Edward the Third* made a Shift with one Army to beat Sixty-thouſand *French*, and leave betwixt Thirty and Forty-thouſand of them upon the Place; and with another Army in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to defeat as many *Scots*, and cut off Fifteen-thouſand of them too. And it muſt not here be omitted, that this *Scotch* Army was alſo animated by *French* Counſels. I would not willingly

* A Sort of *French* Papiſts, that deny the Pope's Infallibility, and differ from the Church of *Rome*, in the Doctrine of *Grace*, &c. ſo called from one *Janſenius*, Biſhop of *Ipers*.

† *Quant a ce qui eſt des Anglois ils n'ont aucuns amis, ce ſont des gens ſans Foi, ſans Religion, ſans Probite, ſans Juſtice aucune, defians, legers au derniere point, cruels, impatiens, gourmands, ſuperbes, audacieux, avares, propres pour les coups de main, & pour une prompte execution, mais incapables de conduire une Guerre avec jugement. Leur Pais eſt aſſez bon pour vivre, mais il n'eſt pas aſſez riche pour leur fournir les moyens de ſortir, & de faire aucune conqueſte; auſſi n'ont ils jamais rien conquis, excepte l'Irlande, dont les habitans ſont foibles, & mauvais Soldats*, &c.

run out a Letter into a Volume, ſo that, all other Reflexions a-part, I ſhall only add, that, if the *Engliſh* had not once *recovered* the Field, and another Time made it *good* in two of the greateſt Actions, of late, that have yet paſſed betwixt the *Imperialiſts* and the *French*, it is the Opinion of wiſe Men, that the Latter would not have had much to brag of upon the Succeſs of this War. And this, in ſome Degree, is acknowledged by the Author of a *French Relation of the Actions betwixt the two Armies*, in 1675, 1676, and 1677, (how romantical ſoever in other Caſes). Speaking of the Battle under the Command of the Count *de Lorge*, after the Death of the Viſcount *Turenne*, theſe are his Words: *Et a rendre juſtice aux* Anglois, *& aux* Irlandois, *on peut dire, qu'on leur doit une bonne partie de cette victoire*; That is to ſay, *And, to give the* Engliſh *and* Iriſh *their Due*, France *is indebted to them, in a large Meaſure, for this Victory*. But now to our Politician again: *Ils ſe haiſſent les uns, les autres, & ſont en diviſion continuelle, ſoit pour la Religion, ſoit pour le Gouvernement.* "The *Engliſh*, ſays he, hate one "another, and are ſtill quarrelling, either about "Religion or Government."

Theſe Indecencies would almoſt make a Man call them Names; but let us paſs without one angry Word, from the Intereſt of our *Reputation*, to that of our *Peace*. And enquire how they ſtand affected to us upon that Point. To ſay, that *England* has not, for a long Time, had any Troubles, either at Home or Abroad, which the *French* have not either promoted, or improved, to their own Advantage, is to ſay no more than that they deal with *Us*, as they do with *all the World beſide*; ſo that we muſt even have Recourſe again to their *Politiques* for ſome particular Mark of their Favour, where you ſhall find that our State-Mountebank has not yet ſhewn all his Tricks, but puts himſelf with a very grave and fore-caſting Countenance upon the very Project of our Ruin.

"A War, ſays he, of three or four Years "with *France*, would abſolutely deſtroy the "*Engliſh*; ſo that, methinks, we ſhould not "entertain any Peace with them, but upon "very profitable Terms *."

And then a little after:

"In fine, ſays he, the Way to undo the *Engliſh*, is to make them keep an Army on Foot; "and there is no Fear of their Landing in "*France*, but to their certain Deſtruction, unleſs they ſhould be invited by a Rebellion; "without which, their Troops will, in a ſhort "Time, moſt undoubtedly fall foul one upon another. To keep them upon continual Expence, it is but giving them the Alarm upon "the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, *Wight* and "*Man*, *Ireland* and the *Cinque-Ports*; by "which Means they will be put upon the "Charge of Fortifications and Gariſons, which "will perſuade the People that the King intends to ſet up a ſtanding Army, and an arbitrary Government. So long as this holds, "the Nation will never be at Quiet, but torment themſelves with Fears and Jealouſies, "which may be eaſily fomented by Letters in "Cipher, to ſuch and ſuch particular Perſons; "and in ſuch Sort to be intercepted as ſhall be "found convenient. Theſe Letters may give "a Hint of a Deſcent in *Ireland*, and elſewhere, which would diſpoſe the *Iriſh*, who "mortally hate the *Engliſh*, to a Revolt; and "among the ſuſpicious Multitude they would "*paſs* for Goſpel. This Contrivance would "make the *Scots* alſo to bethink themſelves of "recovering their Liberty; where there muſt "be Parties made, and the Sects encouraged "one againſt another; eſpecially the *Roman* "Catholicks muſt be fairly handled, and private Aſſurance given (in the Name of the "King of *England*) to the *Benedictins* (who are "eaſy enough to be impoſed upon) that they "ſhall be reſtored to all their former Benefits, "according to the printed *Monaſticon*; which "will preſently make the *Roman* Catholicks declare themſelves; and the Monks will move "Heaven and Earth for bringing of Matters "about; but then Care muſt be taken to carry on the Report that the King is of the "*Romiſh* Religion; which will diſtract the "Government, and throw all into an abſolute "Confuſion."

From hence we may gather; *Firſt*, What Opinion the *French* have of us. *Secondly*, That it is not only their Deſire and Study, but a

* *Une Guerre de France de trois ou quatre ans contre eux les ruinera entierement, ainſi il ſemble qu' il ne faut point faire de paix avec eux qu' a des Conditions qui nous ſoient tres avantageuſes.*

formed

formed Deſign to embroil us. *Thirdly*, That they will ſtick at nothing neither, to compaſs that End, be it never ſo foul. *Fourthly*, This Libeller has traced us out the very Methods of their Working. As by amuſing the People with forged Letters of Intelligence, where the firſt Author of the Plot muſt miraculouſly diſcover it; by filling the People's Heads with Fears and Jealouſies, and leaving no Stone unturned in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to ſtir up a Rebellion; by making Uſe of the King's Name in pretended Commiſſions to *Papiſts*, in Favour of their Religion, and artificially inſinuating that his Majeſty is of that Perſuaſion, to make him odious to his Subjects; by firſt putting the King upon the Neceſſity of an Army, for the ſecuring of his Dominions; and then interpreting the Effect of that Neceſſity, for an Attempt upon the Liberty of his People. Why has he not adviſed the Poiſoning of all our Fountains too? Which would have been a Courſe of as much Chriſtianity and Honour. But, that this Trifle may not glorify himſelf too much in his wonderous Speculations, take Notice, that he is only the Tranſcriber, not the Author, of this goodly Piece, for the Original was betwixt *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*; and it amounts to no more, in Effect, than an imperfect Hiſtory of the *French* Dealings with us for a long Time, and, particularly, in our late Troubles.

To come now from his moſt unmannerly Malice to his Reaſon of State: If I am not miſtaken, England *might longer ſubſiſt in a War with* France, *than* France *could in a Peace within itſelf* (the heavieſt of all Judgments, when a Nation muſt be wicked upon Neceſſity.) And again, when he ſays, that England *cannot hurt* France *by a Deſcent, unleſs called in by a Rebellion*, he never conſiders, that, if England *had an Army on Foot, and ſtood inclined to make Uſe of it that Way, we ſhould not be long without an Invitation.* For we ſee what the *Bourdelois*, &c. did upon their own Bottom, and without any foreign Encouragement; and the whole Buſineſs miſcarried only for Want of a vigorous Second. Laſtly, give me Leave to ſay that he has extremely overſhot himſelf in one Thing more; for though this has been really the Practice of the *French*, and is at this Day the very Model and Rule by which their Emiſſaries govern themſelves; it ſhould yet have been kept as the greateſt Secret in the World; for the Owning of theſe inglorious Artifices, in Publick, makes it one of the groſſeſt Libels that ever was written, againſt the *French* Government; to ſay nothing of his Overſight in diſobliging the *Roman* Catholicks, and laying Snares to trepan them.

A Word now from their *Counſels* and *Inſtructions* to their *Inſtruments*, which will be beſt known by the Conformity of their Behaviour to the Mode of their *French* Maſters; and it is no Matter to us, in what Shape they appear, nor is it much to themſelves; who are any Thing for Profit, and the very *Materia Prima* is not ſuſceptible of more Forms. *Do the* French *put Tricks upon us with forged Letters?* So do they. *Do the* French *labour to poiſon the People with Apprehenſions that their Liberties are in Danger, and their Religion; and that the King himſelf is Popiſhly affected?* So do they. *Do the* French endeavour *to create Miſunderſtandings betwixt the King and his People?* So do they. *Do the* French *blow the Coal in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and, when they have ſet all in Flame, roaſt their own Eggs at the Fire?* So do they. *Do the* French *change their Party with their Intereſts?* So do they. What can be plainer now then that the *French* Intereſt beats in the Pulſe of theſe Incendiaries? And what can be more ridiculous than be fooliſh over and over by the ſame Hand? But this is enough to lay open the Source of our Miſeries.

The Queſtion of *Trade* has been ſo beaten already, that there remains little to be added to it. Nor, in Truth, needs it, ſince it is agreed on all Hands, that the *French* ſet up for an *univerſal Commerce*, as well as for an *univerſal Monarchy*. And, in Effect, the one is but a neceſſary Conſequent upon the other. Nor is it enough, it ſeems, for us to be deſigned upon by them, without lending them our own Hands towards the Cutting of our own Throats: *For, upon a ſober and judicious Eſtimate, we are Loſers by our Trade with* France, *at leaſt, a Million and a Half*, per Annum. I ſhall conclude this Head with one Paſſage more, out of our *Politicks of France* (and you'll ſay it is a pleaſant one too; but it muſt be under the Roſe). Upon a Preſuppoſal of Miſchief that is a brewing in *England*, *Now*, ſays he, *it will be our Buſineſs to renew an Alliance with* Holland; *we can wheedle them into an Opinion, that they are the only Men that underſtand the Knack of Trade, ſo that they ſhall have that to themſelves; the Talent of the* French, *alas! lies another Way, and there is no Forcing of any Thing againſt Nature: And that now is their Nick of Time, to cruſh their Competitors for the Northern Seas.* So that

we

we are all of us to be ſerved with the ſame Sauce; but it is ſome Degree of Honeſty yet, when they tell the World what they are to truſt to.

Now to ſum up all that is ſaid: If the *French* can diſpenſe with *Oaths*, and *ſolemn Contracts*; if it be their *Cuſtom*, and a Branch of their *Policy*, *to fiſh in troubled Waters*; if they *hate* us, as *Engliſhmen*, and are not *for* us, as *Reformed Catholicks*; if they do all they can to wound us in our *Reputation*, our *Peace*, and our *Trade*, we may take for granted, that they will deſtroy us to all Purpoſes, if they can; which naturally leads me to an Enquiry, how far we are in their Power, or likely ſo to be, that we may take our Meaſures accordingly.

It will not ſtand with the Brevity I propoſe, in this Paper, to give you a *Geographical*, or an *Hiſtorical* Account of *Places* or *Actions*; but, in as few Words as I can, I am to preſent you with a general View of the preſent State of *Chriſtendom*, with a Regard to the Power of *France*; and then to conſider how far *England* may come to be concerned in the *common Fate*. Here it was, that you and I brake off in our laſt Diſcourſe; ſo that, in the Proſecution of it, I muſt try to walk without Leading (ſaving only the Helps that I have gathered from certain Tracts which I have read, upon his Recommendation) wherein I ſhall ſteer a middle Courſe, betwixt ſome that *overvalue* the Strength of *France*, and others that will have it to be *leſs* than, indeed, it is.

That the Arms of *France*, are, at this Day, formidable to all *Chriſtendom*, is not to be denied; and *Tacitus* gives you the Reaſon of it, in the Caſe of the *Romans* and *Britons*: *There muſt be*, ſaith he *, *a common Force to oppoſe a common Danger*; *they ſtruggled one by one*, *till they were all deſtroyed*. The *French* (no Doubt of it) are a *wealthy*, a *populous*, and *a military Nation*. But it muſt be allowed, that they are more indebted, for their Greatneſs, to the *Slips* and *Overſights* of *others* (and this without Diſparagement too) than they are to *their proper Conduct* and *Valour*. The Advance they made into *Flanders*, in 1667, was introduced by the *Spaniards* truſting to their Aſſurances of Friendſhip, and rather imputable to an Exceſs of Charity, than any Want of Precaution; tho' it ſeemed not very likely, that they ſhould march with Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, only to go a Birding. Through theſe, and the like Arts, they have raiſed themſelves to that dangerous Height where now we behold them; taking all Advantages of the unſettled Condition of *Spain*, the Diviſions of the *Empire*, the Factions in *Holland*, and of all other Miſtakes in Point of Foreſight, and Reſolution, elſewhere. You know very well, the Conqueſts they have made upon the *United Provinces*, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, a conſiderable Part of *Germany*, with the *Terror* and *Devaſtation* that accompanies them every where: The Progreſs of their Arms in *Catalonia*, *Sicily*, the *Weſt Indies*, &c. Now what may be the Conſequences of this over-growing Power, and how to prevent them, is the Matter in Queſtion.

A ſhort View of the preſent State of Chriſtendom.

AS it is without Diſpute, that the *French* aim at *univerſal Dominion* (which is only a more plauſible Cover for that *univerſal Slavery* which muſt create it) ſo is it accounted as indubitable a Principle, that the Conqueſt of *Flanders* muſt be the *Foundation* of it. And according to this Maxim it is, that they take their Meaſures; for they have made themſelves Maſters of the Outworks already, in *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *St. Omers*; three Places of very great Strength and Importance: And it is generally believed, by the Recalling of their Troops from the *Rhine*, and Bending the Flower of their Force that Way, that they will puſh for the reſt this Campaign. If they carry it (as probably they will, without the ſpeedy Addition of ſome powerful Alliance) take Notice, I beſeech you, of that which naturally follows. In the *firſt* Place, the Charge and the Hazard of that War is over, which in Gariſons, and in the Field, has put his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* to the Expence of keeping near One-hundred-thouſand Men in Pay (which will then be at Liberty to fall in upon the *Empire*.) Beſide what has been expended in *Management*, as the *French* call it, which, in *honeſt*

* *Rarus ad propulſandum Commune Periculum conventus: Ita, dum ſinguli pugnant, Univerſi vincuntur.*

Engliſh,

Engliſh, *is downright Corruption. Secondly*, This Acquiſition will furniſh the *French* King with Men, and Monies, for an Army of *fifty-thouſand Men* (and no better Soldiers in *Europe*). *Thirdly*, What will become of the Duke of *Brandenburg*, if the *French* ſhall fall into *Cleves*, and *Mark*; with a Matter of *forty* or *fifty-thouſand Men* more, and from thence into *Pomerania* and *Pruſſia? Fourthly*, The whole Patrimony of the *Empire*, from the *Rhine*, to the Frontiers of *France*, fall by an inevitable Conſequence into the Hands of the *French*; as they have already ſwallowed the three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Taul*, and *Verdun*. So that the *Imperial Army* will be forced over the *Rhine*, and there probably kept in Play, and upon the bare *Defenſive*, by the Troops of *Bavaria*, and other Princes of the *French Intereſt*; while, in the mean Time, the Princes of *Weſtphalia* will be reduced to an abſolute Neceſſity of ranging themſelves under the *French* Protection, and changing their Party. And what can be then expected from *Holland*, after what they have ſuffered already, and under their preſent Deſpairs, but to content themſelves with ſuch Conditions as *France* will give them? For, after the Loſs of *Cleves* and *Flanders*, their Caſe is wholly deſperate, unleſs *England* ſhould vigorouſly interpoſe to their Relief. And the State of the *Empire* is neither better, nor worſe, than that of their Neighbours; for they muſt all ſubmit their Necks to the ſame Yoke. When Matters are brought to this Paſs, they have before them *England*, *Spain*, and *Italy*; the Cloud is gathered already, and it is wholly at their Choice where it ſhall break.

There are a great many People, I know, that promiſe themſelves many Things, from the Event of another Campaign, for Want, I fear of conſulting the Chart, and the almoſt inſuperable Difficulties, that lie in the Way; the Means they propoſe are either by carrying the War into *France*, by Way of *Revulſion*, or by forcing the *French* upon a *Capital Battle*: The former Propoſition ſeems *Firſt* very impracticable; and *Secondly*, of little or no Advantage, if it could be effected. It muſt be conſidered that, beyond *Mentz*, *Coblents*, and *Treves*, the *Imperialiſts* have no Magazine at all; that betwixt *Treves* and *France* (a Part of *Luxemburg* excepted) is abſolutely in the Enemy's Power. Now how ſhould an Army ſubſiſt there, that muſt, over and above, paſs through a Country of about twenty Leagues, that is wholly laid waſte, and in Aſhes, and without any Cattle in it, or any other Sort of neceſſary Proviſion?

Put the Caſe now, that the *Imperialiſts* ſhould break through all theſe Difficulties, and carry an Army even into *Lorrain* itſelf, the Country of *Metzin*, or *Burgundy* (which would take them up the beſt Part of a Summer too) all the ſtrong Holds are in the Hands of the *French*, and the Country laid ſo deſolate, that there is no Living for an Army there. When it is come to this, they muſt reſolve either upon a *Battle*, or a *Siege*. If the former, the *French* are at Liberty whether they will fight, or no, and there is no Compelling of them; for they are among their ſtrong Holds; and all is their own both behind them, and on each Side, and the Country either burnt, or deſerted. But carry it farther yet, and ſuppoſe the *French* forced upon the Riſque of a *Battle*. *Firſt*, the *Imperialiſts* are not ſure to get the better of it. And *Secondly*, What if they ſhould? Nay to the Degree of an intire Victory? All that would be expected more, for that Year, would be only to take in ſome conſiderable Poſt, and make good the Ground, they had gotten for the next Campaign: For it would be a Madneſs to purſue their Victory, into the Heart of an Enemy's Country, and leave ſo many ſtrong Garriſons upon their Backs, which would undoubtedly cut off all their Convoys, and ſtarve them.

But this is ſtill the Suppoſing of a Thing not to be ſuppoſed; for the *French*, in this Caſe, would ſtand upon the Defenſive, and not to come to a *Battle*. Or in Caſe they ſhould, and be worſted, they have Men enough in Garriſon, for Recruits, that would immediately reinforce them.

Now on the other Side, what if the *Imperialiſts* ſhould chance to be routed? The Gariſons, which the *French* hold in *Lorrain*, *Burgundy*, and *Alſatia*, would, in ſuch a Caſe, totally deſtroy that broken Army, and cut out ſuch Work in *Germany*, as has not been known in the *Empire* for many Ages.

In this Extremity, let us ſuppoſe that the *Empire* ſhould yet bring another Army into the Field, and try the Iſſue of a ſecond *Battle*, and miſcarry: And that the Duke of *Bavaria*, with other diſaffected Princes of the *Empire*, ſhould declare themſelves for the Enemy; all that Part of *Germany* that lies within two, or three Days Journey of the *Rhine*, would be irrecoverably loſt; a great Part of it being ſo harraſſed already, that it is not able ſo much as to

furniſh

furniſh an Army upon a March, much leſs for a Winter-Quarter.

Now to the Buſineſs of a *Siege*, the *French* have taught us, by *Philipſburg*, and *Maeſtricht*, that they want neither Skill to fortify a Place, nor Courage to defend it. So that, without a great Loſs of Time, and Men, it cannot be expected that the *Imperialiſts* ſhould make themſelves Maſters of any conſiderable Place; and when they ſhall have carried it, what will a Town in *Lorrain*, or *Burgundy*, ſignify to the Saving of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which, if once loſt, are hardly ever to be retrieved?

Now taking this for granted, if *England* does not ſtep in, with all the Speed and Vigour imaginable, ſee what will be the End on it; *Firſt*, that the *French*, being Maſters of all the Poſts, Paſſes, and ſtrong Holds in *Lorrain*, and *Burgundy*, may dodge, and trifle the *Imperialiſts* at Pleaſure, and make them ſpend out the Year, without any Advantage to the *Netherlands*. The Way would have been for the *Imperialiſts* to have preſſed, with an Army of Five hundred-thouſand Men, directly into the Body of *France*, and the *Confederate* Troops, in the *Low-Countries*, to have made another Inroad, by the Way of *Picardy*, or *Bologne*; but ſince the taking of *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and St. *Omers*, there is no Poſſibility of piercing *France* that Way. So that a very ſmall Army now upon the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, with the Help of the *French* Gariſons, is ſufficient to amuſe and tire out the whole Force of *Spain*, and *Holland*, upon that Quarter.

Secondly, *France*, being thus ſecured on that Side, will unqueſtionably fall in with all their Power upon the *Empire*; unleſs diverted by the Alarm, they have now received from *England*. Now admitting this to be the Condition of *France*, let any Man of Senſe judge, what good the *Imperial* Army can do to the *Netherlands* (upon which ſingle Point, depends the Fortune of *Chriſtendom*.) What if they ſhould march up to the Borders of *France*, with Fifty-thouſand Men? Will not the *French* encounter them there, with as many, or more? And with this Odds too, that the *Imperialiſts* ſuffer a thouſand Incommodities in their March, through a ruined Country; whereas the *French* have good Quarters, and Plenty of all Things at Hand, watching the others Motions, and improving all Advantages againſt them.

Thirdly, In this Poſture of Affairs, the Confederates muſt never expect to do any great Matter upon the *French*, in theſe Provinces, unleſs they do very much out-number them.

And it is likewiſe to be conſidered, that theſe Troubles falling out in the Minority of *his Catholick Majeſty*, the Diſtractions of that Government, the Revolt of *Sicily*, and great Diſorders upon the Frontiers of *Spain*, the *Netherlands* have been much neglected, till the Elevation of his Highneſs *Don Juan of Auſtria* to the Dignity of *Prime Miniſter*. And that it is not poſſible for him, by Reaſon of the many Exigences of that Crown nearer Home, to ſend any conſiderable Succour to the *Low-Countries*, otherwiſe than by Supplies of Money: So that, by that Time, the *Imperialiſts* and the *Hollanders* are got into their Winter-Quarters, or at leaſt, before they take the Field again, the *French*, from Time to Time, will be ready with freſh Troops, out of their Gariſons, to proſecute their Conqueſts; which by Degrees muſt needs break the Hearts of the poor Inhabitants, when they find that neither their Faith, nor their Courage, is able any longer to protect them. And, when that Day comes, what by their Armies, and what by other Influences, the *French* will have as good as ſubjected *two Thirds of* Europe. And there will alſo occur theſe farther Difficulties: *Firſt*, no body knows where the *French* will begin their Attack; which will oblige the *Spaniard*, and *Hollander*, to ſtrengthen all their Gariſons, as far as their Men will reach. *Secondly*, when the *Spaniſh* and *Holland* Troops ſhall be ſo diſperſed, whereſoever the *French* ſit down, they muſt give themſelves for loſt, for Want of an Army to relieve them; beſide their furious and obſtinate Manner of Aſſault, for they care not how many Men they loſe, ſo they carry the Place. (And then moſt of the Men too are made Priſoners of War.) Nor is the Seaſon of the Year any Diſcouragement to them neither; witneſs their firſt Irruption into *Burgundy*, and the reſtleſs Activity of their Troops, even at this Inſtant.

So ſoon as their Work in *Flanders* is over (which only *England*, under Heaven, is able to prevent a Check) the *French* will have an Army, of at leaſt Fifty-thouſand Men, about *Lorrain*, *Luxemburg*, and *Burgundy*, to face the *Imperialiſts*; and at the ſame Time, with as many more perhaps they will ſeize upon the Dutchy of *Juliers*, and of *Cleves*, and from thence paſs the *Rhine*, to countenance thoſe that are of the *French Cabal*, on this Side of *Weſtphalia*; and ſo, in due Time, ſeveral other Princes of the *Empire*. It is remarkable, that

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in a three Years War againſt the *Confederates*, his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty* has not only ſtood his Ground, without loſing ſo much as one Inch of his ancient Patrimony, but actually, and almoſt without Oppoſition, taken ſeveral Towns, and ſome intire Provinces, from the Principals of the *Confederacy*; and made himſelf almoſt as conſiderable at *Sea*, as he is at *Land*: Not only in the *Mediterranean*, and upon the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Italy*, but in *America* too; where he has laid a Foundation of great Miſchief both to *England*, and *Holland*, in the Point of *Commerce*, if not timely prevented. And he does little leſs by his *Money*, than by his *Arms*; for he pays all; ſupports the *Swede*, and with *French Money*, under Pretext of *Neutrality*, maintains conſiderable Armies in the very Heart of the *Empire*; which, it is feared, will be ready enough, upon any Diſaſter, to join with the *Common Enemy*. It is the *French* Court that manages the Counſels of *Poland*, and they govern the *Swiſs* no leſs; who, by the Conqueſt of the *Franche Compte*, are made little better than Slaves. And yet, by a fatal and beſotted Blindneſs, that *Republick* ſtill furniſhes the *French* with the beſt of their Soldiers, and helps forward the Deſtruction of *Europe*, never dreaming that they themſelves are to be undone too at laſt.

But it is no great Matter, you will ſay, to impoſe upon the *Swiſs* (which are a heavy and a phlegmatick People) but the *French* Charms have bewitched even *Italy* itſelf; though a Nation the moſt clear-ſighted and ſuſpicious of all others. For their *Republicks* lie as quiet, as if they were aſleep; though the Fire is already kindled in *Sicily*, and the Danger brought Home to their own Doors. It is a Wonder, that they lay Things no more to Heart, conſidering, *Firſt*, the Paſſages that the *French* have to favour their Entry. *Secondly*, that they are many and ſmall States; weak and eaſily to be corrupted, if not ſo already. *Thirdly*, that though they have been formerly very brave, and in many Particulars remain ſo ſtill, yet, in the Generality, they are ſoft and effeminate. And, *Fourthly*, that the *French* is there the Maſter of the Seas. Theſe Reflexions, methinks, might convince any Man of the Condition they are in. And certainly, they, that were not able to defend themſelves againſt *Charles the Eighth*, will be much leſs able to encounter *Lewis the Fourteenth*: Or if he gets in, to drive him out again, as they did the other. For they muſt do it wholly upon their own Strength, having only the *Turk* in Condition to help them. For *Germany* and *Spain* are ſunk already; and the *Swiſs* will neither dare to venture upon it, nor are they able to do it, if they had a Mind to it.

As for *Spain*, it is neither populous, nor fortified, and perhaps Want of Proviſions may keep it from an Invaſion. And yet, for all that, with a Body of Thirty or Forty-thouſand Men by the Way of *Fontarabia*, and as many by *Catalonia*, the *French* may, if they pleaſe, in two *Campaigns*, make themſelves Maſters of *Navarre*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*; and then it is but fortifying the Frontiers, and making *his Catholick Majeſty* a Tributary in *Caſtile*; who muſt content himſelf to take what they pleaſe to give him, over and above, in Conſideration of his Dominions in *Italy*, and the *Spaniſh Indies*: *A Poſſibility that* England *and* Holland *ſhall do well to think of*: *For, when he has the* Mines *in his Power, and* Europe *under his Feet, there will be no Contending.*

After this, they have only the *Swiſs*, or the *Engliſh*, to fall upon next: For the *former*, they are neither fortified, nor united, in Affections, or Religion.

As for *England*; They are a People not naturally addicted to the *French*; ſenſible of their Honour, and of their Intereſt; and the whole World is convinced of their Courage. They are united under the Government of a gracious Prince; and their Concerns are at this Inſtant lodged in the Hands of the moſt loyal and publick-ſpirited Repreſentatives that ever acted in that Station; beſide the Strength of the Iſland by Situation: So that the *French* would find it a hard Matter, either to make a Conqueſt here, or, if they ſhould ſurpriſe it, to keep it. But yet they have finer Ways to Victory than by Force of Arms; and their *Gold* has done them better Service than their *Iron*.

What have we now to do then, but, in a common Cauſe, to arm againſt a common Oppreſſion? This is the Time, or never, for *Italy* to enter into a League for their common Safety, and not only to keep, but, if poſſible, to force the *French* from their Borders; while the *Imperial* Army holds the capital Power of *France* in Play?

And this is the Time too, for the *Swiſs* to recall all their Troops out of the *French* Service, and to ſtrike a general League alſo for the Recovery of *Burgundy*, the only Outwork of their

Liberties, and to expel the *French* Gariſons, and deliver the Places into the Hands of the right Owners.

And will it not concern *Poland*, as much as any of the reſt; that ſtands, or falls with the *Empire*, as the Defence of *Chriſtendom* againſt the *Turks*, and whoſe own Turn is next?

This Alarm, methinks, ſhould call off the Princes from the Acquiſitions they have made upon Part of the *Swedes* Poſſeſſions in the *Empire*, to the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and make all the *French Mercenaries* in the *Empire* to bethink themſelves of returning from the Deluſions which either the *French Artifice* or *Money* has impoſed upon them. He, that has no Regard for the *Head*, will have leſs for the *Dependences*, when he has them at his Mercy.

Nay the very *French* themſelves ſhould do well to contemplate the Slavery that is now prepared for them. Their Laws and Liberties are trampled upon; and, *till the* French *Government be reduced to the Bounds of its ancient Conſtitution, neither the People, nor their Neighbours, can ever be ſecure.*

In this dangerous *Criſis* of Affairs, it has pleaſed Divine Providence to leave *England* the Arbitreſs of the Fate of *Europe*; and to annex ſuch Advantages to the Office, that the *Honour*, the *Duty*, and the *Security* of this Nation ſeem to be wrapped up together. In the Point of *Honour*, what can be more generous, than to ſuccour the Miſerable and Oppreſſed, and to put a Stop to that Torrent that threatens *Chriſtendom* with an univerſal Deluge? Beſide the Vindication of ourſelves for thoſe Affronts and Indignities, both publick and private, that we have ſuffered upon our own Account. And then, in Matter of *Duty*, it is not only *Chriſtendom*, but *Chriſtianity* itſelf, that lies at Stake. For, in the Ruin of the *Empire*, the *Turk*'s Work is done to his Hand, by breaking down the only Fence that has preſerved us all this While from the Incurſions of the *Ottoman* Power. Now, as nothing can be more glorious, than, at all Hazards, to hinder the Effuſion of more *Chriſtian Blood*, and to ſave *Chriſtendom* itſelf from Bondage; it is ſo much our *Intereſt* too, that we ourſelves are loſt without it. And, as the Obligation is reciprocal, ſo the Reſolution is neceſſary. The Choice we have before us being only this, *Either to unite with our Neighbours, for a common Safety; or to ſtand ſtill, and look on, the tame Spectators of their Ruin, till we fall alone.* This is ſo demonſtrative, that, if we do not by a powerful Alliance, and Diverſion, prevent the Conqueſt of *Flanders* (which lies already a gaſping) we are cut off from all Communication with the reſt of *Europe*; and cooped up *at Home*, to the irrecoverable Loſs of our Reputation and Commerce; for *Holland* muſt inevitably follow the Fate of *Flanders*, and then the *French* are Maſters of the Sea; ravage our Plantations; and infallibly poſſeſs themſelves of the *Spaniſh Indies*, and leave us anſwerable for all thoſe Calamities that ſhall enſue upon it; which is yet, by God's Providence, may be timely prevented. But *he, that ſtills the Raging of the Sea, will undoubtedly ſet Bounds to this overflowing Greatneſs*; having now, as an Earneſt of that Mercy, put it into the Hearts of our Superiors to provide ſeaſonably for the common Safety, and in Proportion alſo to the Exigence of the Affair; knowing very well, that Things of this Nature are not to be done by Halves.

We have to do with a Nation of a large Territory; abounding in Men, and Money; and their Dominion is grown ſo abſolute, that no Man there can call any Thing his own, if the Court ſays Nay to it. So that the ſober and induſtrious Part are only Slaves to the Luſts and Ambition of the Military. In this Condition of Servitude, they feel already what their Neighbours fear, and wiſh as well to any Opportunity, either of avoiding, or of caſting off the Yoke; which will eaſily be given by a Conjunction of *England* and *Holland*, at Sea; and almoſt infallibly produce theſe Effects. *Firſt*, It will draw off the Naval Force of *France* from *Sicily*, *America*, and elſewhere, to attend this Expedition. *Secondly*, The Diverſion will be an Eaſe to the *Empire*, and the *Confederates*, from whence more Troops muſt be drawn to encounter this Difficulty, than the *French* can well ſpare. *Thirdly*, It will not only encourage thoſe Princes, and States, that are already engaged, but likewiſe keep in Awe thoſe that are diſaffected, and confirm thoſe that waver.

It is true, this War muſt needs be *prodigiouſly expenſive*; but then, in all Probability, it will be *ſhort*; and, in Caſes of this Quality, People muſt do as in a Storm at Sea, rather throw Part of the Lading over-board, than founder the Veſſel. I do not ſpeak this, as ſuppoſing any Difficulty in the Caſe, for the very Contemplation of it has put Fire into the Veins of every true *Engliſhman*; and they are moved, as by a ſacred Impulſe,

Impulſe, to the neceſſary and the only Means of their Preſervation. And that which crowns our Hopes, is, that theſe generous Inclinations are only ready to execute what the Wiſdom of their Superiors ſhall find reaſonable to command. I need not tell you how *jealous* the People of *England* are of their *Religion* and *Liberties*; to what Degree they have contended, even for the Shadow of theſe Intereſts; nor how much Blood, and Treaſure, they have ſpent upon the Quarrel. Could an Impoſture work ſo much; and can any Man imagine, that they will be now leſs ſenſible, when they ſee before their Eyes a manifeſt Plot upon their Religion; their Liberties invaded; their Traffick interrupted; the *Honour* and the very *Being* of their *Country* at Stake; their Wives and Children expoſed to *Beggary* and *Scorn*; and in Concluſion, *The Privileges of a* Free-born Engliſhman *exchanged for the Vaſſalage of* France.

A True Relation, without all Exception, of ſtrange and admirable Accidents, which lately happened in the Kingdom of the great *Magor*, or *Mogul*, who is the greateſt Monarch of the *Eaſt-Indies*. As alſo, with a true Report of the Manners of the Country; of the Commodities there found, with the like of ſundry other Countries and Iſlands, in the *Eaſt-Indies*. Written and certified by Perſons of good Import, who were Eye-witneſſes of what is here reported.

London, Printed by *J. D.* for *Thomas Archer*, and are to be ſold at his Shop, in *Pope*'s-head *Palace*. MDCXXII.

This ſhort Relation is introduced with a Commendation of the Inhabitants and Climate of the Cape of Good-Hope, *and proceeds with a Deſcription of the Extent of the* Mogul's *Country, and ſome Account of his Riches, Attendance, and vicious Way of Living. His Manner of receiving Ambaſſadors; his daily Cuſtom of ſpending the Day, and his ſummary Way of adminiſtering Juſtice. But what is moſt entertaining in this Tract, I preſume, will be the Puniſhment the* Mogul *inflicted on his own Son, who had rebelled againſt him; the Story of an Ape, that did many amazing Tricks in the Preſence of the whole Court, and the Converſion of one of his great Lords from Atheiſm, to the Profeſſion of a Divine Being, that ruleth in all the World. And then concludes with a few Hints concerning the Riches, and Government, of the Iſlands of* Zeloon *and* Japan.

IN the Year of our Lord 1618, and in the Month of *June*, we arrived at the Cape of *Good-Hope*, where we found the People of the Country, albeit Heathens and Idolaters, yet very kind and friendly unto us; for ſome ſmall Quantity of Iron and old Copper we had of them upon Exchange Beeves and Mutton. This Cape (otherwiſe called the Cape of *Bona Speranſa*) is very temperate, and agreeth well with the Conſtitution of our People. Four or five hundred Perſons, ſick of the Scurvy, and other Diſeaſes of the Sea, they all recovered their Health perfectly within a very few Days.

They have a very pleaſant Drink, which they call *Toddy*, like in Taſte to white Wine, which diſtilleth from the *Pabneto* Trees. At our Departure from this Cape we ſailed two or three Days in a Sea like in Colour to Whey, whoſe Bottom we could not found.

We came afterwards to the Country of the great *Magor*, or as ſome call him *Mogul*; his *Laſcar*, which is his Train, that followeth and always goeth with him in his Progreſſes, conſiſteth uſually of Two-hundred Thouſand People of all Sorts. Theſe lodge all in fair Tents, richly hanged, which being pitched according to the Order of that Country, they make a very gorgeous and glorious Shew, as of a moſt beautiful and large City.

This *Magor* hath a Place called the *Maoll*, in which, he keepeth a thouſand Women to ſerve his luſtful Deſires.

When he maketh his Progreſs, his Concubines go with him in all ſumptuous Manner, carried upon Elephants in Caſtles, richly covered; or upon Men's Shoulders, in a Frame made like the upper Part of a Coach, but not ſo cloſe covered. He hath under him Thirty-ſeven Provinces, and very many goodly Cities: The Length of his Country is Two-thouſand eight Hundred Miles, the Breadth Nineteen-hundred Miles.

When he admitteth to his Preſence the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, or the Ambaſſador of any other mighty King, when he giveth them, either loving or kind Speeches, or Looks, then the Ambaſſadors, in Token of Thankfulneſs, kiſs the Earth. But Sir *Thomas Roe*, the King of *Great Britain*'s Ambaſſador, would not ſo much derogate from his Place, to abaſe himſelf ſo demiſſively. Notwithſtanding, he was always entertained with more, and greater Reſpects, than any other Ambaſſador.

This *Magor* doth every Year weigh himſelf in a Balance made for the Purpoſe; firſt, he weigheth himſelf with Weights of Silver, next he weigheth himſelf with Weights of Gold, and laſtly, with Jewels, and precious Stones: His Weight of Silver, and Gold, he giveth away liberally at his Pleaſure; after he is weighed, he mounteth into his Throne, and then he throweth, amongſt the Standers-by, a great Quantity of Silver and Gold, made hollow, like to the Form of Nutmegs, and ſuch other Spices, which his Country doth afford. Theſe Ceremonies being ended, then he beginneth to carouſe and largely to drink with his Nobles, till they be all drunk. The Scales, with which he is weighed, are all of maſſy Gold, richly beſet with precious Stones.

No man hath any Land in this *Magor*'s Country, but himſelf; he giveth Penſions, and taketh away Penſions, at his Pleaſure. No Child inherits any Thing which his Father had in Poſſeſſion, but at the Pleaſure of *Magor*: All Honour and Gentility dieth with the Perſon who had any, and returns back to the *Magor*.

He ſheweth himſelf, in publick and open Manner to the People, at the leaſt, three Times in a Day; *Firſt*, at the Sun-riſing, to which he maketh low Reverence. *Secondly*, at Noon, at which Time he ſeeth Elephants fight, or ſome other Paſtimes provided for him. *Thirdly*, before the Sun ſet, but, when the Sun is ſetting, he deſcendeth from his Throne, and ſheweth as low Obeyſance, as he did at the Riſing.

At all theſe Times, whoſoever cometh unto him as a Suitor, uſeth no other Means for his Diſpatch, but to hold up a Paper in his Hand, and he is heard immediately, and encountereth the beſt Fortune which Suitors can deſire; for either he preſently obtaineth his Suit, or hath a preſent Denial; there are no Maſters of Requeſts, nor any dilatory References upon any Petition.

Magor's People are governed by no other Laws but what lie in his Breaſt, and the Breaſts of his Counſellors; yet there is no Place where Buſineſſes are ſooner diſpatched, or where Juſtice is more uprightly and impartially adminiſtered.

Curſero, the eldeſt Son of *Magor*, being of an haughty and aſpiring Spirit, practiſed to take from his Father both Crown and Kingdom; but *Magor* not only took his Son Priſoner, but, with him, ſome Two-thouſand of his chiefeſt Followers; having taken his Son, he placed him to ſee the Execution of thoſe Two-thouſand he had taken: The Manner of the Execution being terrible, for they were put into the Ground upon ſharp Stakes, and ſo left to die. After this Execution, *Magor* ſhut up and ſealed his Son's Eyes, ſo that, for three Years, he ſaw no Light of *Sun* or *Moon* at all: Seven Years he kept him in cloſe Priſon, but, at this Time, he hath a little more Liberty. This Prince is of a different Diſpoſition from his Father, for he keepeth but one Wife, and is a great Favourer and Protector of *Chriſtians*; he is generally beloved of all Men.

Magor

Magor will not undertake, nor do any Buſineſs of Import, but as he ſhall be directed and counſelled by his Aſtrologers and Magicians; when they tell him the Day and Hour are fortunate, then he adventureth upon any Thing; he cannot endure to hear any Talk or Mention made of Death, which is the moſt deſperate and greateſt Folly which our Age can, or doth afford, nay what Madneſs is it? Not to hear talk, nor make Proviſion for that which cannot be avoided. God hath appointed nothing more certain than Death, becauſe we ſhould ever conſider of it; and nothing more uncertain than the Hour of Death, becauſe, every Hour, we ſhould be provided for it.

Magor being much delighted with Aſtrologers, Magicians, and Witches, of which his Country is repleniſhed, there came upon a Time one of that Crew unto him, and preſented unto him an Ape; telling *Magor*, that the Ape could do ſtrange and admirable *Tricks*: Well, quoth *Magor*, we will make Trial of your Ape's Skill and Cunning, and thereupon commanded the Ape and her Maſter to be carried out of that Room, into another, that they might not ſee what was done, in their Abſence. *Magor* took a Ring from his Finger, and having always about him a great Number of Boys, two-hundred, or thereabouts, *which he keepeth for unnatural and beaſtly Uſes*, he gave the Ring to one of the Boys, and bade him hide it; then, theſe Boys flocking together, the Ape and his Maſter were called for: Now, quoth *Magor*, let your Ape try her Skill; I have loſt my Ring, let us ſee if ſhe can find it: The Ape's Maſter commanded the Ape to fetch the Ring; the Ape went immediately to the Boy which had the Ring, and took it out of his Boſom, and brought it to *Magor*.

Who wondering much at it, he cauſed the ſecond Time the Ape and her Maſter to retire out of Sight, and, in their Abſence, he cauſed his Secretary to write, in ſeveral Papers, the Names of twelve or fourteen of the greateſt Gods, and Prophets, which either were heard or known to be worſhipped, either in his Country, or in any Place of the World; which being written, they were mingled on an Heap, and laid upon a Table; then the Ape was called for, and commanded to take the Name of the greateſt God, and greateſt Prophet, from amongſt thoſe Papers; the Ape went preſently to the Papers, and turning them up, from amongſt them all, only took out the Name of *Jeſus*, and delivered it to *Magor*, whereupon *Magor* and the reſt of his Nobles were much amazed; but, upon ſecret Conference amongſt themſelves, they reſolved to make further Trial: Whereupon the Maſter and the Ape were commanded to go to a further Room, and ſome Perſons commanded to watch them, that the Suſpicion of all deceivable Courſes might be taken away and cleared. The Papers were written again with the ſame Names, and more were added; which being done, the Ape was called for the ſecond Time, and to make Choice as formerly ſhe had been directed; ſhe preſently went to the Papers, and made the ſame Choice which before ſhe had done; which ſtruck *Magor* and his Nobles in a greater Amaze than at the firſt; notwithſtanding a third Trial was made, but with the like and ſame Succeſs; whereupon a great Nobleman humbly beſought *Magor*, that he might make the fourth Trial, which was granted him; this great Man was called *Mattolet Chan*, which in their Language ſignifieth, *the beloved Lord*. He cauſed the Names to be written a fourth Time, and mingled together, and caſt in a Heap upon the Table; the Ape was called as formerly ſhe had been, and commanded to make Choice of the greateſt God or Prophet, whoſe Name was contained in thoſe Papers. The Ape went preſently to the Heap, and ſlightly and ſcornfully turned them over, but took up no Paper, but returned to her Maſter. *Magor* and his Nobles wondered more at this than of what paſſed before, and aſked the Ape's Maſter, what might be the Cauſe why the Ape would not bring any Paper, as before ſhe had done, but turned them up in ſo ſcornful a Manner? Perhaps, quoth the Maſter, the Name, which the Ape looketh for, is not there amongſt them; then, the Papers being examined, the Name of *Jeſus* was miſſing; now, quoth *Magor*, let the Ape ſhew her Cunning to fetch that Paper, wherein that Name is written. The Ape, receiving her Command, made preſent Haſte to *Mattolet Chan*, and leaped upon him, and withal thruſt her Hand into his Boſom, and drew out the Name of *Jeſus*, which ſhe brought haſtily to *Magor*. This, being ſo ſtrange an Accident, was wondered at of all the Standers-by, whereof ſome were *Jews*, ſome *Mahometans*, ſome *Chriſtians*, with others. This hath been averred to be true, by Mr. *Edward Terry*, Preacher to Sir *Thomas Roe*, who heard it credibly reported, as aforeſaid. And Sir *Thomas Roe* hath

reported

reported the ſame for Truth, to ſundry Right Honourable Perſonages. Mr. *Terry*, the Preacher, hath often ſeen the Ape.

The great *Magor*, and generally all the *Indians* of his Country, are given over to fleſhly Pleaſures; they may, and do keep as many Wives and Concubines as they will, or are able to maintain. What Miſery do theſe *Indians* endure, to have ſo many Women about them, when as there be many *Engliſhmen* are grievouſly vexed to have the Company but of one. But, perhaps, the *Indian* Women are of a far milder Temper than the *Engliſh*, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. The *Indians* are more jealous of their Women and Wives, than either *Spaniards*, or *Italians*. The Father will not truſt his Son, after he cometh to twelve Years of Age, except he be gelded. The *Indian* Women in their Houſes are commonly covered, and, if any Woman go abroad uncovered, ſhe is reputed a Whore.

Magor's Subjects are tall, and of comely Perſonage, tho' of a tawny Colour, but they are faint-hearted: *Magor* will uſually ſay, that one *Portugueſe* will beat three of his Subjects, and one *Engliſhman* will beat three *Portugueſe*. In this Country are many ſeveral Sects, ſome called *Banians*, who will kill nothing that hath Life, no not ſo much as Snakes. They have Hoſpitals to keep and cure lame Horſes, lame Dogs, lame Birds, or any lame Creature, and, when they be cured, they are ſet at Liberty. The Manner of that Country is to burn the Bodies of the Dead, and the Wives willingly burn with their Husbands. But of late the Women begin to break that Cuſtom.

The *Indians*, under *Magor*, worſhip evil-favoured ugly Idols, which they call *Pagods*; their Prieſts are called *Ioggis*, or *Bramines*; their Church they call *Muſkitts*; they go on Pilgrimage to ſeveral Places; ſome to *Meccha* in *Arabia*; ſome to the Head of the River *Ganges*, wherein they throw Silver and Gold, according to their Abilities, and after waſh themſelves in the River, and then they think they are pure and clean from all Sin.

Theſe People have many Feaſts and many Faſts, which they keep with ſundry idle Ceremonies; ſome of them mourn in Blue, others, as *Japanners*, mourn in White. They are ſkilful in Phyſick, eſpecially in Simples.

The Learning which they have, which is but ſmall, is in the Mathematicks, and in Natural Philoſophy; they have ſmall Store of Books, becauſe there is no Printing amongſt them; all their Books are Manuſcripts.

Their vulgar Speech is called *Indoſtan*. The Speech at *Magor*'s Court is uſually the *Perſian* Language. Their learned Tongue is the *Arabian*; the common People are very apt to imitate any Thing which they ſee to be done by Strangers.

I cannot let paſs a ſtrange and wonderful Report, which fell out in *Magor*'s Court, and hath been, by Sir *Thomas Roe*, reported confidently for Truth. There was a *Raſa* (ſo great Princes are called) who was an abſolute Atheiſt, who would always ſcornfully and diſdainfully ſpeak and diſpute againſt the Deity, not enduring either himſelf, or any other, where he might oppoſe, to acknowledge any Godhead. This great Prince, ſporting himſelf among his Concubines, one of them, who was moſt favoured of the Prince, and might be moſt bold with him, when he was flouting and jeſting againſt the Deity, plucked from his Breaſt an Hair, and withal a Drop of Blood followed, which was not regarded at the firſt: This very Place, within very few Days, began to feſter, and by Degrees grew to that Extremity, that the Pain was intolerable, and withal proving to be a Gangrene; having uſed all the Means, which Phyſick, or Surgery might afford him, it proved irrecoverable. This *Raſa*, ſeeing his Eſtate, and that he had no Hope of Life, but a dreadful Expectation of imminent Death, ſent to *Magor* to take his Leave of him; *Magor* ſent divers of his Nobles unto him, to comfort him, with all the beſt Offers and Speeches which any Subject might deſire from ſo mighty a Monarch. Which, when the Nobles had delivered unto him, he made Anſwer in this Manner: My Lord *Magor* is a great Monarch to command upon Earth, but there is a more omnipotent Monarch, which hath abſolute Command and Power in Heaven and Earth. You all know, I was an Oppoſer, an Enemy, a Contemner of all Deity, and againſt that omnipotent Majeſty of Heaven. He hath now ſhewed and manifeſted his Power and Juſtice upon me, who now lie in Torment, every Minute of an Hour expecting to die. What I would not acknowledge in my Life, I am conſtrained to acknowledge and confeſs upon my Death, for we who live at Random, and ſpeak at large in our Lives, when Death worketh Nature's Diſſolution, we are then compelled to change our former Opinions, and to acknowledge our former Errors. I was

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an Atheiſt; by my own Experience I dare, and can aſſure you, what is one of the greateſt Cauſes of Atheiſm: Wicked Lives do wiſh there were no God to puniſh their Offences after this Life, and therefore do flatter themſelves in their Life; they frame to themſelves all the Reaſons they can deviſe, to perſuade themſelves there is no God. But, my Lords, there is no Atheiſt, which dare, at the Hour of his Death, maintain and defend that Doctrine of Atheiſm, which he did in Life, for Nature itſelf doth conſtrain them to a terrible Recantation at the Hour of Death, as you may now behold a grievous Example in me: What would not I give? What would not I do, my Lords, if I might have longer Time of Life to acknowledge and confeſs freely and plainly that Godhead, which formerly I have, with Scorn and Malice, ſo wickedly denied? who would have imagined that I, being a Soldier, ſhould not rather have died upon ſome honourable Wound, given by Sword or Lance; than ſo ſhamefully to die upon the Plucking of one Hair from my Breaſt; this Kind of Death, as it is moſt ſhameful to me, ſo it doth more manifeſt and illuſtrate the Divine Power to be moſt omnipotent and miraculous. My Lords, my vital Powers do fail me, I can ſpeak no more, only this for a Farewel, which, I pray you, deliver alſo to my great Sovereign *Magor*, Do you all fly and take heed of *Atheiſm*, ſeek out, with all the Care and Diligence you can, the Knowledge of the only true and omnipotent God; dare not live thoſe wicked Lives, nor maintain thoſe horrible Opinions whilſt you are in Health, which, as you ſee moſt manifeſtly in me, are ſo terrible and horrible at this Hour of my Death. Having ended theſe Words, this mighty Prince died.

From *Magor*'s Country, we ſailed towards other Iſlands, and arrived at an Iſland called *Zeloon*, which Iſland yieldeth Cinnamon, and other Spices, in great Abundance: It yieldeth alſo Pearls, Rubies, Saphires, Garnets, and ſundry other precious Stones.

From *Zeloon*, we arrived at an Iſland called *Sumatra*, which yieldeth Pepper, Gold, Benjamin, Camphire, with ſundry other rich Commodities. Afterwards we ſailed to *Patanie*, an Iſland governed by a maiden Queen.

From this we arrived at *Japan*, which is one of the greateſt and goodlieſt Iſlands in the World, having great Store of gold Mines, and of Silver; they have Silver of three Sorts, all unſtamped; they have ſmall Plate, which goeth in the Market for buying of Victuals; they have other Pieces of Plate unſtamped, of finer Silver, and that goeth in the Country to buy all other Commodities; they have a third Sort of Plate, finer Silver than any *Spaniſh* Money, and this is carried away by Strangers.

This Country is governed by an Emperor, who hath under him ſixty-two Kings. The Revenues of this Emperor are infinite, a great Part raiſed by Rice. The People of this Country are proud and haughty, very warlike, yet exceeding obedient to their Emperor, and the Kings to whom they are Subjects. They are very kind to Strangers. Juſtice, in this Country, is ſevere without Partiality. Thieves are not impriſoned, but preſently executed. If a Murther be committed, and the Murtherer eſcape, he, who apprehendeth him, hath three-hundred Pounds given him upon the Delivery of the Murtherer; ſo that few or none of the Murtherers eſcape preſent Execution. In this Country, a Man may walk without Danger, all Hours of the Night, ſo he does not miſbehave himſelf. If any Controverſy ariſe betwixt Party and Party, it is forthwith decided; their Laws are *Leges talionis*, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, and Life for Life. They worſhip and pray all to a Saint, called *Ameda*, whom they eſteem to be a Mediator betwixt God and them. When a Soldier dieth, they are perſuaded he goeth preſently to *Ottango Fatechman*, the God of War.

A Para-

A Paradox: Proving the Inhabitants of the Iſland, called *Madagaſcar*, or *St. Lawrence* (in Things temporal) to be the happieſt People in the World.

I Confeſs (worthy Sir) that I have undertaken an Argument, which, at the firſt Sight, will ſeem to moſt Men idle and impertinent; although I might anſwer for my Excuſe, that I was therefore idle, becauſe I would not be idle; for it may be objected unto me: Will you take upon you to prefer this poor, naked, and ſimple ignorant People, before the rich, gallant, underſtanding Men of *Europe*. Theſe are naked, we are cloathed; theſe are poor and miſerable, we are rich and wealthy; theſe are ſimple Innocents, we have Hearing and Experience of many Things, wherein they are altogether ignorant.

All this I confeſs to be true; yet let us examine their Defects, which are ſuppoſed to conſiſt in their Nakedneſs, Poverty, and Simplicity. As for their Nakedneſs, I hold them therefore happy, as approaching neareſt to the greateſt Perfection of Mankind. For *Adam* in the State of Innocency was naked; Sin and Apparel entered both together, thoſe Fig-leaves being ſewed together, for a Veil or Covering to hide his Filthineſs and Deformities, as his vain Heart conceived, from the Eye of Heaven: For as a Painter or Statuary, having limned a curious Piece, or carved a goodly Image, doth take a great Delight in the Sight of it, as of his Maſter-Piece; for if it ſhould by ſome Accident become ſpotted, or blemiſhed, he will delight no more in the Beholding of it, but is aſhamed of his Work every Time he looks upon it, and will therefore either caſt it aſide, or hide and cover it out of his Sight.

So, when this admirable Piece of Work, this Perfection of Nature, this Maſter-piece, this Epitome of the World, this Image of the Deity, Man, was ſpotted and blemiſhed by Sin, it grieved the Almighty, to ſee his Image ſo defaced in him; who therefore did cloath him, as it were, to hide and cover him out of his Sight.

Apparel is but like unto ſo many Plaiſters and Rollers, to cover our Sores and Deformities; or like maſking Suits wherein we act, not what we are, but what we ſeem to be; it is the Outſide that deceives us, and, by a juggling Trick, makes us take that for a brave Man, which is a Piece of Shreds, a mere Thing of a Taylor's Faſhioning.

For Example, put the ſpruce Gallant into a contemptible Habit, and what is he then? A poor, miſerable Wretch, in the World's Opinion, which judgeth by the outward Appearance, and ſo eſteemeth him. But the ſame Man he was? No, he is a ragged Rogue, a tattered Knave. Again, put ſuch a Rogue, or Knave, into the Accoutrement of a Gallant, let him be ſcarlified and beveriſed; let his Jupoon be carbonadoed, to diſcover his damaſk Purpoint, or his embroidered Camiſe; arm his Side with Steel, his Heels with Iron, and his Head with Feather; and then, like *Nebuchadnezar*'s Image, every Man is ready to adore him; as Will it pleaſe your Worſhip to command me any Service? I will wait upon your Worſhip; it is right as your Worſhip ſays. And all this While, we reverence nothing but a Suit of Cloaths, which theſe happy People, happy in this Want, judiciouſly contemn. Apparel to them is a Burthen, an Impediment, a very Diſeaſe; they care not for it, they count it as an unneceſſary Bundle, and know that it will make them dull, heavy, and effeminate. They prefer the good Conſtructure of the Limbs, and Lineaments of the Body, which they have by Nature, before all our artificial, bombaſted Patches. We wonder at them, how they can go naked; but they wonder more at us, how we can endure to go packed up in a Fardle of Clouts ſewed together. We are bound up in Priſon, whilſt they are free, and at Liberty: We are ſtifled up in our Sweat and Stink, whilſt the Exhalations of their Vapours offend them not. Nor doth the Coldneſs of the Air hurt their naked Bodies, more than it doth our naked Faces; it was our evil Cuſtom that cloath-

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ed us, and their Innocency and Freedom of Nature that keeps them naked.

For an Inſtance of the Premiſes, I will only call to your Remembrance the Behaviour of the *Raſſee*, or Governor *Andrapela*, at that Time, when he, with his Followers, were invited by Captain *Weddel*, a-board the Ship *; the Captain ſeeing him naked, did judge it to be rather by a forced Neceſſity, than a free Election, and cauſed a Suit of his own Apparel to be given him, which he knew not what to do with when he had it: Being told, that they would defend him, and keep him warm, he ſaid that he had no Need of them, and that they would be but a Trouble to him: For, ſaid he, I can pierce them through with my Lance. At laſt, with much ado, they were put on; but their Putting on put him into ſuch a Fear and Agony, as if they had been ſo many Fetters and Manicles laid upon him. He looked as if he had been aſhamed of himſelf, earneſtly intreating the Captain that he might be ſet a-ſhore, expreſſing, in his Countenance, a great deal of Grief and Diſcontent, to be, as he thought, ſo diſcourteouſly dealt withal. The Barge being manned, I went a-ſhore with him, to obſerve his Behaviour; and can teſtify, that he no ſooner ſet Foot on Land, but he threw away his Suit, flinging his Doublet into one Place, his Hoſe into another, and at laſt he tore his Shirt from his Back, as if it had been poiſoned with the Blood of *Neſſus*, the Centaur; and then, fetching two or three Friſks, he expreſſed a great deal of Joy, that he was freed from that Bondage and Impriſonment.

As for ourſelves, we are compelled (ſo miſerable and poor we are) to be beholding to the unreaſonable Creatures for our Raiment, robbing one of his Skin, another of his Wool, another of his Hair; nay, not ſo much as the poor Worms do eſcape us, whoſe very Excrements we take to cover us withal, while they, in the mean Time, are nothing beholding unto us? Was Nature a Mother to them, and a Stepdame to us? No, but, as a kind and loving Mother, ſhe hath ſufficiently provided for us. It is our own luxurious Effeminacy, that has ſtripped us out of our natural Simplicity, and cloathed us with the Rags of Diſſimulation. Let us conſider the natural Beauties of all the Plants, Fruits, and Flowers; they have no artificial Coverings, yet they ſo far exceed Man in Beauty and Magnificence (the Lilly in particular, Truth, itſelf, hath ſpoken it) that *Solomon*, in all his Royalty, was not cloathed like one of them.

The greateſt and ſole Monarch of the World, *Adam*, was cloathed but with the Skins of dead Beaſts, which Divines hold, was to put him in Mind of his Mortality; but now the Height of Apparel is grown to that Exceſs, that not the Skins of the Cattle, or the other Commodities accruing, but the Soil of a whole Lordſhip is ſcarce ſufficient to cloath us. Now the Taylor is become the beſt Surveyor; *Euclid* might have ſpared his Pains in Geometry, he can meaſure all our Lands by his Yard-wand. And what are the Effects of this monſtrous Pride in Apparel, but the Ruin of many noble Families, the Decay of Hoſpitality, the Uſhering in of Oppreſſion, Bribery and Extortion, Theft, Murder, Couſening and Deceit, and, in the End, Beggary; or, which is worſe, a Death with Ignominy.

Now, for Pride, ſuch is the Happineſs of theſe People, that they know not what it means; here is no Man that reſpecteth another the better for his Outſide, but for his inward Virtue, and natural Endowments. If he have but a Clout to cover his Privities, he thinks himſelf ſufficiently appareled.

Concerning their Poverty, I do confeſs, indeed, that to be poor is to be miſerable, contemptible, and wretched; a very Abject of Men, a Reproach to his Kindred, and a Shame to his Friends; but if you admit this Definition of Poverty, which I dare aver to be a true one (Poverty is a Want of all Neceſſaries uſeful for this preſent Life) and if I can prove that they want no neceſſary Thing for the Uſe of this preſent Life, I hope there is no Man that will judge them poor, but will pronounce us poor, who are always complaining of Want, and them rich, which, in their imagined Poverty, expreſs no Token of Diſcontent.

True it is, that they have not ſo many ſuperfluous Things as we have, and therein are they happy. When *Diogenes* came by Chance into a Fair, and ſaw ſo many Toys and Baubles to be ſold, he brake out into theſe Words:

Oh, how happy am I, that have no Want of any of theſe Things! And, upon a Time, to

* Aboard the *Charles*, then riding in *Auguſtine Bay*.

ſhew how deſpicable unneceſſary Things are, he threw away his Diſh, becauſe he ſaw another lap Water out of the Hollow of his Hand.

Theſe People know, that Nature is contented with a little; and that it is not theſe outward Things, which make the Poſſeſſor any Thing the better. They know that the inordinate Deſire of Riches is the Root of all Miſchief, a raging famiſhed Beaſt, that will not be ſatisfied; a bottomleſs Gulf that cannot be filled; a very Dropſy, wherein, by Deſire of Drink, a Man may ſooner break his Bowels, than quench his Thirſt.

They know that they are gotten with Labour, Anxiety, and Care; kept with continual Fear, Suſpicion, and Watchfulneſs; and loſt with extreme Grief and Deſpair.

As for Gold, the Soul of the World (as I may call it, for it giveth Life, Motion, and Action to all) theſe People know it not; or do they know it, they regard it not; at leaſt, I am ſure, they value it not. Happy People, unto whom the Deſire of Gold hath not yet arrived: But it may be objected here, that although they reſpect not Gold, yet they are covetous of red Beads. It is true, they affect Ornaments, not as Incumbrances; for them as whilſt we lie, as it were, chained and manicled in golden Fetters, they adorn themſelves with them, as with Jewels; only here is the Difference, they covet red Stones, and we deſire a refined Earth, almoſt of the ſame Colour. We think them Fools, becauſe they give us an Ox for a few Beads; but they account us greater Fools to part with ſuch Jewels for ſo ſmall a Value; for Opinion of Men, not their Virtue, that makes them to be dear, or of ſmall Price.

Thoſe red Beads, which peradventure we value, but at Six-pence, they may rate at ſix Pounds. But ſuppoſe, that they ſhould ſee us give the Price of twenty Oxen, bought at the deareſt Market in *Europe*, for one white Stone, of the ſame Bigneſs; would not they laugh at our extreme Folly? And yet, when it is bought, they will not give you a *Calabaſh* * of Milk for it, though there is no more Virtue in the one, than there is in the other †; yet the offenſive Condition of the Diamond is notoriouſly exceeding the Cornelian, for the Powder of the Diamond, taken inwardly, is almoſt mortal Poiſon, and corrodes the Stomach, as learned Phyſicians have obſerved, who never could accuſe the undervalued *Cornelian* of ſuch a venomous Quality.

The Golden Age, ſo much celebrated by ancient Writers, was not ſo called; from the Eſtimation, or Predomination, that Gold had in the Hearts of Men; for in that Senſe, as one ſaid wittily,

Aurea Saturni redierunt ſæcula, nam nunc
Auro venit honos, conciliatur Amor.

This may be truly called the Age of Gold,
For it, both Honour, Love, and Friends are ſold.

But, from the Contempt thereof, then Love and Concord flouriſhed; then Rapine, Theft, Extortion and Oppreſſion were not known; which happy Age theſe People do at this Preſent enjoy. But when Men begin to dive into the Bowels of the Earth, to make Deſcents, as it were, down into Hell, to fetch this glittering Ore, from the Habitations of Devils, and terreſtrial Goblins, with it came up Contention, Deceit, Lying, Swearing, Theft, Murder, and all the ſeven capital Sins; as Pride, Covetouſneſs, Wrath, Gluttony, and the reſt; ſo that we muſt needs confeſs, that it had been happy for us, if Gold had never been known.

For the Attaining whereof, what Labours, what Sorrow, and what Dangers do we endure? We are contented daily to expoſe ourſelves to a thouſand Perils, to ſuffer a thouſand Injuries, in hope to enjoy it; and yet ſcarce one, in a Thouſand, attaineth to the End of his Labour.

For this do we ſuffer a voluntary Exile from our native Country; for this are we contented to be impriſoned in a naſty Ship, to expoſe our Lives to the tempeſtuous Fury of the mercileſs Elements, and to expoſe our Bodies to the Rage of the Enemy's thundering Ordnance, where, through Heats, Cold, Hunger, Thirſt, Watching, ill Lodging, bad Diet, infected Air, and a thouſand other Inconveniences, we not only endanger our Lives every Minute, but ſometimes loſe them.

But grant that we do eſcape all theſe Perils, and obtain in ſome Meaſure what we have ſo dearly purchaſed, it will be ſo confeſſed, there

* A Gourd. † This I have tried, by offering them a *Diamond* and a red Bead; and they have taken the Bead, and refuſed the *Diamond*.

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is more Care and Danger in the Keeping of them, than in the Attaining of them.

For this do Thieves lie in wait to rob us, Friends to entrap us, and our Enemies to betray us: Nay, ſuppoſe we do eſcape all theſe outward Caſualties, our inward Vices, our diſordered Affections, and our evil Concupiſcences, do all threaten to ruin us.

The Conſideration hereof cauſed the Lady *Catharine* * (who out of her own Experience, had tried both Fortunes) that if it were put to her Choice, to ſuffer the Extremity of Fortune in Proſperity or Adverſity; ſhe would chuſe Adverſity, becauſe the former was never without Danger, nor the latter, without Comfort.

From their Poverty, I come in the laſt Place to ſpeak of their Simplicity, which (as the ſimple uncompounded and unmixed Elements are pureſt) is an Argument, if not of their Freedom from Corruption, yet that it doth not tyranniſe over them, and that they enjoy the happieſt Condition, which Mankind can live in; out of Doubt, had our firſt Parents been contented with that Simplicity of Eſtate, they were at the firſt created in, and not have been ſo curious in the Knowledge of forbidden Myſteries, they had not purchaſed the Wrath of God upon themſelves and their Poſterity.

But let us ſee wherein their Ignorance and Simplicity doth conſiſt; it may be objected, that they are ignorant of the Uſe of the Creatures, which we have attained to, and of many Arts, that we profeſs, and that they are ſimple in all their Actions.

For, firſt, their Houſes are but ſimple Sheds made with a few Boughs heaped together (in Compariſon of which) and are ſtately Palaces.

That their Diet is groſs, and ill cooked; that they eat their Meat half raw and badly dreſſed; whereas our Tables are furniſhed plentifully, with ſundry Delicacies, curiouſly dreſſed by the Art of Cookery, and that with great Variety.

That their Drink is Water ſimply, which is common to them and their Beaſts alike, whilſt we are ſerved with all Kinds of pleaſant Wines, and other artificial aromatick Drinks.

That their Simplicity appeareth in their Ignorance of many Sciences, wherein the Well-being of a Commonwealth doth conſiſt; as the Art of Navigation, by Means whereof, we are able to viſit the remoteſt Parts of the World, to tranſport our own Commodities to them, and to import theirs to the Inriching of ourſelves; as alſo, that they know not Military Art, nor the Uſe of Powder and Shot; all which are Evidences of their ſtupid Ignorance, both in theſe and all other Sciences.

What an Heat do theſe ſmall Coals caſt? What a terrible Shew do theſe poor Anticks make? They are juſt like the Pageants or the Galley-foiſts, upon the Lord Mayor's Day; deface their Paintings, rip of the Canvas, thou wilt find nothing in them, but a few rotten Sticks, in the one, and a trimmed Dung-boat of the other.

Let us compare them together by the Square of Reaſon, and we ſhall find their Defects, in theſe Things, to be a main Teſtimony of their Happineſs, and on the Contrary, our Exceſs herein the Cauſe of our Miſery and Wretchedneſs.

And firſt for their Buildings, they are ſuch as beſt ſuit with their free Eſtate and Condition, uſing them but as Tabernacles for the Preſent, and changing them according to the Quality of the Seaſon, and Goodneſs of the Soil. We may commend the Wiſdom of the Stork, and Swallow, for this Cauſe.

Theſe Men fear not the Oppreſſion of a covetous Landlord, nor the Danger of a cracked Title; his Quarter's Racked-rent rends not his Sleep, nor takes he Care for the Renewing of his old Leaſe; the Breaking in of Thieves he fears not, for he hath nothing to loſe; and the Surpriſe of Enemies he regards not, for if they be not ſtrong enough for Encounter, they can ſuddenly remove themſelves to a Place of more Security.

I have ſeen a Town, conſiſting of above one hundred Families, and all of them buſied about their ſeveral Employments: Some about their Cattle, ſome making of Lances, and Darts, and ſome weaving of Cotton, to make their Aprons, when upon a ſudden, ſuſpecting us as Enemies, in the Space of Half an Hour, they have planted and removed their Dwellings.

The Women carrying their Implements for dreſſing their Food, and their young Infants; their Children driving away the Cattle, and the reſt of their People as a Guard unto them, with their Darts, and Lances, ſome in Front, ſome in Flank, and the reſt in the Rear †; when

* Dowager to King *Henry the Eighth.*

† The Cauſe of their Removal was the Coming a-ſhore of one with a Fowling-piece, to kill Fowl for the Captain.

again we having underſtood the Cauſe of their Departure, with a little Perſuaſion, they returned and ſuddenly replanted themſelves, and every Man quietly ſettled himſelf to his Buſineſs as before, without any Noiſe, Tumult, or Uproar, all which was done in the Space of an Hour.

Whereas we, like ſo many wild Beaſts, can hardly be forced out of our Dens, except Famine, Sword, or Fire do compel us. And then, oh, what Lamentation, what Exclamation, and grievous Complaints do we make!

Yet what are our Houſes, but ſo many ſtrong Priſons, wherein the Owner lies bound in ſeveral Actions of Debt, which I forbear to particulariſe; and although he walk abroad ſometimes, he doth but trail his Fetters after him, and is bound to keep within the Rule.

He muſt endure Diſcommodity of evil Neighbours, the Unhealthfulneſs of the Situation, which theſe happy People can avoid at their Pleaſure without much Pudder or Turmoil.

And laſtly, ſuppoſe that one of our Houſes ſhould take Fire, by Accident or otherwiſe, then what Paſſion? What Rage? What ungoverned Fury, do we fall into? Oh, I am undone for ever, Oh, I have loſt that Cheſt, that Box of Writings, that Caſket of Jewels, out alas! I am undone; what ſhall I do? Nay, we are ſo far out of ourſelves, and tranſported with Fury, that, as if the black Chambers of Death were not to be found otherwiſe, we ſometimes lay violent Hands upon ourſelves, and increaſe the Danger of an eternal Death, to prevent a temporal Dereliction.

Whereas, on the Contrary, if any of their Houſes happen to be on Fire, he is not moved at all with it, but can patiently ſtand by, and warm himſelf at the Flame, and ſay, Here is a good Fire, I find much Comfort by it. This is the laſt Benefit my Houſe can do me, and in this Point, they are happier than we are.

Their DIET.

As for their Food, it may be objected, that it is but coarſe and ſimple; for Defence whereof, I might anſwer, that it is therefore the more healthful, and agreeable to Nature, who is beſt pleaſed with Meats of ſimple Qualities. But it is further objected, that it is ſluttiſhly dreſſed, tranſeous and loathſome. How know we that? Becauſe we love it not, is it therefore unwholeſome? One Man loveth no Fiſh, another no Cheeſe, another no Fleſh; which are not only hurtful, but Poiſon to their Conſtitutions. Should we therefore infer, that Fiſh, Cheeſe, or Fleſh, are Poiſon; ſuch Judges are we of their Food, which beſt agreeth with their Conſtitutions, and preſerveth them in Health, Strength, and Vigour; for they eat not, but for Neceſſity, knowing no other Sauce, than the *Lacedemonian* Sauce, Hunger; eating rather for Preſervation of Life, than Delight, or Luxury; whilſt we in our Diet are ſo voluptuous, *that we even dig our Graves with our Teeth* (as the *French* Proverb hath it) the whole World being ſcarce ſufficient to make a *Bacchanalian* Sacrifice for that Deity, the Belly: *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Indies*, yea, and the *Molucca's*, muſt be ranſacked, to make Sauce for our Meat; whilſt we impoveriſh the Land, Air, and Water, to inrich a private Table. Thus we live, as if we were born to no other End, but by Gluttony and Surfeiting to oppoſe Nature, dull the Spirits, ſubvert the animal Faculties, and heap upon ourſelves an innumerable Company of Diſeaſes, it being a Maxim amongſt our *European* Phyſicians, that Gluttony hath killed more than the Sword. Whereas, to the Contrary, ſuch is the Temperance of theſe People, that I can ſcarce ſee one ſick or diſeaſed among them.

Now for Wine, the Cheriſher of the Heart, the Expeller of Cares and Sorrows, the Reviver of the Spirits, and the Infuſer of Valour and Courage, theſe People know it not; and herein I eſteem them (whatever our Epicures think) moſt happy. For when I conſider the dangerous Effects thereof, as namely, how it confoundeth our Reaſon, diſturbeth our Senſes, dulleth our Underſtanding, conſumeth our Memory, depraveth our Judgment, and finally tranſformeth us from Men to Beaſts: I know not whether I ſhould bewail our own miſerable Condition, or applaud their happy Eſtate.

Heretofore, in our Country of *England*, all foreign Wines were ſold in Apothecaries Shops, for the Relief of the Sick, Weak, and Aged; then Phyſicians walked on Foot, for the Service of God's People; but when it once came to be ſold publickly in Taverns, then they rode on Horſeback like Princes; the Excuſs of Wine being a main Upholder of theirs; thence proceed Fevers, Convulſions, Epilepſies, Vertigo's, Lethargies, Gouts, and all Exotick Diſeaſes, unknown to our Anceſtors.

Beſides, what horrible and execrable Actions hath it not perpetrated? What Sacrileges, what Rapes, what Murders, have not been committed

ted by the Exceſs of Wine? The Examples of this Kind are infinite, and the Conſideration thereof moved ſome Kings and Princes * to prohibit, and lay great Mulcts and Penalties upon them which uſed it, though with Moderation; knowing that it tranſporteth Men into all unjuſt Actions, and transformeth them into Beaſts.

Where, to the Contrary, Water produceth no evil Effects; for it aſſwageth Thirſt, refreſheth the Spirits, abateth Choler, quickeneth the Senſes, and temperately doth humect and moiſten the inward Parts of the Body. And, had not the Diſtemperature of our Parents, our evil Education, and our natural Corruptions prevailed againſt us, we might have enjoyed the like Happineſs which theſe People poſſeſs.

And may not their Ignorance, in the Art of Navigation, be deſervedly accounted a Happineſs? Certainly, by this Means they are not contaminated with the Vices and evil Cuſtoms of Strangers, when we have derived to ourſelves, with our Commerce with foreign Nations, with their Wares and Commodities, their Vices and evil Conditions; as our Drunkenneſs and Rudeneſs from the *Germans*; our Faſhions and Factions from the *French*; our Inſolence from the *Spaniards*; our *Machiavillianiſm* from the *Italians*; our Levity and Inconſtancy from the *Greeks*; our Uſury and Extortion from the *Jews*; our Atheiſm and Impiety from the *Turks* and *Moors*; and our voluptuous Luxury from the *Perſians* and *Indians* †; which, perhaps, might have paſſed without Cenſure by natural Men, had not we been infected, by this Means, with ſome Diſeaſes of the Body, as well as Corruption of the Soul. Beſides, to balance the Account, what are our Ships fraught withal, but with Toys and Vanities, which we might well be without, and ſerve but as *fomenta luxuriosa*, Stirrers up of Pride, Luxury, and Wantonneſs; for which Cauſe only, ſome Nations ‡ are forbidden to have any Commerce or Traffick with Strangers, leſt they ſhould be infected with their Vices and evil Cuſtoms.

Beſides, thoſe happy People have no Need of any foreign Commodity, Nature having ſufficiently ſupplied their Neceſſities, wherewith they remain contented. But it is we that are in Want, and are compelled, like famiſhed Wolves, to range the World about for our Living, to the Hazard both of our Souls and Bodies; the one by the Corruption of the Air, the other by the Corruption of Religion.

Their ARMS.

As for their Ignorance in the Military Profeſſion, though they be not trained up in the Practice of thoſe Arms our Moderns have lately invented, they retain the Uſe of thoſe Weapons, which have been *in Uſe from* all Antiquity, I mean, the Lance and Dart; wherein they have attained to ſuch Perfection, that therein, I believe, no Nation in the World doth equal, I am ſure cannot exceed them. But you will ſay, they want defenſive Armour, and Places of Strength and Retirement. It is true, they have no other Armour than their own Valour; nor Forts, but Fortitude and Courage; who, like the *Parthians*, fight flying, making their Retreat as dangerous to the Enemy as their firſt Encounter.

And laſtly, for the Uſe of Powder and Shot, and the Managing of great Ordnance, whereof they are altogether ignorant: Herein they are happy alſo, above all other Nations; it being one of the moſt damnable Inventions that ever was forged in the Devil's Conclave; againſt the Fury whereof neither the Courage of the Valiant, nor the Strength of the Mighty can prevail; ſo that if *Hercules* himſelf, whom the Poets falſly, or *Sampſon*, whom the Scriptures truly deliver for the ſtrongeſt of Men, were living in theſe Times, a Child might kill them with a Piſtol. Let us examine the Invention, State, and Progreſs of this pernicious and cruel Engine.

All Writers do agree ‖, that a *German* Monk was the firſt Inventor of the Materials thereof; and, as it is thought, not without the Devil, to ſhew his Hatred to Mankind. The firſt Invention was but rude and ſimple, but Time and the Wickedneſs of Men have added to the firſt Project, even to the Mounting them upon Wheels, that they might be the eaſier tranſported, and run, as it were, to the Ruin of Mankind. From hence hath proceeded theſe Monſters of Cannons, and double Cannons, and Cul-

* As the *Turkiſh* Emperor, and all the *Eaſtern* Princes.

† As the Pox, brought into *England*, by the firſt Diſcovery of *America*.

‡ As the *Chineſe*, who will ſuffer no Stranger to come into their Country. *N. B.* The *Chineſe* have altered this Law ſince this Author's Time.

‖ *Pareus*, lib. xi. in Præf.

verins,

verins, theſe furious Baſiliſks and Murtherers, thoſe fiery Falcons and Sakers; wherein it ſeems the Inventors knew well what they did, when they impoſed on them the Names of Snakes, Serpents, and ravenous Birds; the very Names of them being terrible, and apt to beget in us a Horror and Deteſtation of them. I forbear to ſpeak of leſſer Engines, but of greater Danger; as, the Dagger and Piſtol, which may be concealed in a Man's Pocket, wherewith many have been treacherouſly ſlain without any Prevention. Out of this miſerable and cruel Magazine have iſſued theſe Mines, Counter-mines, Fire-pots, Fire-pikes, Oranges, Granado's, Hedge-hogs, Petards, and the like; a moſt curſed Invention, wherein the Malice of Man to Man is grown to that Height, whom we ought to love as our Brother; that ſuch, as can invent the moſt wicked, cruel, and execrable Project to deſtroy Men withal, are held the moſt worthy to receive the greateſt Honour, Reſpect, and Reward; and now, if ever, it may truly be ſaid, *Homo homini Dæmon*; that is, *One Man is a Devil to another.*

All Inventions, as they are but the Imitations of Nature, do ever fall ſhort of the Pattern; but in this they have exceeded Nature. Take it thus briefly: The Thunder and Lightning, which theſe *Salmonians* would imitate, tranſcend the other in Fury and Violence; for the Thunderbolt, as natural and accidental, falleth ſometimes on a Tree, Mountain, a Tower, ſeldom on a Man; but this infernal Engine, guided by the Malice of Man, aims only at Man, to whoſe Deſtruction it is wholly directed. There are ſome Countries, that by Reaſon of the Coldneſs of the Climate, as *Ruſſia*, *Tartary*, *Greenland*, at certain Seaſons of the Year, are exempt from Thunder. But no Country or Seaſon can privilege the Inhabitants from the Fury of this pernicious Engine. The Thunderbolt, by the Means of the Lightning, and Noiſe in the Air, giveth ſome Warning to Men, to avoid the enſuing Danger; but this thundereth in Striking, and ſtriketh in Thunder, ſending the mortal Bullet, as ſoon into our Bowels, as the Sound into our Ears. Therefore, we have good Reaſon to deteſt the Author of this ſo pernicious and damnable an Invention.

And here I ceaſe not, preſuming to adviſe Kings and Princes (this being but a Paradox) in the Uſe of the Inſtrument (for I know it to be as well defenſive as offenſive) but magnifying the Mercies of God towards this People, whoſe Simplicity hath herein made them more happy than our too dear bought Knowledge hath advantaged us.

A moſt learned and eloquent Speech, ſpoken or delivered in the Honourable Houſe of Commons at *Weſtminſter*, by the moſt learned Lawyer, *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; Recorder of *Great Yarmouth*, and Burgeſs of the ſame, on the Thirty-firſt of *July*, 1647, taken in Short-hand by *Nocky* and *Tom. Dunn*, his Clerks, and reviſed by *John Taylor*.

This was a fictitious Speech, publiſhed in the Year 1679, *intended to expoſe the Bombaſt of the rebellious Speakers, as well as the real Misfortunes, which the Nation laboured under, by the Uſurpation, in thoſe Times of Anarchy and Rebellion.*

Mr.

Mr. *Speaker*,

I Know not how to ſpeak, I know no Man weaker than myſelf, who do acknowledge, I am as unfitting to ſpeak in this honourable Aſſembly, as *Phormio* was to prattle an Oration of War's Diſcipline to the great Soldier *Hannibal*, in the Preſence of King *Antiochus*; yet out of the Debility of my Knowledge, the Inability of my Learning, the Imbecillity of my Judgment, the Nobility of this conſcript Senate, the Mutability of their Cenſures, the Inſtability of Opinions, the Probability of Offending, the Volubility of Scandal, and the Impotency of my Utterance, I have (maugre all theſe perillous Impediments) adventured to unboſom and diſburthen my Mind before theſe unmatchable Patriots.

Mr. *Speaker*, I am not ignorant that you are appointed in this Parliament, to be the Ear of this Kingdom, and Mouth of the Commons; and I deſire that your Hearing may not take any Offence againſt my Words; nor your Tongue to retort me a Reproof, inſtead of an Applauſe.

Mr. *Speaker*, In my Introduction to Grammar, vulgarly called *The Accidence*, I found eight Parts of Speech, which is now an Introduction to me to divide my Speech into eight Parts; that is to ſay:

I. *What we have done for Religion.*
II. *What we have done for the Church.*
III. *What for the King.*
IV. *What for the Laws.*
V. *What for the Kingdom.*
VI. *What for the Subjects.*
VII. *What for Reformation.*
VIII. *What for ourſelves.*

Of all theſe in Order, as my infirm Loquacity can demonſtrate.

Mr. *Speaker*, I do not herein declare either or neither the Opinions of this honourable Aſſembly, or any Fancy of my own, but I will make plain unto you, how the Malignants eſteem of us, and into what *Odium* we are fallen amongſt foreign Nations.

Firſt, For *Religion*: They ſay we have thruſt out one Religion, and taken in two; that we have thrown down *Proteſtaniſm*, and erected *Anabaptiſm* and *Browniſm*; that by our Doctrines we do abuſe the famous Memory of Queen *Eliſabeth*, King *James*, and conſequently King *Charles*; that in their Religions they were Papiſtically minded (which their Lives and Acts have and do manifeſt the Contrary) and they ſay, it is no leſs than odious, and High-treaſon, to traduce either of thoſe deceaſed or ſurviving Princes, with ſuch falſe and ſcandalous Aſperſions.

Mr. *Speaker*, I would not be miſtaken; I ſay not my own Words, but I ſay what the Malignants ſay of my Lord *Say* and of us; they ſay, That the Proteſtant Religion was wont to be, and ought, an *inward* Robe or Veſtment, for the Souls and Conſciences of all true Believers; and that the Biſhops, ancient Fathers, and all Orthodox Divines, had a Care to keep her neat, clean, and handſome, in as ſpotleſs Integrity as a Militant Church in this imperfect Age could keep it. But they ſay, that we have made Religion an *outward* Garment, or a Cloke, which none do wear amongſt us, but Sectaries, Fools, Knaves, and Rebels. They ſay, this Cloke being, with often Turning, worn as threadbare as the publick Faith, full of Wrinckles, Spots, and Stains, neither bruſhed, ſponged, nor made clean, with as many Patches in it, as in a Beggar's Coat, kept by Coblers, Weavers, Oſtlers, Tinkers, and Tub-preachers; ſo that all Order, and decent Comelineſs, is thruſt out of the Church; all laudable Ornaments trod down and baniſhed, under the falſe and ſcandalous Terms of Popery; and, in the Place thereof, moſt naſty, filthy, and loathſome Beaſtlineſs, our Doctrines being vented in long tedious Sermons, to move and ſtir up the People to Rebellion, and traiterous Contributions, to exhort them to Murder, Rapine, Robbery, and Diſloyalty, and all Manner of Miſchief that may be, to the Confuſion of their Souls and Bodies.

All theſe damnable Villainies, our Adverſaries ſay, are the accurſed Fruits which our new moulded Linſey-wolſey Religion hath produced; for, they ſay, our Doctrine is neither derived from the Old, or New Teſtament; that all the Fathers, Proteſtant Doctors, and Martyrs, never heard of any ſuch; that *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles

Apoſtles never knew it; and, for the Book of *Common Prayer*, they ſay in Verſe:

Ten-thouſand, ſuch as we, can ne'er deviſe,
A Book ſo good as that which we deſpiſe;
The Common-Prayer *they mean: If we ſhould ſit*
Ten-thouſand Years, with all our Brains and Wit,
We ſhould prove Coxcombs all; and, in the End,
Leave it as 'tis, too good for us to mend.

And ſo much they ſay we have done for *Religion*; which is the firſt of my eight Parts of Speech; and as my Weakneſs, and your Patience will permit, I will more briefly and compendiouſly proceed to the ſecond.

Secondly, We are taxed with profane and barbarous Pollutions of the *Church*, or *Houſes*, dedicated to God's Service: They ſay, that we never built any, but have taken too much accurſed Pains to deface and pull down many, perverting the right Uſe of them into Stables, Receptacles of Strumpets, luxurious Villains, and infernal ſtinking Smokes of Mundungo at the Communion-Table, deſtroying thoſe Things, which we, with great Maturity of Judgment, Learning, and Wiſdom, ſet in Order, enacted by former Parliaments, moſt execrably ſpoiling all by the uſurped Power and Protection of this Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, It is a rigorous Medicine for the Tooth-ach to knock out the Brains of the Patient; he is no wiſe Man that takes violent Phyſick and kills himſelf, to purge a little Phlegm; nor is he a prudent Builder, if his Houſe wants ſome ſlight Repairs, will pull it down: A Man, that loves his Wife, will not put her away for a few needleſs black Patches that her Face is disfigured withal. In like Manner, if any Thing were amiſs, either Ornament, Geſture, Ceremony, Liturgy, or whatſoever might have been approved unfitting, ſcandalous, or juſtly offenſive, it is conceived it might have been removed, or reconciled, in a more Chriſtian Way than by ruinating, demoliſhing, tearing, and violently defacing all, without Regard of Humanity, Chriſtianity, or Order, either from God or Man, as too many Places in this unjointed Kingdom can moſt truly and wofully teſtify. And theſe ſweet Pieces of Service (our Adverſaries ſay) we have done for the Church.

Thirdly, Concerning our *Loyalty* and *Obedience* to the King. It is manifeſt, that we have all taken the Oath of Allegiance to his Majeſty, and that we have alſo taken Oaths and Covenants to make War againſt him. Our Enemies would fain know, who had Power to diſpenſe or free us from the former Oath, and likewiſe by what Authority the latter Covenants and Oaths were impoſed upon the Conſciences of Men. For my own Part, if there were none wiſer than myſelf, this ambiguous *Ænigma* would never be unriddled. But it is reported, that if we had kept our firſt Oaths conſcientiouſly, and not taken the ſecond moſt perniciouſly, and performed them moſt impiouſly, then we had never ſo rebelliouſly oppoſed and offended ſo gracious a Majeſty.

Mr. Speaker, Our Adverſaries do further alledge, That our *Obedience* to his Majeſty is apparently manifeſt by many ſtrange Ways: We have diſburthened him of his large Revenues, we have eaſed him of the Charge of Royal Houſe-keeping, we have freed him of paying of his Navy, we have cleared him from either repairing of (or repairing to) his ſtately Palaces, magnificent Manſions, and defenſive Caſtles and Gariſons; we have put him out of Care for Reparations of his Armories, Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery; we have been at the Coſt of keeping his Children, and moſt truſty Servants, from or for him; we have taken Order, and given Ordinances, that he ſhall not be troubled with much Money or Meat; and that his Queen and lawful Wife ſhall not ſo much as darken his Door. And we have endeavoured, by open Rebellion, to releaſe him of a moſt troubleſome Life and Reign, by hunting him like a *Partridge over the Mountains*; and by ſhooting Bullets of all Sizes at his *Perſon* for his *Majeſty*'s Preſervation, on Purpoſe to make him a glorious King in another World. We have eaſed him of a great Number of his faithful Friends, loyal Subjects and Servants, by either charitable Famiſhing, brotherly Baniſhment, liberal and free Impriſonment, Parliamental Plunder, friendly Throat-cutting, and unlawful Beheading and Hanging, or ruinating as many as we could lay Hands of, that either loved, ſerved, or honoured him.

All theſe heavy Burthens we have eaſed him of, and overladen ourſelves with the uſurped Ponderoſity of them; ſo that our Adverſaries ſay,

ſay, that the Weight of them will either break our Backs, our Necks, or ſink us for ever: And they ſay, that, ſince the World's Creation, never ſo good a King had ſo bad Subjects to uſe him ſo hardly.

Fourthly, Mr. Speaker, It is queſtioned what we have done for the *Laws:* There are ſome that are not afraid to ſay, That we have tranſformed or metamorphoſed the *Common Laws* of this Land, into the Land's common Calamities; that, inſtead of the common Benefit which the Laws in Community ſhould yield to all Men in general, we have perverted thoſe Laws to the private Profit of ourſelves, and ſome other particular Perſons. The *Civil Law* is turned into an uncivil Civil War; Blaſphemy, Atheiſm, Sacrilege, Obſceneneſs, Profaneneſs, Inceſt, Adultery, Fornication, Bigamy, Polygamy, Baſtard-bearing, Cuckold-making, and all Sorts of beaſtly Bawdry are ſo far from being puniſhed, that they are generally connived and winked at, or tolerated by us. And thoſe which ſhould be the Puniſhers of theſe groſs and crying Crimes, as Judges, Officials, Deacons, Proctors, and other Officers, theſe are derided, reviled, libelled againſt, cried down, and made a common Scoffing-ſtock of every libidinous incontinent Whore, and Whore-monger.

The *Law of God*, contained in the Decalogue or Ten Commandments, we have raſed out of the Church, not ſo much as ſuffering them to be read: And the *New Commandment*, which was the laſt that *Chriſt* commanded, *That we ſhould love one another*, we have turned that the foul contrary Way, to the Spoiling and Murdering one another. The *Law of Nature* is moſt unnaturally changed to brutiſh, heatheniſh, deviliſh, barbarous Inhumanity; Parricide, Fratricide, and Homicide, hath been, and is by us defended, maintained, and rewarded; no Affinity, Conſanguinity, Alliance, Friendſhip, or Fellowſhip, hath or can ſecure any true Proteſtant, or loyal Subject, either of his Life or Goods, Safety or Freedom. Theſe are the beſt Reports, our Adverſaries, the malignant Party, do give us.

It is farther ſaid, That we have infringed and violated the Law of *Arms* here, and the Law of *Nations* abroad; for whereas Meſſengers and Ambaſſadors have always had, and ought to have free and ſafe Paſſage, with fair and courteous Accommodation and Entertainment, which the *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Jews*, and *Cannibals* always obſerved moſt obſequiouſly and punctually: But we, contrary to them, and repugnant to *Chriſtianity*, have ſuffered Ambaſſadors to be rifled, robbed, and evil entreated. And we have cauſed his Majeſty's Meſſengers to be hanged, whom he hath moſt graciouſly ſent to us with Conditions of Peace.

By the *Vox populi*, or common Vote of thoſe People, we are pleaſed to call Malignants, Papiſts, Enemies to the *State*, with other Scandals and Epithets (which they utterly deny both in their Words and Practice:) We are juſtly taxed to be the main Incendiaries, and peſtilent Propagators, of all the Miſchiefs which this afflicted miſerable Kingdom groans and bleeds under; for they ſay, That the old Statutes of *Magna Charta* are overthrown by us, under Pretence and Colour of ſupporting them: And that, by our Votes, Ordinances, Precepts, Proclamations, Edicts, Mandates, and Commands, we have countermanded, abrogated, annihilated, aboliſhed, violated, and made void, all the Laws of *God*, of *Nature*, of *Arms*, and of *Arts* too; and, inſtead of them, we have unlawfully erected *Marſhal Law*, *Club Law*, *Stafford Law*, and ſuch lawleſs *Laws* as make moſt for Treaſon, Rebellion, Murder, Sacrilege, Ruin, and Plunder. But as for the King himſelf, we have not allowed him ſo much *Law* as a Huntſman allows a Hare. Theſe are our Enemies Words, and ſo much they ſay we have done for the *Laws*.

Fifthly, Mr. Speaker, This Queſtion or Query is, what we have done for the *Kingdom:* It is ſaid, that we have *done* and *undone* the *Kingdom*; this ancient famous flouriſhing *Kingdom*; this Envy of the World for Happineſs; this *Eden* of the Univerſe; this terreſtrial *Paradiſe*; this Abſtract of Heaven's Bleſſings, and earthly Content; this Epitome of Nature's Glory; this exact Extract of Piety, Learning, and magnanimous Chivalry; this Nurſery of Religion, Arms, Arts, and laudable Endeavours; this Breed of Men; this Wonder of Nations, formerly renowned, feared, loved, and honoured, as far as ever Sun and Moon ſhined; this *England*, which hath been a Kingdom, and a Monarchy, many hundred Years, under the Reigns of one hundred and ſixty-eight Kings and Queens; this Kingdom which hath conquered Kingdoms; that hath *India*, *Syria*, *Paleſtina*, *Cyprus*, tributary Tremblers; that hath made *France* ſhake, and *Spain* quake; that relieved and defended *Scotland* from *French* Slavery, and ſaved and protected the *Netherlands* from *Spaniſh* Tyranny.

Now have we made this *Kingdom*, that is *England*, a miſerable Slave to itſelf, an univerſal *Golgotha*, a purple Gore, *Aceldama*, a Field of Blood, a *Gehenna*, a Den of Thieves, or infernal Furies, and finally, an earthly Hell, were it not for this Difference, That *here* the beſt Men are puniſhed, and in *Hell* only the worſt are plagued; here no good Man eſcapes Torment, nor any bad Man is troubled: The King is abuſed for being good and juſt, and his true and loyal Subjects and Servants are ruined and maſſacred for their Fidelity. The *Proteſtants* are called *Papiſts*, becauſe they will not be *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and Rebels. And our Adverſaries are ſo bold to ſay, That we have plotted and laboured long to turn this glorious Monarchy into a pedling roly poly *Independant* Anarchy, and make this *Kingdom* to be no *Kingdom*; and ſo much we have done for this *Kingdom*.

Sixthly, *Mr. Speaker*, They do queſtion us what Good we have done for the *Benefit* or *Liberty* of the *Subject*: Many of them ſay, that they know too well and too ill, what and what not; they find (by lamentable Experience) that we have turned their *Liberty* into Bondage, their Freedom into Slavery, and their Happineſs into an unexampled Infelicity. Nay, it is reported, that we have found two Ways to Hell, which are, either to be Rebels, or perjured; to fight in Perſon againſt the King, and to be forſworn by a Covenant to owe him no Obedience, or dutiful Allegiance: They ſay we ſay, Tuſh, theſe are but Trifles, which may be anſwered at an eaſy Rate, a ſmall Matter will clear this Reckoning; it is no more than everlaſting Damnation, for which, *Mr. Speaker*, I am bold to make uſe of a Speech in the diſtaſteful Litany, *Good Lord, deliver us.*

The Malignants do compare this *Commonwealth* to an old Kettle, with here and there a Fault or Hole, a Crack, or a Flaw in it; and that we (in Imitation of our worthy Brethren of *Banbury*) were intruſted to mend the ſaid Kettle; but, like deceitful and cheating Knaves, we have, inſtead of ſtopping one Hole, made three or four Score; for the People choſe us to eaſe them of ſome mild and tolerable Grievances, which we have done ſo artificially, that they all cry and complain *, that the Medicine is forty Times worſe than the Diſeaſe, and the Remedy a hundred Times worſe than the Medicine. And ſo much is reported that we have done for the *Subject*.

Seventhly, *Mr. Speaker*, The Malignants Query, or Queſtion, is, what we have done for *Reformation*: What, by our induſtrious Care, and long Sitting, we have reformed; how the Service of God is by us more religiouſly, ſincerely, zealouſly, fervently, and ardently, preached or practiſed; what we have amended either in Church or Kingdom; how either the King is more honoured or obeyed than he was before this Parliament; what Good we have done this four or five Years; with what Faces can we look upon the Freeholders and Corporations in every Shire, County, City, Town, and Borough in this Kingdom, who cried us up, and with their Voices elected us to be *Knights* and *Burgeſſes*; which Way we can anſwer the ſame, for our many Breaches of that great Truſt, which they intruſted us withal? I tell you, *Mr. Speaker*, theſe are home Queſtions; and they plainly ſay, that all our Reformation is Nonconformation; and, by ſure Confirmation, true Information, certain Affirmation, we have by cunning Tranſformation turned all to Deformation: So that if our Predeceſſors and Anceſtors that are departed this Life (to a better or worſe) ſhould, or could, riſe out of their Graves, and ſee the Change, Alteration, and unmannerly Manners, that have overſpread this Church and Kingdom, they would think they were not in *England*, but either in *Turky*, *Barbary*, *Scythia*, *Tartary*, or ſome Land that is inhabited by *Infidels* or *Pagans*; for *England*, as it is, looks no more like *England*, as it was five Years ago, than a Camel, or Cockle-ſhell, are like an Owl, or a red Herring.

Eighthly and Laſtly, Briefly and compendiouſly, the Queſtion is, what we have done for *ourſelves*: We have run the Hazard of our Eſtates to be juſtly forfeited by Rebellion, againſt a juſt, merciful, and truly religious King; our Lives are liable to the Rigour of ſuch Laws as former Parliaments have enacted againſt Rebels and Traitors; and ourſelves are in Danger of perpetual Perdition, if Submiſſion, Contrition, and Satisfaction be not humbly and ſpeedily performed, or endeavoured; for we, and none but we, have altered this Kingdom's Felicity to Confuſion and Miſery; from a pleaſant mer-

* See the next Tract that follows, intituled, *Awake, O England.*

ry

ry Comedy, to a diſmal bloody Tragedy, ſufficient to fill a large Hiſtory of perpetual Memory of us and our Poſterity.

And thus, *Mr. Speaker*, have I, with as much Brevity as I could, run over my eight Parts of Speech, whereby may be perceived, how the malignant Adverſaries do eſteem of us and our Actions. I could ſpeak more than I have ſaid, and I could ſay more than I have ſpoken ; but, having done, I hold it Diſcretion to make an End.

Awake O *England :* Or the People's Invitation to King *Charles.* Being a Recital of the Ruins over-running the People and their Trades ; with an opportune Advice to return to Obedience of their Kings, under whom they ever flouriſhed.

Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat Arator ;
Enumerat Miles Vulnera ; Paſtor Oves.

" Let Mariners obſerve the Winds, and painful Ploughmen till
" their Grounds ;
" Let honeſt Shepherds feed their Flocks, whilſt Soldiers glory in
" their Wounds."

And ſo God ſave all who cry,

GOD ſave the KING.

London, Printed for *Charles Prince*, and are to be ſold at the Eaſt End of St. *Paul*'s. MDCLX.

WE *Plebeians* aſſuming the Name, not of a Houſe, but of a Kingdom of Commons, having, for twenty Years, ſtood fearfully ſtaring (like our innocent Sheep at the Barking and Howling of Dogs and Wolves) not daring to tune our Pipes of Paſtime, which to us and them were much more acceptable Muſick than the ſhrieking Trumpets and affrighting Drums, that, like Thunder, warn us to our Cottages, as in Prevention of a Storm.

We, who have been robbed of that rich Treaſure, our Liberty, and of that honeſt Freedom, whereby we drew our wholeſome Country Air with Safety, more natural to us than Parliamentary Pills or Military Lances, even we alſo find ourſelves to be in the Condition of our poor ruſtick Neighbour, who hearing herſelf abuſed, and in Danger to be ruined by her knaviſh and corrupted Lawyer, cried out to the Judge, that, in bearing ten Children, ſhe felt not ſo much Pain as at that Time ſhe did to hold her Peace, whilſt ſhe was wrongfully diveſted of

her Livelihood; therefore, our Silence breaks forth.

But our Caſe is far worſe, for ours is already gone, even all the Subſtance that we had; and being much againſt our Will waſted (not, like Prodigals, upon Harlots, who, nevertheleſs, would have ſhewed ſome Remorſe towards them they had ruined). Our Lot is rather like theirs, who, having fallen into the mercileſs Hands of Thieves and Pyrates, are left wounded and ſtripped, yet not at all regarded by our hard-hearted Landlords, or by our Leech-like Lawyers, nor yet by our uncharitable Clergy, who load us with Duty to Death, and for Example are the firſt that fly from the Trial.

Even we *Plebeians*, beholding ourſelves to be the Moral of that Emblem which preſents the *Prelate* praying for all, and the Lawyer pleading for all, and the Soldier fighting for all, and the Countryman feeding all, have ſadly found that we only, the deſpiſed Peaſants, have dearly paid for all; therefore (if Loſers have Leave to ſpeak) let no Man cenſure us, if we, being brought to the Hog's Ordinary, to beg the Huſks of them who devoured the Kernels and Subſtance of our Food, be yet denied that Relief; that we, remembering when we bore Obedience to our pious Princes, and enjoyed a heavenly Father who provided for us, do now return to him and to our gracious King, his lawful Deputy, and, with unfeigned Repentance and Humility, cry out, ſaying, *O heavenly Father, O earthly divine Sovereign, we, even we, have ſinned and rebelled againſt Heaven and againſt thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy Sons; make us yet thy Servants, O God, and O King, that ſo, our timely Repentance finding thy gracious Pardon, we may become thy Sons again.*

We now behold ourſelves to be as the Brutes in the Wilderneſs, and hoping our Lions, who by their Power, and by the Subtlety of their Fox-like Adjutants, have made themſelves beaſtial Kings over us, would, indeed, relieve and feed us according to their Promiſes and our Wants, do, on the Contrary, find and feel, that, inſtead of Help, our Hunger is increaſed; inſtead of the Liberty which they proclaimed, we languiſh in Priſons, ſo that for the Showers of Joy (after which we have long gaped) our Hearts are filled with Heavineſs, and our Tongues utter only Lamentations.

The Oil and Honey, promiſed us by *Oliver*, is turned into Gall and Bitterneſs; *Lambert*'s free Quarterings have licked up the little that was left in our Cruſes; *Lawſon* hath loſt the Honour of our Seas; and we who have ſo long feared and diſclaimed, and curſed the Papiſts, are now forced and glad to fly to a *Monk* for Safeguard, whom, nevertheleſs, we worthily bleſs; we worſhip him with our Bodies, and endow him with our own and others worldly Goods, yea, we willingly would eſpouſe him alſo, did not his *Order* forbid him to marry Kingdoms; however, we will honour him as our *Joſeph*, for his Wiſdom and Courage in preventing us from devouring each other, as undoubtedly that Famine, which we foreſee, and he moſt prudently endeavours to prevent, would bring upon us.

The World admires and derides our cauſeleſs Confuſions, beholding that the Quarrels of the moſt mighty Potentates of *Europe*, for Crowns and Kingdoms, grounded upon Juſtice and Right, are ſoon and happily compoſed, whilſt our unjuſt and unnatural *Cannibal*-confuſions are unwilling to look towards an End.

Was our Royal State and unparalleled Government the Garden which we intended to weed? Behold, our fooliſh and unſkilful Hands have, together with our glorious *Monarchs*, inſtead of calumniated evil Counſellors, plucked up our Inheritance in Law and Liberty, and ſwept away our Freedom and Safety with our *Solomon*'s beautiful and magnificent Tents; was our Religion, that goodly Corn-field, ſaid to be overrun with Tares and Thiſtles, and Cockle? Behold the ignorant Man hath been that evil Huſband-man, who, refuſing the wiſe Inſtructions or his Lord, hath maliciouſly eradicated the Wheat Root and Branch, and ſcattered over the whole Field Tares and Thiſtles, and Briars and Thorns.

Our Scriptures which inſtruct us, by the Fall of *Iſrael*'s Nation, whoſe Prophets had admoniſhed them by Judgments which they found infallible, have no where repeated to us ſuch Provocations from that People, as we have given to our God, until thoſe, when their Combinations took Counſel againſt the Son of God, and crucified the Lord of Life; and ſurely our unchriſtian Rebellion, or at leaſt theirs, which have practiſed ſuch Treaſons, have produced ſuch Effects, as no mortal Man came nearer the Sufferings of our Saviour's Humanity, than did our Royal and Divine Sovereign, crucified by Lawyers, Preachers, and Soldiers.

Our Magiſtracy and Judicatures, which are the pretended Sanctuary to our Liberty, and inheritable Intereſt to Juſtice and Right, which

by

by our ancient Laws, were founded upon God's Law, have, through Uſurpation of Power, been intruſted in ſuch viſcous and bird-limed Fingers, as none could have the Benefit of them, but ſuch as could give moſt for their Sentence, inſomuch as that, which was formerly under Condemnation or Bribery, hath lately grown to publick Sale; whereby Juſtice is become as valuable and common at Rates as Cardons at *Rome*.

We remember, that in the Beginning of our late tranſcendent Parliament (which none before it could reach in Compariſon of dangerous Iſſues, and deadly Fruits) how high the Cries went againſt Ship-money, Patents, Monopolies, illegal Impriſonments, and ſuch other Breaches into our free-born Intereſts, as appeared by the then condemning Complaints, which ſearched our Sores, to the Worth of a Sin; and yet amongſt all thoſe Lamentations, which hooded our Eyes, and deafened our Ears, whilſt our Pockets were picked, and our Wives Fingers ſtripped) we never heard of Exciſes, fifth and twentieth Parts, Sequeſtrations, Taxes and Contributions, and amongſt all theſe Oppreſſions, Gifts to maintain foreign Rebellions; but well we remember, that whilſt, we honeſtly paid our Tithes, we and our Miniſters enjoyed ſuch a double Bleſſing, as ours Souls fed upon the Food, which now they want; and our Miniſters reſted contented with their Dues, for which they returned grateful Hoſpitalities, without the new ungodly Encumbrances of Augmentations, whereby robbing *Peter* to pay *Paul*, many of our Church Doors have ſo loſt their Keys, as none have entered into them for many Years.

When we paid Ship-money, which amounted not to ſo much as one of our *Friday*-night Suppers, in the whole Year, by the Pole, we had Safeguard to our Seas, our Wool went to the Workmen, our Cloathing paſſed by the Merchants to all Parts of the World; Returns were made, of all Things we wanted at eaſy Rates, even to Richneſs, Glory and Plenty; our Navigation was as ſure as our Travel from one Market to another; our meaneſt Sea-men, who took Charge, had noble Receptions at Home and Abroad; we enjoyed our Houſes and Lands in Peace, and had no Complaining in our Streets; our Woods were guarded by Laws, and ſupplied by Plantation; our Fleets were formidable upon all Seas, and our People of all Conditions, as well Civil as Soldiery, brought Honour and Dignity to our Kingdoms.

Inſtead of theſe Rejoicings, we are filled with Howlings; our Trades are generally loſt, and there is none to give us Work; our Wool and Leather, and Corn, and Butter, and Cheeſe, are daily tranſported, and whilſt we are leſſened in our Manufactures, and Vocations and Induſtries, we are raiſed in Rents, and Food, and Taxes, and all Things belonging to our Livelihood; the Myſteries of our Crafts, and the Materials of our Manufactures, do find ſuch acceptable Receipt in foreign Parts, as unconſcionable Men have brought the Ruins of their own Country into a Trade; and thoſe Laws, which for the chief Benefit of the People, and the very Life of Trade, are made, are ſo boldly affronted, as the good Patriots, who for the Benefit of themſelves and Country, endeavour to prevent the great Damages, which come by ſuch bold Attempts, are by cunning Practices of *Clerks*, and the Remiſſineſs of ſuperior Officers, ſo diſcouraged, as that Law, which was made to defend and encourage them, is carried fully againſt them, and the Plantiffs are ſued at Law, till they have neither Cloke, nor Coat, nor Bed, nor Board, nor Houſe, but a Priſon to receive them; Widows wring their Hands, and *Orphans* lament, whilſt there is none to deliver them; every Man oppreſſeth his Neighbour, for it ſeems good in his own Eyes ſo to do, becauſe, alas, we have no *King*.

If we look into our neighbour Nations, we are the Subjects of their Mirth, and the Song of the Scornful; we (as if we were all guilty) are ſtiled Murtherers, King-killers, and the very Abjects among them trample upon us, for the blaſphemous People among us have committed ſo horrible Treaſons, as ought not once to be named among us; if we turn our Eyes and Ears from theſe diſmal Spectacles and Groans, we preſently encounter another Object of our Sorrows, the Body of our Trades is anatomiſed, diſſected, and, from the moſt intrinſick Secrets thereof, is diſcovered to Foreigners; all Workings in Wool, which together with that Material have, by the Providence of our Anceſtors, been, with all their Wiſdom, reſtrained from other Nations, are now ſo much at Liberty, and, by falſe-hearted *Engliſhmen*, made ſo familiar to Strangers, as not only our Myſteries are laid open, but our Materials are made theirs, and that Trade of Cloathing, which, in one valuable Kind or other, maintained eleven or twelve Parts of our Kingdoms, is almoſt totally loſt to

England,

England, which, for many Hundreds of Years, hath made them be both loved and feared of all other Nations.

As for our Fleets, which were formidable, and our Navigation, which was honourable throughout the World, our Ships are now daily brought into Captivity, inſomuch as, through our ſhort and improvident War, made with *Spain*, above Two-thouſand *Engliſh* Veſſels have been carried into their Ports, and all the Goods in them are made Prizes; many, who have been very able Merchants, who have not only kept Hoſpitality at Home to the great Relief of the Needy, but have built and maintained tall Ships Abroad, to the Honour and Strength of our Kingdom, and to the Increaſe of Mariners and Trade, have in theſe Times been and ſtill are brought to compound their Debts, not with more Diſrepute to their Credit than Grief to their Hearts, and Ruin to their Families.

We could launch forth into an Ocean of our Calamities, did we not hold it to be more material and timely to preſcribe Remedies, which, being like to prove a long Work by Precept, we will ſhut it up into Example: Look we, therefore, upon our neighbour Nations, among whom, though there have been long Diviſions by Claims, each thinking himſelf to be in the right, and each having the unanimous Affection and Aſſiſtance of their own Subjects, have yet thought fit, if not been forced, to compound their Differences, which they embraced with no ſmall Joy; our Caſe is more formidable, the Members of the ſame Body continue fighting againſt their natural Head, for Maintenance of which Quarrel they have too long deſtroyed each other; therefore, in Obedience to the Divine Doctrine, and in Compaſſion to yourſelves and Poſterity, dear Country, return in Duty to your lawful native Sovereign, fall to your honeſt Vocations; fear God and the King, *and meddle not with them that are given to Change*; you have dearly paid for the Knowledge of this Truth, and let not now your Obſtinacy longer deſtroy you. Let him, who hath illegally gotten any Thing by the late unnatural Wars, make Haſte and reſtore it, and learn of that holy and inſpired King *David*, *That a ſmall Eſtate, rightly gotten, is more and more proſperous than innumerable Riches of unrighteous Purcheſe or Plunder*. Tho' the *Iſraelites*, by God's Command, diveſted the *Egyptians* of their Wealth and Jewels, yet it turned but to their own Confuſion; for even their moſt holy Prieſts and Inſtructors enſnared them with the Works of their own Hands, and though he called the molten Images which he made out of their plundered Ear-rings, and other Enſigns of Pride and Luxury, their Gods which brought them out of *Egypt*, yet, doubtleſs, the Devil had ſet ſuch Idols in higher Eſteem and Honour with them than was the God of their Deliverances. Their Sufferings thereby are recorded for our Example.

In a Word, let no Man be aſhamed to return to his honeſt Vocation; if God have hitherto uſed them as his Rod, *let them not be high-minded but fear*, that the angry Father may, by the Tears, and Prayers, and Humiliations, and Returnings of Children to Duty in Expreſſion of his reciprocal Love to his Children, return alſo in Affection, and, in Sign of the ſame, caſt his *Rod* into the *Fire*, *where ſhall be Weeping, and Wailing, and Gnaſhing of Teeth*, becauſe you had not Compaſſion on your Brethren, truly penitent for their and your Sins.

Repent, dear Countrymen, and take a Heathen Poet's, Propertius, *Advice, as moſt properly becoming each Man.*

The

The Copy of an Order agreed upon in the Houſe of Commons, upon *Friday* the Eighteenth of *June*, wherein every Man is rated according to his Eſtate, for the King's Uſe.

Printed in the Year MDCXLI.

DUKES, One-hundred Pounds.
Marqueſſes, Eighty Pounds.
Earls, Sixty Pounds.
Viſcounts, Fifty Pounds.
Lords, Forty Pounds.

Baronets and Knights of the Bath, Thirty Pounds.

Knights, Twenty Pounds.

Eſquires, Ten Pounds.

Gentlemen of One-hunded Pounds *per Annum*, Five Pounds.

Recuſants of all Degrees to double Proteſtants.

Lord Mayor, Forty Pounds.

Aldermen Knights, Twenty Pounds.

Citizens fined for Sheriffs, Twenty Pounds.

Deputy Aldermen, Fifteen Pounds.

Merchant Strangers, Knights, Forty Pounds.

Common-Council Men, Five Pounds.

Livery-Men of the firſt twelve Companies, and thoſe that fined for it, Five Pounds.

Livery-Men of other Companies, Fifty Shillings.

Maſters and Wardens of thoſe other Companies, Five Pounds.

Every one free of thoſe Companies, One Pound.

Every Freeman of other Companies, Ten Shillings.

Every Merchant that trades by Sea, inhabiting in *London*, Ten Pounds.

Every Merchant Stranger that trades within Land, Five Pounds.

Every *Engliſh* Merchant reſiding in the City of *London*, and not free, Five Pounds.

Every *Engliſh* Factor that dwells in *London*, and is not free of the City, Forty Shillings.

Every Stranger Proteſtant, Handy-craft Trade, and Artificer, Two Shillings.

Every Papiſt Stranger and Handy-craft, Four Shillings.

Every Widow a third Part, according to her Huſband's Degree.

Every Judge, a Knight, Twenty Pounds.

Every King's Serjeant, Twenty-five Pounds.

Every Serjeant at Law, Twenty Pounds.

Every one of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Council, Twenty Pounds.

Every Doctor of Civil Law, and Doctor of Phyſick, Ten Pounds.

Every Biſhop, Sixty Pounds.

Every Dean, Forty Pounds.

Every Canon, Twenty Pounds.

Every Prebend, Twenty Pounds.

Every Archdeacon, Fifteen Pounds.

Every Chancellor and every Commiſſary, Fifteen Pounds.

Every Parſon or Vicar at One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, Five Pounds.

Every Office worth above One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to be referred to a Committee, to be rated every Man that may ſpend Fifty Pounds *per Annum*, Thirty Shillings.

Every Man that may ſpend Twenty Pounds *per Annum*, Five Shillings.

Every Perſon that is above Sixteen Years of Age, and doth not receive Alms, and is not formerly rated, ſhall pay Six Pence *per* Pole.

The

The Hiſtory of the Life and Death of *Oliver Cromwell*, the late Uſurper, and pretended Protector of *England*, &c. truly collected and publiſhed, for a Warning to all Tyrants and Uſurpers. By *J. H.* Gent.

London, Printed for *F. Coles*, at the *Lamb* in the *Old-Bailey*, 1663.

CHAP. I.

Shewing the Birth and Parentage, and Place of Nativity of the ſaid Oliver Cromwell.

THE unparalleled Actions of this Man have made People more curious, than otherwiſe they would be, to know his Riſe and Birth, which otherwiſe might better, to the Advantage of his Memory, have been yet obſcured and concealed; for it will neither add Praiſe nor Commendation, either to his Country or Relations; both which have publickly proteſted their Shame and their Abhorrence of him. So that, without Prejudice to his Family, who have cleared themſelves of any Participation of his Facts, and did, and do, deteſt both him and them: You may underſtand, he was the Son of *Henry Cromwell*, alias *Williams*, the younger Son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, of *Hinchingbrook*, in the County of *Huntingdon*, Knight, who ſo magnificently treated King *James* in that Place, at his Coming into *England*; who ſo loyally and affectionately loved King *Charles the Martyr*; and, who, laſtly, ſo hated and abominated this *Oliver*, his Nephew, God-ſon, and Name-ſake.

He was born at *Huntingdon*, in the Year 1599, where his Father, being a Cadet, or younger Brother, as we have ſaid, having no large Eſtate, had intermarried with a *Brewer*'s Widow, by whom he had ſome Addition of Fortune, and from her ſprung that Story of *Oliver*'s being a Brewer in *Huntingdon*. He was, from his Infancy, a luſty, active Child, and of a ſturdy rough Temper; which, to remedy, in his young Years, his Father prudently took this Courſe:

CHAP. II.

How Oliver *was educated and brought up in the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *and afterwards in* Lincoln's-Inn, *in the Study of the Law.*

ABout the Age, therefore, of thirteen or fourteen Years, his Father ſent him to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, to have him tempered and managed, by the ſevere Tuition and Diſcipline of the Univerſity; but his Tutor quickly perceived the boiſterous and untractable Spirit of his Pupil, who was more for Action than Speculation, and loved Cudgels, Foot-ball-playing, or any Game and Exerciſe, better than his Book; ſo that there was no Hopes of making him

him a Scholar, or a learned Man; and much ado there was to keep him ſo in Compaſs, that he became not an open and publick Diſhonour to his Friends; (here he was made an Actor in the Play of the five Senſes, where he ominouſly ſtumbled at a Crown, which he had alſo dreamed he ſhould once wear) whereupon he was preſently removed, his Tutor weary, and afraid of Diſgrace by him, to *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he might with leſs Imputation and Obſervance, if his Bent were ſo given, roiſter it out, and yet, without much Trouble, attain ſome Knowledge in the Laws, to qualify him for a Country Gentleman, and that little Competency his Father could leave him. But no ſuch *Rudiments* would ſink into him; he was for rougher Arguments and Pleas, Club-law; and, indeed, what Occaſion had he to know and be verſed in the Law, whoſe Deſigns, and wicked Practices afterwards, were directly oppoſite to all Laws, both Divine and Human? So that he continued not long there, but was called Home, his Father dying ſoon after, and leaving him to his Swing.

CHAP. III.

Of his Manner of Life and Converſation in the Country.

OLIVER, being come down into the Country, and growing ſturdy, and of Man's Stature, frequented all Manner of wild Company; who but he at any Match or Game whatſoever, where he would drink and roar with the rudeſt of his Companions? And when his Money, which he had ſparingly from his Mother, who yet kept the Purſe, failed him, he would make the *Victuallers* truſt him, to ſuch a Ruin of his Credit and Reputation, he being as famous for his Ranting and his Scores, as after, for his Prayers and Victories, that the Ale-wives of *Huntingdon*, if they ſaw him coming, would ſet up a Cry, Here comes young *Cromwell*, ſhut up the Doors, and ſo keep him out. But he had better Succeſs in the War, for then there was no Shutting of him out, no Gariſon or Caſtle, or Strength whatſoever, was ſufficient to debar him. But that may be imputable to the Luck of his former Atchievements, Fortune being tied at his Girdle, and keeping a conſtant Tenor with him; for, at this Age, he would make nothing of beating of Tinkers, and ſuch maſty Fellows at Quarter-ſtaff, or any ſuch Weapon they would chuſe; ſo that he was dreaded by all the Ale-drinkers, as well as Ale-wives of the Country.

CHAP. IV.

How Oliver *was reclaimed from theſe lewd Courſes, and how he joined himſelf to the preciſer Sort, and became an* Hypocritical *Convert.*

BY theſe debauched Courſes of Life, and regardleſs Thoughts how the World went, as long as Drink and Company could be had, no Matter how nor where; he had ſo endangered his ſmall Eſtate and Patrimony, and was ſo far in Debt, that he was forced to retire himſelf, and get out of the Way, and live privately, for Fear of private Arreſts and Judgments, which were brought againſt him. In this ſolitary Condition, he had Time to bethink himſelf of his Condition; and having nothing elſe to do, having played a Part at *Cambridge*, to perſonate another at Home, ſeeming very penſive and melancholy, and much reſerved in his Talk and Diſcourſe; which, from vain, and frivolous, and wild Speeches, was now altered into ſerious, and modeſt, and grave Language, and ſober Expreſſion; which, accommodated and ſet forth with a more ſtaid and ſolemn Aſpect and Geſture, made him appear to be another Kind of Perſon, having run from the one Extreme to the other, from ſtark Naught, to too Good; and it will be a Queſtion whether, by the firſt he were more deſtructive to himſelf, or by the latter, more pernicious to his Country.

This Humour ſoured him at laſt into a preciſe Puritaniſm, with whom his zealous Deſign was to ingratiate himſelf; who increaſing every Day, and being grown to a headſtrong Faction, he doubted not, but if Time ſhould ſerve,

which his daring Spirit (if he had not a Familiar) told him was a coming, to be principal Perſon among them, and howſoever, to make up his Decays on his Fortunes, by the kind-hearted Supplies and Loans of the Brotherhood, who were very proud of ſuch a Proſelyte.

In a ſhort Time after, he had learned to pray, and attained a very ready Faculty therein, which he made no Nicety to manifeſt upon all Occaſions, both in their publick and private Meetings; ſo that he was looked upon by thoſe of his godly Party, as their chiefeſt Ornament, and by the reſt of the World, as a ſtrange Wonder. This artificial Devotion did not only then advantage him, but ſerved him thereafter through the whole Courſe of his Life, and was the main Ingredient of all his Policies and Succeſſes. A Friar was an Aſs to him for Saying of Prayers, he was able to give him two for one with his Beads and by Rote, and out-ſtrip him *Extempore*.

CHAP. V.

How Oliver, *being noted for his pretended Sanctity, was choſen a* Burgeſs *of* Cambridge *for the* Long-Parliament; *and, the War breaking out, was made a* Captain *of Horſe.*

BY this ſanctimonious Vizor, and manifeſted Zeal for Reformation, which was then in every Man's Mouth, he was looked upon as the fitteſt Inſtrument to promote it in the Parliament, which the King had called in 1640, to redreſs the Grievances of the State and Church, and to ſupply his Neceſſities; and, therefore, the Puritan Faction, and his Relations by Marriage, as Mr. *Goodwin*, and alſo *Hambden* of *Buckingham*, laboured, in Election of Burgeſſes for the Town of *Cambridge*, to have him choſen. The Town was generally infected with the ſame Diſeaſe, and therefore it was no hard Matter to effect it. Sitting in Parliament, as a Member, he quickly ſaw, which Way the Stream went, and therefore reſolved to run one of the firſt with it; and therefore helped out the Noiſe and Cry for Privilege, proving a great Stickler againſt the Prerogative, and, to that End, endeavouring to widen the Breach; and made Way, by Malepertneſs of Tumults, againſt the King's Perſon and Court; inſomuch that he became conſpicuous and noted for his Averſion to the Government. The Flame of thoſe inward Burnings now breaking out, and becauſe of his Influence in his Country, and his bold, confident Spirit, he was courted with a Commiſſion (which he accepted) under the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Parliament's General, and was made a Captain of a Troop of Horſe.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Exploits Cromwell *did, in the Beginning of the War.*

HAving raiſed his Troop, he marched not preſently with the groſs and main Body of the Army, but was ordered to continue about his own Country, that ſo his own Enterpriſes might be the better obſerved, and he taken Notice of; ſo that he was a riſing Man from the very firſt Beginning of our Civil Confuſions. The firſt Service that he appeared in, was the Seizure of Sir *Henry Coniſby*, the Sheriff of *Hertfordſhire*, when, in a gallant Contempt of the Parliament, he was proclaiming the Commiſſion of Array at *St. Albans*, and Sending him, and other Gentlemen, his Aſſiſtance, to *London*; which ſudden and meritorious Exploit of his was well reſented, and highly commended by the Parliament. His next Piece of Diligence was the like Seizure of Sir *John Pettus*, and forty Gentlemen more, of the County of *Suffolk*, who were forming a Party for the King, and Securing them; by which Means, he broke the Neck of any future Deſign in that, or the next County of *Norfolk*, for the Royal Intereſt; ſo that he had brought all the Eaſtern Part of *England* to the Parliament's Subjection, by a bloodleſs and eaſy Conqueſt: But his other Victories, which were princi-

principally aſcribed to him, though they were joined with him, were very ſanguineous, and fatally cruel.

As his laſt home Employment, he was ordered to purge and to inſpect the Univerſity, wherein he proceeded with ſo much Rigour againſt that Place of his own Nurture, *&c.* it was conceived he would at laſt as mercileſly uſe his Mother, then bleeding *England:* Which Work being over, and unhappily effected, *Cromwell* was the only Man; his Prudence, Fortune, and Valour every where applauded and extolled, and he reputed for one of the moſt eminent and able Commanders in the Parliament's Army.

It was Time, therefore, now to ſhew him abroad, having armed, diſciplined, and paid his Men ſo carefully, that there was no Doubt of their prevailing upon any equal Enemy, and under the Conduct of ſo vigilant and wary a Leader, whoſe only Aim it was to keep up his Reputation to greater Undertakings. Therefore, in order to a Conjunction and Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, who were entered *England*, he was made Lieutenant-General to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who had raiſed his Army out of the aſſociated Counties, as *Cambridge*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, *Suffolk*, &c. Thoſe Armies being joined, and maſtering the Field (the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, who oppoſed them, retreating into *York*) they reſolved to beſiege that City: To the Relief whereof, Prince *Rupert* came, and forcing them to draw off from their League, he gave them Battle on *Marſton-Moor*, *July* 2, 1644. In the Beginning of the Fight, Prince *Rupert* had utterly diſcomfited the right Wing of the Army, where Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the *Scots* Horſe ſtood, and diſordered the main Body of the Foot, ſo that the Day was given for loſt, the *Scots* running and throwing down their Arms; when *Cromwell*, with his Curaſſiers, and the reſt of my Lord *Mancheſter*'s Horſe, who were placed in the right Wing, fell with ſuch Force and Fury upon the Lord *Goring*'s Brigades on the Right, that they preſently broke them in Pieces, and following their Succeſs, before the Prince returned, obtained a compleat Victory, killing no leſs than Five-thouſand Men, gaining their Camp, Bag and Baggage; and, as the Price of all, the City of *York*: Hence he acquired that terrible Name of *Ironſides*, his Troops being reported unvulnerable and unconquerable. By this Defeat, he lifted up himſelf to thoſe great Titles and Places he went through afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

A Continuance of his Succeſſes againſt his Sovereign and his Forces; his treacherous and diſloyal Dealing with his Majeſty.

THE next Field we find him in, was that of the ſecond *Newberry*, *October* 27, 1644, where, with the ſame Felicy and Valour, he had the better, on that Part of the Field, where he fought, and contributed mainly to that Piece of a Victory the Parliament Forces had there; when, to cloud and damp this riſing Martialiſt, he was articled againſt by his ſuperior Officers, for ſome Miſcarriages and Practices in the Army, to the Hinderance of the Service, which was indeed his ambitious Inſinuation into the Affection of the Soldiery; but this was never proſecuted, his Friends, the Grandees of the Independent Party, interpoſing and juſtifying him, for a godly, expert, and valiant Commander.

This Independent Faction was now grown too crafty, and had ſupplanted their Brother of Preſbytery, by new modelling the Army, turning out moſt of *Eſſex*'s Officers, and diſmiſſing all Members of Parliament from their ſeveral Commands therein; among which Number, *Cromwell* ſhould have been included, but his *Partiſans* wrought ſo, that he was continued for forty Days, and thoſe expired longer and longer, even till the War ended. By this ſaid Model Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made Lord General, and *Cromwell*, after ſome Time, Lieutenant General, being the only Man looked upon able to carry on the Independent Intereſt. The firſt Action he engaged in, in this Quality, was his routing of the Queen's Regiment and ſome other Troops (come from *Worceſter* to fetch the King from *Oxford*, then deſigned to be beſieged in the Beginning of the Year 1645) at *Iſlip* Bridge; then his immediate ſummoning and taking *Blechindon* Houſe, *April* 24, where after, as he was deſigning a Stratagem upon *Faringdon* Houſe, he was ſet upon by as vigilant a Commander as himſelf, the Lord *Goring*, and received a

ſmart Bruſh, and the only one throughout the War; which now haſtening to an End, at the fatal *Naſeby*, he was called from out of the *Iſle of Ely* (whither he had been lately ſent to ſecure it, it being thought the King would have turned his now ſucceſsful Arms thitherward) to aſſiſt the General, who, by his Letters to the Parliament, had deſired it. That unfortunate Day the 14th of *June*, 1646, owes its Diſmalneſs to the Fortune of this Rebel, whoſe Troops alone could glory in that Atchievment; for the left Wing of that Army, where *Ireton*, his Son-in-Law, commanded, was abſolutely routed, and the main Body ſorely diſtreſſed; ſo that *Cromwell* alone aſſured that Victory.

So ended the firſt War, with the Praiſes and Triumphs of this Man of War, adored and worſhiped by his Party, who ſtuck not to blaſpheme God and his Scriptures, attributing all thoſe *Hoſanna*'s, and Pſalms, and Songs of Deliverance and Victory to this their Champion, in Effect, making a meer Idol of him; which Phanatick Religious Veneration he miſſed not to improve, though, for the Preſent, he covered his Ambition with Modeſty and Humility, aſcribing all Things, in a canting Way of Expreſſion, to the Goodneſs and Omnipotence of God, which he frequently and impiouſly abuſed, intituling it to all his wicked and villainous Deſigns and Actions.

The War thus ended, and the King having eſcaped their Swords, and ſo the main Rub yet lay in the Way to his projected Sovereignty; he reſolved by Treachery to ruin him; to this Purpoſe, that he might render the King indiſpoſed to the Terms and Propoſitions of the Parliament, which were hard and unreaſonable enough beſides, he pretended to the King, that the Army ſhould take his Part, and declare for him; as on the other Side (in the Parliament Houſe, and privately in the Army, telling them that the King's Deſign of Peace and Agreement was only to get them diſbanded, and then hang them for their Rebellion) he exaſperated them againſt the King, adding that God had hardened his Heart againſt any Compoſure, and had rejected him; and when all this would not do, but that the People every Day more and more were undeceived, and he conceived a Fear, they might reſcue the *King* from *Hampton-Court*, and bring him to *London*, which the King and all good Men deſired; he contrived another wicked Device to the King's final Overthrow, by ſcaring him with the Adjutators (ſuch were two ſelected, out of each Company and Troop) Conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate him, and ſo making him fly to the *Iſle of Wight*, a diſtant and ſure Priſon, from whence he never came but to his Death. The King a While before was not ignorant of theſe treacherous Arts of *Cromwell*, ſeeing nothing performed, as to Subſtance, of whatever he promiſed, and, therefore, did roundly tax him with his Faithleſneſs; who, at the Upſhot, told the King, that he did miſconſtrue his Words, or elſe he remembered no ſuch Matter; and that, if it were ſo, yet it were no Time to perform them, till the Diſcipline of the Army was recovered, and thoſe Adjutators in a Capacity to be queſtioned, who were now moſt outrageouſly and uncontroulably violent againſt his Perſon and Government, with many more ſuch Flams and Delays, and traiterous Fallacies.

The King being in Priſon at *Careſbroke Caſtle* in the ſaid Iſle, by the Juggling of *Cromwell* with *Hammond* the Governor (Brother to one of the King's moſt affected Chaplains) an ungrateful Fellow, who owed himſelf to the King's Bounty, ſeveral freſh Attempts were made for his Reſtitution; that, which particularly concerned this *Oliver*, was the *Welch* Inſurrection at *Pembroke*, which Town, in *July*, after a brave Defence, was ſurrendered to him; and the *Scots* Invaſion under Duke *Hamilton*, whoſe Army, to which were joined ſome three-thouſand *Engliſh* under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, he totally defeated at *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, on the 17th of *Auguſt* (and not long after the General *Fairfax* took in *Colcheſter*, which had ſtood out three Months in Expectation of Relief from this Army, upon the ſame Account) and purſued his Victory as far as *Scotland*, marching to *Edinburgh*, and there making ſure of a Party, dealing with Bribes, and other forceable Perſuaſions, and making them diſarm themſelves to give him no Diſturbance or Interruption, in the Accompliſhing his moſt execrable Regicide, for which he was now ready, the expected Advantages and Opportunities being now in his Hand.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cromwell *turns out the Parliament, murders the* King, *and ſets up a* Commonwealth, *who, invading* Scotland *and* Ireland, *make him their* General.

Cromwell poſting to *London*, he and his Son *Ireton* put the Council of Officers, to demand *Juſtice* upon the King, as the capital Offender, and Author of all the Troubles and Bloodſhed; which he ſo eagerly proſecuted, that though the Parliament had nearly concluded with the King in the *Iſle of Wight*, after a full Treaty, he by Col. *Pride*, one that would venture upon any Thing he was commanded by him, ſecludes twice the Major Part of the Members, and then packs up a Juncto of Army Blades, of ſome Fifty, who conſtitute a *High Court of Juſtice*, by which the Martyr King was traiterouſly and barbarouſly condemned and beheaded, *January* 30. By the ſame *Juncto* and *Rump* of a Parliament, the Kingſhip and Government by a ſingle Perſon was voted uſeleſs and dangerous, to which *Cromwell* freely aſſented, as purpoſing to time his Ambition, now the great Obſtacle was removed.

But, though the King and his Intereſt were defunct in *England*, yet they were not in *Ireland* or *Scotland*; whereupon, *Cromwell* is made General for the *Iriſh* Expedition, and though he was the only Diſſuader of the Soldiery from that Service, during the Quarrel, betwixt the Independents and the Preſbyterians, and while he had accompliſhed his miſchievous Ends upon the King; yet now he is feverely bent to tranſport ſuch as the Lot ſhould appoint: Which the Levelling Party, the Adjutators, Whelps of his own Litter, refuſing and mutinying, them likewiſe under Pretence of a Treaty, and giving and receiving Satisfaction (their uſual Expreſſions) he betrays and ſurpriſes at *Burford* (not daring to venture a Fight with them, for Fear of a total Defection of his own Party) and had the Ring-leaders ſhot to Death.

Having ſurmounted this Difficulty, he wafts his Army over into *Ireland*, and preſently ſtorms *Tredagh*, and underſtanding it was the Flower of the King's Army, ſet there to give him a Repulſe, having twice been beaten off, he led his Men himſelf the third Time, and entered, and put all to the Sword (having amuſed the Defendants who maintained the Breach, but, having then loſt their Colonel, were in ſome Confuſion, through Offer of Quarter, and by that Device got Admittance) with a like Baſeneſs, Treachery, and Cruelty.

After that, followed the Rendition of moſt of that Kingdom, the Lord-Lieutenant thereof, the Marquis of *Ormond*, being in no Condition to reſiſt him: Whereupon the *Scotch* War then newly Beginning, *Cromwell* was ſent for over, and the Preſbyterian Miniſters, ſet on, no Doubt, by ſome of his Agents, having inveigled *Fairfax* with the Unlawfulneſs of his engaging againſt their good Brethren, he laid down his Commiſſion, which was readily conferred on, and taken up by *Cromwell*.

CHAP. IX.

Of Cromwell's *March into* Scotland, *his Victories at* Dunbar *and* Worceſter, *and the Reduction of that Kingdom.*

GLadly did *Oliver* undertake this War, for now he was ſure to make the Army his own, by placing and diſplacing of Officers; long it was, and many Delays were uſed by the *Scots*, before they would be brought to fight, intending to ſtarve the *Engliſh* Army, which was near done to their Hands, and *Oliver* ſneaking away Home, when the precipitate *blue Cap*, greedy of Spoil and Victory, would needs fall upon them at *Dunbar*, *Sept.* 3, 1650, and were there, by the Proweſs and deſperate Valour of their Enemies, totally overcome. *Cromwell*, therefore, now marches back again to *Edinburgh*, and buys that impregnable Caſtle, of the Traitor *Dundaſs*, and advances againſt King *Charles the Second*, who lay encamped by *Stirling*; but he not ſtirring out of his fortified Camp, and there being no other or fur-

further Paſſage into *Scotland*, but over the *Frith*, an Arm of the Sea: *Cromwell* wafts over moſt Part of his Army, and defeats a *Scots* Party, while the King gives *Cromwell* the Go-by, being two Days March before him, and after a tedious March, came to *Worceſter*, *Auguſt* 22; whither, not long after, came *Cromwell* in great Doubt and Perplexity by the Way (having left General *Monk*, to carry on the War in *Scotland*, who, ſhortly after, reduced the whole Kingdom) and beſet the Town, being recruited, and made up with his old Army, to above forty-thouſand Men; what ſhall I ſay, of that unfortunate Day? The King was worſted, and moſt miraculouſly eſcaped, and ſo *Cromwell* might have Leave to play.

But no ſuch Matter, the Time was come, he had long expected, to act his own Game, and appear in it for himſelf, for by the Year 1653, *Scotland* and *Ireland* being wholly ſubdued, and in the Hands of his moſt truſty Privado's and Confidents, his new Son-in-Law *Fleetwood* (for *Ireton* was dead of the Plague at *Limerick*) being Deputy of *Ireland*, and General *Monk* Governor of *Scotland*; he propoſeth to the Parliament the Deſires of the Army, for their Diſſolution, to make Way for Succeſſion of a new Repreſentative; which they endeavouring to delay, and to impoſe upon him with the Neceſſities of their ſitting a While longer, his Ambition could brook no longer Retardments, but ſent Major General *Harriſon* on the 20th of *April*, 1653, to out their Rump-ſhips; which he accordingly did, to the general Rejoicing of the People, who conſidered nor cared, who ſhould come next, ſo they were rid of theſe.

CHAP. X.

How Cromwell *ordered the Government afterward, and how he made himſelf Lord Protector of* England.

After the *Rump* was thus diſſolved, *Oliver* by the Advice (forſooth) of his General Council of Officers, erected a Council of State, of ſuch as were true to his Intereſt, and the Army, and were well fledged with the Spoils of the Kingdom; but, perceiving that was but a ſlender Authority to derive the Government to himſelf, which was the firſt and laſt Thing intended, he called a picked Conventicle, of the like Batch as himſelf and his Followers, all of the Godly Party, whom he ſtiled a Parliament; the Name whereof was enough to authoriſe and dignify the Reſignation of the Authority they had from, to, him; and their odious Actions, moreover, would make a ſingle Perſon (himſelf) more acceptable; for theſe wild Fellows were upon aboliſhing the Miniſtry, and opening the Floodgate to Hereſy and Atheiſm; when *Cromwell* diſſolved them, and with them diſcarded his old Friend, and their Darling, Major-General *Harriſon*, who was tampering with the Army to unhorſe *Oliver*; but he ſmelt him out, and caſhiered him, as he did his truſty Friend *Lambert*, ſoon after, as finding they were both greater in the Army, than his Safety and Intereſt would ſuffer: So impoſſible it is for Brethren in Iniquity long to continue in Love and Friendſhip. *Oliver* would endure no Competitor, but reſolved to be ſingle and ſupreme.

CHAP. XI.

How Oliver *was ſworn Protector, and how he managed the Government, briefly.*

THAT little or fooliſh Parliament being divided among themſelves, one Part thereof reſigned their Power unto *Oliver*, who ſtraightwith cauſed the Commiſſioner of the Seal, Mr. *Liſle*, to adminiſter him an Oath, on the Sixteenth of *December*, 1653, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to obſerve a Model of Government in Forty-two Articles; which Inſtrument of his, as was ſaid, was found in my Lady *Lambert*'s Placket, and thereupon he was proclaimed Lord Protector; in *February* he was feaſted ſumptuouſly in the City, and knighted the Lord Mayor, as he did many others afterwards, upon whom he had better have piſſed: He made, alſo, one Lord, but he never owned it.

it. Now, though he was proclaimed Protector, yet he knew the People took him for no ſuch Thing; therefore he called a *Parliament* according to Form, thinking to have been declared ſo by them; but they would not own him, or his Authority. Seeing, therefore, he could neither get Reputation nor Money at Home, he reſolved to have it from the King of *Spain*'s *Weſt-Indies*; but, at *Hiſpaniola*, his Forces, under General *Venables*, were ſtrangely defeated, and forced to plant themſelves in *Jamaica*, and fight for Bread inſtead of Gold. He likewiſe ſtarted ſeveral Plots (the Fox was the Finder) againſt Cavaliers, ſuch as Colonel *Gerrard*, and afterwards Colonel *Penruddock* (maintaining Intelligence, at the Price of One-thouſand-five-hundred *per Annum*, with one *Manning*, a Clerk to the King's Secretary, who then reſided at *Colen*, who diſcovered moſt of the King's Council, till he was diſcovered himſelf, and executed) on Purpoſe to terrify People, and thoſe eſpecially, from riſing againſt him.

Now, when *Oliver* ſaw he could not attain his Will by whole Parliaments, he reſolved on his old Expedient, to garble a Parliament, call it, and then cull it, which he did, and ſecluded thoſe Members that would not, before they entered, recogniſe and own his Highneſs; by which Means two Parts of three were excluded, and he, by the Remainder, complimented with the Stile of King; but, for Fear of *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and, indeed, the whole Kingdom, eſpecially the Army, he durſt not accept of it; but was content to take the Title of Protector from their Hands; and was accordingly, on the Sixteenth of *June*, 1657, ſolemnly inſtalled by the Speaker, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, again, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Parliament adjourned, who had likewiſe paſſed an Act for erecting of a Thing called another Houſe, conſiſting of ſuch Lords as *Pride*, *Hewſon*, and *Barkſtead*; but, upon the Meeting of a full Houſe, after the Adjournment, all this new Structure was queſtioned, even to *Oliver* himſelf; who thereupon, in a Paſſion, and tranſported beyond his vizarded Sanctity, with an Oath, by the Living God, diſſolved them.

In the Year 1658, he aſſiſted the *French* againſt the *Spaniard*, and helped them to take *Dunkirk*, which, for his Pains, he had delivered to him; and, no Doubt, it was the beſt Service he ever did to his Country. But, during this unenvied Triumph, having drenched his polluted Hands in more innocent and loyal Blood, namely, that of Dr. *Hewet*, and Sir *Henry Slingſby*, God put a Hook into the Mouth of this *Leviathan*, and having ſnatched away his beloved Daughter, *Claypoole*, juſt before, on the Third of *September*, 1658, his great ſucceſsful Day, he was hurried in a Tempeſt out of the World, which he had ſo long troubled; and, on the Sixteenth of *November* following, was moſt magnificently buried, to the only Sorrow of thoſe who furniſhed the Mourning and Pageantry thereof, leaving his Wife *Eliſabeth*, alias *Joan*, with two Sons, *Richard*, who ſucceeded, till he tamely and cowardly reſigned, and is now fled for his Father's Debts; and *Henry*, and a Daughter ycleped *Frances Rich*. A Perſon, as it is well charactered of him, fit to be a Prince of *Tartars* or *Cannibals*.

Before the King returned into *England*, Colonel *Henry Cromwell*, Son of Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, obtained Licenſe of the King to change that hateful Name into *Williams*, which was the Name of this Family, before they married with a Daughter and Heir of *Cromwell*; which was upon Condition they ſhould take her Name, as well as Eſtate.

The

The World's Miſtake in *Oliver Cromwell*; Or, a ſhort Political Diſcourſe, ſhewing, that *Cromwell*'s Male-adminiſtration (during his Four Years and Nine Months pretended Protectorſhip) laid the Foundation of our preſent Condition, in the Decay of Trade.

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OF all the Sins, that the Children of Men are guilty of, there is none, that our corrupt Natures are more inclinable unto, than that of *Idolatry*, a Sin, that may be towards Men, as well as other Creatures, and Things; for, as that which a Man unmeaſurably relies, and ſets his Heart upon, is called his God, even as that which he falls down before and worſhipeth; ſo, when one hath the Perſon of another in an Exceſs of Admiration, whether for Greatneſs, or Richneſs, *&c.* which we are ſubject to adore, we are ſaid to idoliſe him; and therefore, the wiſe *Venetians*, who, of all Men, are moſt jealous of their Liberty, conſidering that, as the Nature of Man is not prone to any Thing more than the Adoration of Men, ſo Nothing is more deſtructive to Freedom, have, for preventing the Miſchiefs of it, made it unlawful, even ſo much as to mourn for their *Duke* at his Death: Intimating thereby, that their Felicity and Safety depends not upon the uncertain Thread of any one Man's Life, but upon the Vertue of their good Laws, and Orders, well executed, and that they can never want virtuous Perſons to ſucceed: And how do ſuch Principles in Men, led by little more than Morality, reprove thoſe, who have a great Meaſure of Goſpel-light, for their ſenſeleſs Exceſs, in their Adoring the Remembrance of *Cromwell?* For as the Objects of Idolatry are miſtaken Creatures, or Things, proceeding ſometimes from Self-love, as well as other Cauſes, ſo the undeſerved Approbation, and Applauſe, that *Cromwell*'s Memory ſeems to have with his Adherents, amounting to little leſs, than the Idoliſing of him, appears to me to be the Product of an exceſſive Veneration of Greatneſs, and a ſelfiſh Partiality towards him; for that, the more Honour is given to him, the more Praiſe they think will conſequently redound to them, who were his Favourites; and they fortify themſelves herein, with the Credit, they ſay, he hath Abroad, though there is little in that, becauſe the Opinion, that Strangers have of him, may well be put upon the Account of their Ignorance, in the Affairs of *England*, which Travellers do find to be ſo great, even amongſt Miniſters of State, as is to be admired. And now, as this Error in Idoliſing *Oliver* hath two moral Evils in it (beſides the Sin in itſelf:) The one a Reflexion upon the preſent Times, as if the former were better than theſe; and the other, the unjuſt Defrauding the *Long-Parliament* of that, which is due to them, to give it idolatrouſly to him, to whom it doth not belong; I eſteem it a Duty incumbent upon me to diſcover the *Miſtake*. I am not inſenſible, that I ſhall, by this, draw the Envy of thoſe upon me, who, being jealous of their Honour, will be angry for touching them in their *Diana* *; but, knowing myſelf clear from the Vices of envying Virtue in any, how contrary ſoever he may be to me in Judgment, as well as from being unwilling to allow every one their due Commendations, I will caſt myſelf upon Providence, for the Succeſs of this Paper; and in Reference to *Cromwell*'s Govern-

* Or, Favourite.

ment,

ment, and the preſent Times, make ſome Obſervations relating to both, and, in Order thereunto, ſhew,

Firſt, That the *Original Cauſe* of the low Condition that we are now (*in Relation to Trade*) reduced unto, had its Beginning in *Oliver*'s Time, and the Foundations of it, laid either by his *ignorant Miſtaking* the Intereſt of this Kingdom, or *wilfully doing* it, for the Advancement of his own *particular* Intereſt.

Secondly, That his Time, for the ſhort Continuance, had as much of *Oppreſſion*, and *Injuſtice*, as any former Times.

Thirdly and *Laſtly*, That he never, in his latter Days, *valued* either *Honour or Honeſty*, when they ſtood in the Way of his Ambition, and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though ſo much idoliſed) but that the Partiallity of the World ſhould make him ſo great a Favourite of Ignorance, and Forgetfulneſs, as he ſeems to be.

When this late *Tyrant*, or *Protector* (as ſome calls him) turned out the *Long-Parliament*, the Kingdom was arrived at the higheſt Pitch of *Trade*, *Wealth*, and *Honour*, that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The *Trade* appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, *Nine-hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year* being refuſed. The *Riches* of the Nation ſhewed itſelf, in the high Value that Land and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain Marks of Opulency. Our *Honour* was made known to all the World, by a conquering Navy, which had brought the proud *Hollanders* upon their Knees, to beg Peace of us, upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in Awe. And beſides theſe Advantages, the *publick Stock* was *Five-hundred Thouſand Pounds* in ready Money, the Value of *Seven-hundred Thouſand Pounds* in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, ſome four, and none under two Months; ſo that, though there might be a Debt of near Five-thouſand Pounds upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the Value in Lieu of it.

The Nation being in this flouriſhing and formidable Poſture, *Cromwell* began his Uſurpation, upon the greateſt Advantages imaginable, having it in his Power to have made Peace, and profitable Leagues, in what Manner he had pleaſed with all our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the Friendſhip of *England*; but as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common Senſe and Reaſon, he neglected all our golden Opportunities, miſimproved the Victory, God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making Peace (without ever ſtriking a Stroke) ſo ſoon as ever Things came into his Hands, upon equal Terms with them: And immediately after, contrary to our Intereſt, made an unjuſt War with *Spain*, and an impolitick League with *France*, bringing the firſt thereby under, and making the latter too great for *Chriſtendom*; and by that Means broke the Balance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain*, and *France*, which his Predeceſſors, the *Long-Parliament*, had always wiſely preſerved.

In this *diſhoneſt War* with *Spain*, he pretended, and endeavoured, to impoſe a Belief upon the World, that he had nothing in his Eye, but the Advancement of the *Proteſtant Cauſe*, and the *Honour* of this Nation; but his Pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in Foreign Affairs (as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much Knowledge in them.) For he that had known any Thing of the Temper of the *Popiſh* Prelacy, and the *French*-Court-Policies, could not but ſee, that the Way to increaſe, or preſerve the *Reformed* Intereſt in *France*, was by rendering the *Proteſtants* of neceſſary Uſe to their King, for that, longer than they were ſo, they could not be free from Perſecution; and that the Way to render them ſo, was by keeping the Balance betwixt *Spain* and *France* even, as that, which would conſequently make them uſeful to their King: But by overthrowing the Balance in his War with *Spain*, and joining with *France*, he freed the *French* King from his Fears of *Spain*, enabled him to ſubdue all Factions at Home, and thereby to bring himſelf into a Condition of not ſtanding in Need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the Perſecution that hath ſince been, and ſtill is, in that Nation, againſt the *Reformed* there; ſo that *Oliver*, inſtead of advancing the *Reformed* Intereſt, hath, by an Error in his Politicks, been the Author of deſtroying it.

The *Honour* and *Advantage* he propounded to this Nation, in his pulling down of *Spain*, had as ill a Foundation: For if true, as was ſaid,

that we were to have had *Oſtend* and *Newport*, as well as *Dunkirk* (when we could get them) they bore no Proportion, in any Kind, to all the reſt of the King of *Spain*'s *European* Dominions, which muſt neceſſarily have fallen to the *French* King's Share, becauſe of their Joining and Nearneſs to him, and Remoteneſs from us, and the Increaſing the Greatneſs of ſo near a Neighbour muſt have increaſed our future Dangers.

But this Man, who, through Ignorance, is ſo ſtrangely cried up in the World, was not guilty of this Error in State only, but committed as great a Soleciſm, in his deſigning the Outing of the King of *Denmark*, and Setting up of the King of *Sweden:* For had the *Swedes* but got *Copenhagen* (as in all Probability, had *Oliver* lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of Conſequence, but the Cities of *Lubeck* and *Dantzick* (which, by their then Potency, they would eaſily have gained) of being Maſters of the whole *Baltick* Sea, on both Sides, from the *Sound* or Mouth down to the Bottom of it; by which, together with all *Denmark*, *Norway*, and the *Danes* Part of *Holſtein*, which would conſequently have been theirs (they then having, as they ſtill * have, the Land of *Bremen)* there would have been nothing, but the ſmall Counties of *Ouldenburg* and *Eaſt-Friezland*, which would eaſily have fallen into their Mouths, betwixt them and the *United Netherlands*, whereby *Sweden* would on the one Side, to the North and North-Eaſt, have been as great, as *France* on the other, to the South and South-Weſt; and they two, able to have divided the Weſtern Empire betwixt them.

And whereas it had in all Ages been the Policy of the *Northern* States and Potentates, to keep the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea divided among ſeveral petty Princes and States, that no one might be ſole Maſter of it; becauſe, otherwiſe, moſt of the neceſſary Commodities for Shipping, coming from thence and *Norway*, any one Lord of the Whole might lay up the Shipping of *Europe*, by the Walls, in ſhutting only of his Ports, and denying the Commodities of his Country to other States. *Cromwell*, contrary to this wiſe Maxim, endeavoured to put the whole *Baltick* Sea into the *Swedes* Hands, and undoubtedly had (though, I ſuppoſe, ignorantly) done it, if his Death had not given them that ſucceeded him, the *Long-Parliament*, an Opportunity of prudently preventing it: For, if he had underſtood the Importance of the *Baltick* Sea to this Nation, he could not have been ſo impolitick, as to have projected ſo dangerous a Deſign againſt his new *Utopia* †, as giving the Opening and Shutting of it to any one Prince. I am not ignorant, that this Error is excuſed, by pretending that we were to have had *Elſinore* and *Cronenburg* Caſtle (the firſt, the Town, upon the narrow Entrance of the *Baltick*, called the *Sound*, where all Ships ride, and pay Toll to the King of *Denmark*; and the latter, the Forteſs, that defends both Town and Ships) by which we ſhould have been Maſters of the *Sound*, and conſequently of the *Baltick*; but they that know thoſe Countries, and how great a Prince the *Swede* would have been, had he obtained all the reſt; beſides, *theſe two Bawbles* muſt confeſs, we ſhould have been at his Devotion, in our holding of any Thing in his Countries: And further, if the dangerous Conſequence of ſetting up ſo great a Prince had not been in the Caſe, it had been againſt the Intereſt of *England*, to have had an Obligation upon us, to maintain Places ſo remote, againſt the Enmity of many States and Princes; and that for theſe Reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe the ordinary Tolls of the *Sound* would not have defrayed half the Charge, and, to have taken more than the ordinary Tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a general Quarrel upon us, from moſt of the Princes and States of the *Northern* Parts of *Europe*.

Secondly, becauſe the Experience of all former Times ſheweth us, that foreign Acquiſitions have ever been chargeable and prejudicial to the People of *England*, as Sir *Robert Cotton* makes it clearly appear, That not only all thoſe Pieces of *France*, which belonged to us by *rightful Succeſſion*, but alſo thoſe we held by *Conqueſt*, were always *great Burthens* to our Nation, and Cauſe of much Poverty and Miſery to the People. And it is not our Caſe alone, to be the worſe for Conqueſts (though more ours, than other Countries, becauſe of the Charge and Uncertainty of the Winds and Weather, in the Tranſportation of Succours and Relief by Sea; which contiguous Territories, which are upon the Main, are not ſubject to) but the Caſe alſo of (I think I may ſay) all other Kingdoms. In *France* their Burthens and Oppreſſions have grown in all Ages, with the Greatneſs of their Kings: Nay, even after their laſt Peace with *Spain*, by which

* *In the Year 1658.* † *Meaning his own new Sort of Government.*

they

they had given them Peace with all the World, beſides many Places in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and *Catalonia*, to boot: Upon which the poor People promiſed themſelves, though vainly, an unqueſtionable Abatement of Taxes; inſtead of that, they found their Preſſures increaſed daily, and their King, though overgrownly great and rich, himſelf, yet the People ſo poor, that Thouſands are ſaid to die in a plentiful Year, for Want of Bread to their Water, nothing being free there, but freſh Water and Air: For, except in ſome few privileged Places, wherever they have the Conveniency by their Situation of Sea-water (leſt they ſhould make uſe of the Benefit of that, which God and Nature hath given them, for ſaving the Charge of Salt) every Family is *forced* to take ſo much *Salt* of the King, at his own Rate (which is above *ten Times the Price* it is ſold for to Strangers, for Tranſportation) as is judged they may ſpend in a Year; *the Lord deliver all other Countries from their Example.* In *Sweden*, that King, Court, and their Military Officers are the better for their Conqueſts, in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Ruſſia*, and ſome Places anciently belonging to *Poland*; but the Commons the worſe: *Spain* is undone, by the great Number of People ſent thence to the *Weſt-Indies*, which hath depopulated the Country, *France* reaping more Benefit by keeping their People at Home to Manufactures, than *Spain* doth by ſending theirs Abroad for Silver and Gold; and now, though by theſe Inſtances it may appear to be the Intereſt of the People of other Nations, as well as ours, to live in Peace, without coveting Additions; yet it is more our true Intereſt, becauſe, by reaſon of our *Situation*, we have no Need of *foreign Frontier Towns*, our *Ships*, *well ordered*, being better than other Princes bordering *Gariſons*, than any other Kingdoms, to neglect eſpecially *European* Acquiſitions, and Colonies, and apply ourſelves,

Firſt, to the *Improving* of our own *Land*, of which we have more than we have People to manage.

Secondly, to the *Increaſing* our *home* and *foreign Trades*, for which we have natural Advantages above any other Nation.

Thirdly and *Laſtly*, by our Strength, which Trade will increaſe. To make Uſe of it, together with the Helps that God and Nature hath given us in our Situation, and otherwiſe, in keeping the Balance amongſt our Neighbours. For, if the Province of *Holland*, which is but *Four-hundred-thouſand Acres of profitable Ground*, is, by the Benefit of Trade, able to do ſo much as we experienced the laſt War, what might we do, if Trade were improved, who have much more Advantages for it, than they have: I aſcribe what was done by the *Netherlands*, in the late War, to the Province of *Holland*; becauſe that, though the Provinces are ſeven in Number, *Holland*'s due Proportion of all Charges is $58\frac{1}{3}$, in a Hundred, to all the others $41\frac{2}{3}$, of which $41\frac{2}{3}$, *Holland* gets little more than 20 honeſtly paid them, inſomuch that it alone may be reckoned to bear *four Fifths* in a Hundred, to *one Fifth* that all the other ſix bear; and how prodigious a Thing is it, that *Holland*, no bigger than as before-mentioned, ſhould be able to coap with *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and, that, though their Charges in the late War was abundantly greater than ours, yet, by their good Management, to be ſo little the worſe for it, as, at the Concluſion of the War, to have their Credit ſo high, that they could have commanded what Money they had pleaſed at *Three in the Hundred*, and all this by the meer additional Benefit of Trade and good Order; and how by *Cromwell*'s indiſcreet Neglecting of Trade, and Chooſing War, when he was in Peace, did he miſs the true Intereſt of *England*, as, by his ill-founded Deſigns, he did the Intereſt of the Reformed Religion: For, if he had ſucceeded in his unjuſt Invaſion of the *Spaniſh* Territories in the *Weſt-Indies* (as God ſeldom proſpereth diſhoneſt Undertakings) it being intended for a State Acquiſition, the Benefit would not have been diffuſive, but chiefly to himſelf and Favourites, and prejudicial to the People in general, though, at the Expence of their Subſtance, the Acqueſts would have been made: For, had he met with ſo much Succeſs in the gaining thoſe Countries, and in them, that Plenty of Gold and Silver as he vainly hoped for, we ſhould have been as unhappy in them (in the depopulating of our Countries, by the Loſs of the Multitude of People that muſt have been ſent thither, and in impoveriſhing our Nations by the vaſt Charges of a continual War) as *Spain* is, and to no other End, than the making of him only rich, able to inſlave the remaining People, and to make himſelf abſolute over them; for the Preventing of which, in ſuch Tyrants as *Cromwell*, ſurely *Moſes* had an Eye, when he ſaid that *they ſhould not greatly multiply Silver and Gold.* And thus, as *Cromwell*'s Deſigns muſt, to an impartial Judgment, appear to have been laid ſome *diſhoneſtly*, others *impolitickly*, and all

contrary to the Intereſt of the Kingdom, ſo the *Iſſue* of them was *damageable* to the People of *England:* As,

Firſt, in his *ſudden* Making a Peace with *Holland*, ſo ſoon as he got the Government, without thoſe Advantages for *Trade*, as they who beat them did intend to have had, as their Due, and juſt Satisfaction for their *Charges* in the War.

Secondly, in his War with *Spain*; by the Loſs of that *beneficial Trade* to our Nation, and giving it to the *Hollanders*, by whoſe Hands we drove, during the War, the greateſt Part of that Trade, which we had of it, with *Twenty-five* in the Hundred Profit to them, and as much Loſs to us.

Thirdly, by our *Loſs*, in that War with *Spain*, of 1500 *Engliſh* Ships, according as was reported to that Aſſembly, called *Richard*'s *Parliament.*

Fourthly, in the diſgracefulleſt Defeat at *Hiſpaniola*, that ever this Kingdom ſuffered in any Age or Time.

Fifthly and *Laſtly*, in ſpending the *great publick Stock* he found, and yet leaving a *vaſt Debt* upon the Kingdom, as appeared by the Accounts brought into *Richard*'s *Aſſembly*; which had, I believe, been yet much higher, but that they, who under him managed the Affairs, were a Sort of People, who had been long diſciplined, before his Time, to a Principle of Frugality, and againſt Cheating; though at couſening the poorer People, for their Maſters Benefit, ſome of them were grown as dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of *Spain:* For, beſides Impoſing *Richard* upon the People, after his Father's Death, by a forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be in being, when, by his Aſſembly, they were ordered to bring in an Account of the Receipts, and Payments of the Kingdom; they made above Sixty-thouſand Pounds ſpent in *Intelligence*, whereas it coſt not above Three or Four-thouſand at moſt; and calculating the reſt by theſe, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their Trades.

It is confeſſed, that *Oliver*'s Peace and League with *France* was upon honourable Articles; but, as the tottering Affairs of *France* then ſtood, much more could not have been ſooner asked, than had: For *Mazarin*, being a Man of a large and ſubtle Wit, apprehending the Greatneſs of *England* at that Time, which was then dreadful to the World, and the vaſt Advantages *France* would have in pulling down, by their Help, of *Spain*, granted him, not only any Thing for the Preſent that he demanded, but diſregarded alſo even his Party's making their Boaſts of the Awe he had him under: Conſidering, that when *Cromwell* had helped him to do his Work, in bringing under the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and therein caſting the Balance of *Chriſtendom* on his Side, he ſhould afterwards have Leiſure to recover what then he ſeemed to part with: And though nothing is more ordinary, than to hear Men brag, how *Oliver* vapoured over *France*, I do eſteem *Mazarin*'s Complying with him, for his own Ends, to be the chief Piece of all his Miniſtry; for, by that Means only, and no other, is his Maſter become ſo great at this Day, that no Factions at Home can diſturb his Peace, nor Powers Abroad frighten him. Which is more than any King of *France*, ſince *Charles the Great*, could ſay: And, when his neighbour Nations have, too late I fear, experienced his Greatneſs, they will find Cauſe to curſe the Ignorance of *Oliver*'s Politicks; and therefore, when a true Meaſure is taken of *Cromwell*, the Approbation, that he hath in the World, will not be found to have its Foundation in *Senſe*, or *Reaſon*, but proceeding from *Ignorance* and *Atheiſm:* From *Ignorance*, in thoſe that take all that was done by him, as a Servant, and whilſt under the Direction of better Heads, than his own, to be done by him alone; and from *Atheiſm*, in thoſe that think every Thing lawful that a Man doth, if it ſucceed to his Advancement. But they that ſhall take an impartial View of his Actions, whilſt he was a *Single Perſon* *, and at Liberty to make Uſe of his own Parts without Controul, will find nothing worthy Commendations, but Cauſe enough from thence to obſerve, that the Wiſdom of his Maſters, and not his own, muſt have been that by which he firſt moved; and to attribute his former Performances, whilſt a Servant, as is truly due, to the Judgment and Subtlety of the *Long-Parliament*, under whoſe Conduct and Command he was. And now, from *Cromwell*'s neglecting to live in Peace, as, if he had pleaſed, he might have done with all the World, to the great Inriching of this Nation: The Improvement of our Victory over *Holland* in his Peace with them; his being the Cauſe of the Loſs of our *Spaniſh* Trade, during all his Time; of the Loſs of 1500 *Engliſh* Ships in that War; beſides, by it breaking the Balance of *Europe*; of the Expence of the pub-

* Protector.

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lick Stock and Stores he found, with the contracting a Debt of Nineteen-hundred-thouſand Pounds, according to his own Account (which, for aught I know, he left behind him, but am apt to think the Debt was not altogether ſo great, though made ſo to his Son *Richard*'s Aſſembly, as a Means to get the more Money from the poorer People:) And laſtly, of the diſhonourable Overthrow we met with at *Hiſpaniola*. It may be well concluded, that he laid the Foundation of our preſent Want of Trade, to what we formerly enjoyed; and that the Reaſon, why his Miſcarriages were not ſooner under Obſervation, is, becauſe our Stock of Wealth and Honour, at his Coming to the Government, being then unſpeakably great, ſtifled their Appearance, until, having ſince had ſome unhappy additional Loſſes, they are now become diſcernible as firſt Loſſes, to a Merchant, who concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards diſcovered by the Addition of ſecond Loſſes, that ſink him. When I contemplate theſe great Failings, I cannot but apprehend the ſad Condition any People are in, whoſe Governor drives on a *diſtinct contrary* Intereſt to theirs; for, doubtleſs, *Cromwell*'s over-weening Care to ſecure his *particular* Intereſt, againſt his Majeſty, then Abroad, and the Long-Parliament, whom he had turned out, with a prodigious Ambition of acquiring a glorious Name in the World, carried him on to all his Miſtakes and Abſurdities, to the irreparable Loſs and Damage of this famous Kingdom.

To prove the *ſecond* Aſſertion, That *Oliver*'s Time was full of *Oppreſſion* and *Injuſtice*, I ſhall but inſtance in a few of many Particulars, and begin with *John Lilburne*, not that I think him, in any Kind, one that deſerved Favour or Reſpect, but that equal Juſtice is due to the worſt as well as beſt Men, and that he comes firſt in Order of Time.

1. *John*, in 1646, was, by Order of the then *Parliament*, tried for his Life, with an Intent, I believe, of taking him away; but, the Jury not finding him Guilty, he was immediately, according to Law, generouſly ſet at Liberty by thoſe, that had Quarrel enough againſt him. This Example in the *Parliament* of keeping to the Laws in the Caſe of one, who was a profeſſed implacable Enemy to them, ought to have been copied by *Cromwell*; but on the Contrary, to ſhew that there was a Difference betwixt him and his Predeceſſors (the *Long-Parliament*'s) Principles, when the Law had again, upon a ſecond Tryal, occaſioned by *Oliver*, cleared *Lilburne*, the *Parliament*'s Submitting to the Law was no Example to him: For, *contrary to Law*, he kept him in Priſon, until he was ſo far ſpent in a Conſumption, that he only turned him out to die.

2*dly*, Mr. *Coney*'s Caſe is ſo notorious, that it needs little more than Naming: He was a Priſoner at *Cromwell*'s Suit, and being brought to the *King*'s *Bench* Bar, by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his Council taken from the Bar, and ſent to the *Tower*, for no other Reaſon, than the Pleading of their Client's Cauſe; an Act of Violence, that, I believe, the whole Story of *England* doth not parallel.

3*dly*, Sir *Henry Vane*, above any one Perſon, was the Author of *Oliver*'s Advancement, and did ſo long and cordially eſpouſe his Intereſt, that he prejudiced himſelf, in the Opinion of ſome, by it; yet ſo ungrateful was this Monſter of Ingratitude, that he ſtudied to *deſtroy* him, both in Life and Eſtate; becauſe he could not adhere to him in his *Perjury* and *Falſeneſs*. The Occaſion he took was this, He, appointing a publick Day of Humiliation, and Seeking of God for him, invited all God's People in his Declaration, to offer him their Advice in the weighty Affairs then upon his Shoulders. Sir *Henry*, taking a Riſe from hence, offered his Advice by a Treatiſe, called *The Healing Queſtion:* But *Cromwell*, angry at being taken at his Word, ſeized, impriſoned, and endeavoured to proceed further againſt him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and ſome may think, that Sir *Henry* ſuffered juſtly, for having known him ſo long, and yet would truſt to any Thing he ſaid.

4*thly*, In *Richard*'s Aſſembly, certain Priſoners in the *Tower*, under the then Lieutenant, and ſome ſent thence to *Jerſey*, and, other Places beyond the Sea, complained of falſe Impriſonment. The Jailor was ſent for, and being required to ſhew by what Authority he kept thoſe Perſons in Hold, produceth a Paper all under *Oliver*'s own Hand, as followeth: *Sir, I pray you ſeize ſuch and ſuch Perſons, and all others, whom you ſhall judge dangerous Men; do it quickly, and you ſhall have a Warrant, after you have done.* The Nature of this Warrant was, by *Richard*'s Aſſembly, debated, and having firſt *Richard*'s own Council's Opinion in the Caſe, as Serjeant *Maynard*, &c. they voted the Commitment of the Complaints to be *Illegal*, *Unjuſt*, and *Tyrannical*; and that, *firſt*, becauſe the Warrant, by which they were committed, was under the Hand of the then (as they called him) *Chief Magiſtrate*,

Magiſtrate, who, by Law, ought not to commit any by his own Warrant. *Secondly*, becauſe *no Cauſe* was ſhewn in the Warrant. And, *Thirdly*, in the Caſe of thoſe ſent out of the Reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, which in Law is a Baniſhment, becauſe no *Engliſhman* ought to be *baniſhed* by any leſs Authority than an *Act of Parliament*. And therefore, for theſe Reaſons, they voted farther, that the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty without paying any Fees, or Charges, but the turning out, and Puniſhing the Lieutenant by the Aſſembly (for obeying ſo unjuſt a Warrant) was prevented by their ſudden Diſſolution.

5*thly*, the Tyranny, in the *decimating* a Party reſtored to common Privileges with all others, and the publick Faith given for it, by a Law made to that End, by the then Powers in being, is ſufficiently ſhewed in the Mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating Circumſtance in it; That *Cromwell*, who was the principal Perſon in procuring that Law, when he thought it for his Advantage not to keep it, was the only Man for breaking it: But to the Honour of his firſt Aſſembly, next following, it may be remembered, that they no ſooner came together, than, like true *Engliſhmen*, who are always jealous of the Rights and Privileges of the People, they damned the *Act of Decimation* as an unjuſt and wicked Breach of Faith.

The *third* Aſſertion of *Cromwell*'s knowing *no Honeſty*, where he thought his particular Intereſt was concerned, is made good; *Firſt*, (tho' therein he miſtook his Intereſt) in his *odious* and *unjuſt* War with *Spain*, without the leaſt Provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and covetous Deſign of robbing that Prince of his Silver and Gold Mines; and becauſe he judged it for his Credit to diſguiſe his unlawful Deſires, he proceeded in it, by employing his Creatures in the City, to draw the Merchants to complain of Injuries done them by *Spain*, and to petition for Reparations; but, by a croſs Providence, his Project had a contrary Succeſs; for, inſtead of anſwering his Seekings, the Merchants remonſtrated to him the great Prejudice that a War with *Spain* would be to *England*; and ſhewed, that that King had been ſo far from injuring us, that he had done more for Compliance, and Preventing a Breach with *England*, than ever he had done in Favour of any other Nation; but, when *Oliver* ſaw his Method would not take, he called the *Remonſtrators*, Malignants, and begun the War of *his own Accord*, in which, he was highly ungrateful in deſigning the Ruin of that Prince, who all along had been moſt faithful to his Party.

Secondly, his *Falſeneſs* and *Ingratitude* appeared ſuperlatively in turning out his Maſters *, who had not only advanced him, but made themſelves the more odious by their partial Affection towards him; and in his doing it, with the Breach of a poſitive negative Oath, taken once a Year, when made a Counſellor of State, beſides the Breach of all other Engagements, voluntary Imprecations, Proteſtations, and Oaths, taken frequently upon all Occaſions, in Diſcourſe and Declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of Protection, and expoſed them to the Fury of the People, in purſuing them with falſe reproachful Declarations, enough to have ſtirred up the rude Multitude to have deſtroyed them, wherever they had met them.

Thirdly, his *Want of Honour*, as well as Honeſty, appeareth, yet further, in that having, by a long *Series* of a ſeeming pious Deportment, gained, by his *Diſſimulation*, good Thoughts in his Maſters, the *Long-Parliament*, and, by his *Spiritual Gifts*, wound himſelf into ſo good an Opinion with his Soldiers (Men, generally, of plain Breeding, that knew little beſides their military Trade, and religious Exerciſes) that he could impoſe, in Matters of Buſineſs, what Belief he pleaſed upon them; he made uſe of the Credit he had with each, to abuſe both, by many vile Practices, for making himſelf *popular*, and the Parliament and Army *odious* to one another; and, becauſe the Artifices he uſed are too many to enumerate, I ſhall but inſtance in ſome few: As his ſly complaining Inſinuations againſt the Army to the Parliament, and againſt them to the Army: His being the chief Cauſe of the Parliament's giving Rewards to his Creatures, and then, whiſpering Complaints among his Officers, of their ill Husbandry: His obſtructing the Houſe in their Buſineſs, by long drawling Speeches, and other Ways, and then complaining of them to his Soldiers, that he could not get them to do any Thing that was good: His giving fair Words to every one, without keeping Promiſe with any, except for his own Advantage, and then excuſing all with Forgetfulneſs: And his deſerting his Major Generals, in their Decimations, crying out

* The *Long-Parliament*.

moſt

moſt againſt them himſelf, when he only had ſet them at Work, becauſe queſtioned by his Aſſembly, is not to be forgotten, *&c.*

I would not be underſtood to remember any Thing here, in *Favour* of the *Long-Parliament*, for what might be wicked in him, might be juſt as to them: And though, if what he did, had been for the Reſtoration of his Majeſty, he might have been excuſed, yet, being for his own ſingle Advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a Perſon to be truly admired for nothing but *Apoſtaſy* and *Ambition*, and exceeding *Tiberius* in Diſſimulation. I am not ignorant that ſome think it Matter of Praiſe in him, that he kept us in Peace, *four Years* and *nine Months*; but that hath little in it, his Majeſty having done the like, almoſt double his Time, ſince his Return, with one fifth Part of that Number of Soldiers which he commanded; though he hath alſo had the Trouble of preſſing, and ſometimes forcing *Uniformity* in Religion, which he found under ſeveral Forms; whereas *Oliver* kept the Nation purpoſely divided in Opinions, and himſelf of no declared Judgment, as the ſecureſt Way of engaging all ſeveral Perſuaſions equally to him; which Artifice, together with his leaving the Church Lands alienated as he found them, were all the true Principles of Policy that I know of, which he kept unto.

The Honeſty of theſe Principles I refer to the Judgment of every Man's Conſcience; but, if we may judge of Things by Experience and Succeſs, they ſeem to have been very happy in the World: For, in comparing the Condition of the *Proteſtant* Countries at Preſent, to what they were in Times of *Popery*, we ſhall find them more conſiderable now than formerly; for, in taking a true Survey of the *Reformed* Dominions, we ſhall diſcover them to bear no Proportion at all, in Largeneſs, to the *Popiſh* *; and that there is nothing that keeps the Balance betwixt the two Parties, but the Advantage that the Firſt hath, in being free from the Bondage of the Church of *Rome*, and the Latter's being under it: For, as the Church of *Rome*'s Mercies are (by their Principles) Cruelties †, ſo, had they Power anſwerable to the natural Richneſs of the Soil of their Countries, and Extent of their Territories, they would long before this have ſwallowed up the *Proteſtant* Churches, and made Bonfires of their Members; but, as God, in his Mercy and Wiſdom, hath, by his over-ruling Hand of Providence, preſerved his Church; ſo, for the *Romiſh* Church's Inability to effect that which they have *Will* and *Malice* enough to carry them on to do, there are theſe natural Reaſons:

Firſt, There being generally, of the *Popiſh* Countries, above one Moiety belonging to *Churchmen*, *Monks*, *Friars*, and *Nuns*, who, like Drones, ſpend the Fat of the Land, without contributing any Thing to the Good of Mankind, renders them much the leſs conſiderable.

Secondly, Marriage being *forbidden* to all *theſe* Sorts and Orders, occaſions great Want of People every where, they being uncapable of any Children but thoſe of Darkneſs ‡, except in *France*, which is an extraordinary Caſe, proceeding partly, by not being ſo ſubject to *Rome*, as other Countries of that Belief are; but eſpecially from the Multitude of *Proteſtants*, that are among them.

Thirdly, The *blind Devotion* of theſe People, carrying them on to vaſt Expences, in the building and richly adorning of many needleſs and ſuperfluous Churches, Chapels, and Croſſes, *&c.* with the making chargeable Preſents by the better, and Pilgrimages by the meaner Sort, to their Idols, keeps all Degrees under.

Fourthly, The many *Holydays*, upon which, the labouring Man is forbidden to work, adds much to their Poverty.

But, *Fifthly* and *Laſtly*, The vaſt Number of *begging Friars*, who living idly, and purely upon the Sweat of other Men's Brows, without taking any Labour themſelves, make it impoſſible, for the lower Sort of People, who think they are bound, in Conſcience, to relieve them, ever to get above a mean Condition; now whoſoever ſhall ſeriouſly weigh and ponder theſe Circumſtances, under which the *Popiſh* Countries lie, and conſider the *Reformed*'s Advantage in being free from them, muſt confeſs it the leſs Wonder, that the *Evangelical* ‖ Princes and States, with their ſmall Dominions, compared to the others great, are able to bear up againſt them; and now, as the Alienation of *Church-lands*, the Turning out the *Romiſh* Vermin, the *Prieſts*, *Monks*, *Friars*, and *Nuns*, who devour all Countries wherever

* See *page* 32, *&c.* † See *page* 28, *&c.* ‡ *Viz.* Baſtards. ‖ *Proteſtant*, ſo called, becauſe they take the Word of God for their Rule of Faith.

they

they come, and Freedom from the *Popiſh* Impoſition upon Conſcience, hath mightily increaſed the Greatneſs of the *Proteſtant* Princes and States, to what they anciently were, and the not doing the ſame, in the *Popiſh* Countries, keeps thoſe Princes under; ſo, even amongſt the *Reformed*, where the Church-lands are moſt alienated, and Liberty of Conſcience moſt given, they proſper moſt, as in *Holland*, and ſome Parts of *Germany*, with other Places. And, on the Contrary, *Denmark*, where Church-lands are leaſt alienated of any of the *Reformed* Countries, and the City of *Lubeck*, where, of all the free Imperial Cities of *Germany*, Liberty of Conſcience is leaſt given, they thrive leaſt in both Places. And, I think, it will alſo hold, that, as this famous Kingdom, in the Times of *Popery*, was, in no Meaſure, ſo formidable as now it is; ſo before the Reſtoration of our *Hierarchy* to their Lands, their Hoarding up the Money, which before went in Trade, and their Diſcouraging and Driving into Corners the induſtrious Sort of People, by impoſing upon their Conſciences, it flouriſhed more, was richer, and fuller of Trade, than now it is; and I dare undertake to be a Prophet in this, That, if ever any *Proteſtant* Country ſhould be ſo far forſaken of the Lord, as to be ſuffered to turn unto *Popery*, theſe Obſervations will be made good in their viſible Loſs of the Splendor, Riches, Power, and Greatneſs, that they now know.

Had *Cromwell* been a Perſon of an open prophane Life, his Actions had been leſs ſcandalous; but, having been a *Profeſſor of Religion*, they are not to be pleaded for; neither can it be conſiſtent with Religion to palliate them, which have been of ſo much Offence, and, as may be feared, made ſo many Atheiſts in the World; and I cannot but ſtand amazed, when I hear him extolled by ſome, not ignorant of his Practices, knowing in Religion, and, as I hope, fearing God.

Now I will ſuppoſe, I may be ſuſpected to have been injured, or diſobliged by *Oliver*; but I can with Truth affirm, I never received either Good or Evil from him in all my Life, more than in Common with the whole Kingdom, which I think, may be allowed to render me the more a competent Judge in his Caſe; and, that I am ſo far from being moved unto this, out of any Quarrel to him, that, as I have here mentioned ſome few of many Injuſtices and State-errors, that he was guilty of in his ſhort Time, if I were conſcious of any Thing more, during his *Protectorſhip*, worthy Applauſe, than I have here mentioned, I ſhould not envy it him, but freely remember it; and, if any think I have not ſaid enough on his Behalf, and too much to his Diſadvantage, I have this for my Buckler, that I wiſh I could have ſaid more for him, and had known leſs againſt him; profeſſing, that, beſides what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one Action in all his four Years and nine Months Time, done either *wiſely*, *virtuouſly*, or for the *Intereſt of this Kingdom*, and, therefore, that I am none of his Admirers, I ought to be pardoned by my Readers.

Much more might be ſaid upon this Subject, but this may ſuffice to ſhew, that, if *Mazarin*, at the Hearing of *Oliver*'s Death, thought, he had then Reaſon for calling him a *Fortunate Fool*, if he were now living he would find more Cauſe for it, *Cromwell*'s Lot, as to *Reputation*, having been exceedingly much greater ſince his Death, than whilſt he was in the World: And that from Forgetfulneſs of his impolitick Government, from whoſe Entrance we may date the Commencement of our *Trade's Decay*; and, through Want of Memory, in Men's giving to him the Cauſe of our former Wealth and Proſperity, which truly belongeth to others. But, what Opinion ſoever *Mazarin* may have had of *Oliver*, he was, without all Peradventure, a Perſon of *more than ordinary Wit*, and no otherwiſe a *Fool* than as he wanted *Honeſty*, no Man being *wiſe* but an *honeſt* Man.

The

The Wars and Cauſes of them, between *England* and *France*, from *William the Firſt* to *William the Third*, with a Treatiſe of the *Salique Law*. By *D. J.* and reviſed by *R. C.* Eſq; MDCXCVII.

Great and various have the Actions been between England *and* France, *ſince the Invaſion of the* Normans, Anno Dom. 1066, *which makes* September *next* * *juſt* 629 *Years*; *but, that the* French *Nation ſhould make a Conqueſt of* England *hereby, nothing is more manifeſtly untrue, that People being a diſtinct Nation from the* French, *who conquering that Province by main Force, from* Neuſtria, *called it* Normandia, *in the Reign of* Charles le Simple; *whence, by the Way, it is worth remarking, what Kind of Kings* France *hath often had, and what Sort of Epithets their own Chronicles give them, which ſtand upon publick Record to all Poſterity, as* Charles le Simple, Charles le Chauve, Charles le Gros, Charles le Gras, Charles le Phrenetique, Philip le Long, Lovis le Begue, *&c. Now, though there have been many and mighty Quarrels, warlike Encounters, and Feuds betwixt* England *and* France, *yet, in the Reign of the* Saxon *Kings, the Hiſtorians make little Mention of any; but ſince* England *was joined, as it were, to the Continent, by the Addition of* Normandy, *there have been as frequent Traverſes of War as have happened between any two Nations; for, of thoſe Twenty-eight Kings and Queens, which have reigned here, from* William the Firſt *to* William the Third, *there have been but a very few of them free from actual Wars with* France; *yet, in ſo long a Tract of Time, when the* French *were at their higheſt Pitch of Power, they never did nor had any adequate Power to invade* England; *it is true that they took Footing once or twice in the Iſle of* Wight, *but it quickly grew too hot for them. And touching* Lewis *the* French *King's Son, who did ſtay, and ſway the Sceptre here about two Years, whereof they ſo much vaunt: That was no Invaſion but an Invitation, being brought in by the diſcontented* Barons *in* England; *ſo that, in a Manner,* France *was the Theatre of the War between the two Nations, down from* William the Firſt *to the preſent Time.*

As for the great Battles which were fought from Time to Time, it is confeſſed by the French *Hiſtorians themſelves, that the* Engliſh *were at moſt but half in Number to them in almoſt all Engagements; inſomuch that, by pure Proweſs and Point of Sword, the* Engliſh *poſſeſſed two Parts of three in that populous Kingdom, and, how all came to be loſt again, will appear by the Sequel of the Story: But here I cannot omit one remarkable Accident, that was concomitant with the* Engliſh *Arms in* France, *and that is, that, when the* Engliſh *were at the Height of their Conqueſts in that Kingdom, the Pope came to reſide at* Avignon *in* France, *and there was a common Saying which continues ſtill in Memory among the Vulgar,* Ores! le Pape eſt devenu Francois, & Chriſt eſt devenu Anglois, *i. e.* Lo! the Pope is become a *Frenchman*, and Chriſt

* 1697.

an *Engliſhman*; *which related to the marvellous Exploits and Succeſſes the* Engliſh *had in that Kingdom, which were ſuch that Sir* Walter Raleigh, *ſpeaking of the famous* Punick *Wars, puts this Query:* If one ſhould aſk, which was the Valianteſt, the *Roman* or the *Carthaginian?* One might anſwer, the *Engliſhman*, who performed greater Feats of Arms than either of them; *inſomuch that ſome foreign Authors give this Character of* France, *that it was the Stage whereon the* Engliſh *acted their Valour ſo often.*

It is true that in Canvaſſing of Treaties, in Subtleties or Shuffling the Cards, and mental Reſervations they were moſtly too hard for the Engliſh, *who naturally uſe downright Dealing, and real Integrity; but in Point of Performance of what was ſtipulated, eſpecially if the Article related to Money, whereof we drew from them vaſt Sums, they ſeldom exactly performed the Capitulation of any Treaty, as foreign Writers obſerve; ſo that Part of King* John's *Ranſom is yet behind, beſides the Money which was to be paid for* Tournay, *in* Henry the Eighth's *Time; the Fivehundred-thouſand Crowns, which* Edward the Sixth *was to have for* Bologne; *and thoſe great Expences which Queen* Eliſabeth *was to have for ſending her Armies to aid* Henry the Fourth, *and the* French Reformiſts, *two Parts of three are not paid to this Day; but of theſe and other Things more hereafter in their proper Place.*

ENGLAND, excluſive of *Scotland*, which had but very little Share in the Wars we are to treat of, is the greateſt, moſt Southern, and beſt Part of the Iſland of *Great-Britain*, heretofore called *Albion* and *Britannia*; it lies, together with *Wales*, in the Form of a great Triangle, whereof the *Southern* Shore is the Baſe, and *Berwick* the oppoſite Angle; it was divided by the *Romans* into five Parts, by the *Saxons* into ſeven Kingdoms, and now, *Wales* included, into Fifty-two Shires or Counties. It is a fruitful Country full of valiant and induſtrious Inhabitants; but, in Regard to its Boundaries, bears no Proportion to *France*, even conſidered in its narroweſt Limits, over which, notwithſtanding, it has ſo often and ſo glorioufly triumphed, as will manifeſtly appear in the Series of the enſuing Hiſtory.

But becauſe, the Wars with *France*, in the Time of the *Saxons*, are very obſcurely recorded as to their Time, Cauſe and Effects, we will, therefore, begin with,

WILLIAM I.

WHO was invidiouſly termed *the Conqueror*, by the Monks of thoſe Times, as the learned Sir *William Temple* has well obſerved; though it is as true, he could not claim in Right of Succeſſion, himſelf being illegitimate, and *Edgar Atheline*, of the *Saxon* Blood Royal, to take Place before him, but muſt, therefore, reign by Virtue either of a Compact or previous Choice of the People of *England*, the Sword which he had then in his Hand, no Doubt, powerfully diſpoſing of them alſo to ſuch an Election; he proved to be a warlike King of *England*, as he had been a ſucceſsful Duke of *Normandy*. But, though he had wonderful Succeſs in the Battle of *Haſtings*, which was fought, *October* the Fourteenth, *An.* 1066, and got the Day with the Slaughter of above Sixty-thouſand of his *Engliſh* Enemies, yet Things did not ſucceed ſo well with him in his *Kentiſh* Expedition; for, directing his March towards *Dover*, with a Deſign to reduce *Kent* firſt under his Obedience, as conſidering this Country to be the Key of *England*, and that what he had already done, would be of little Account, if this were not accompliſhed: The *Kentiſh* Men, upon Report hereof, aſſembled to Archbiſhop *Stigand*, at *Canterbury*, and, after ſerious Conſultation, reſolved to arm, and to force the Conqueror either to confirm their ancient Liberties, or to die valiantly in the Field in Defence of them; and ſo, under the Command of the Archbiſhop and the Abbot *Egleſine*, rendezvouſed at *Swaneſcomb*,

Swaneſcomb, where, it was agreed, all the Paſſages ſhould be ſtopped, and that they ſhould make Uſe of the adjacent Woods for a Covert from the Diſcovery of the Enemy, till he were faſt within their Net. The Duke, next Day, expecting no ſuch Ambuſcade, in his March, finds himſelf with Part of his Army ſurrounded all of a ſudden, with numerous Squadrons of Horſe, and Battalions of Foot; which ſeemed the more ſurpriſing to him, becauſe that, every Man for a Signal, as it was agreed upon, carrying a green Bough in his Hand, they appeared unto him like a moving Wood, wherein he was in Danger of quickly loſing himſelf. *Stigand* approaches to the Duke, tells him the Occaſion of ſuch an Aſſembly, what their Demands were, and what their Reſolves, if refuſed. The Duke, wiſely conſidering the Danger, grants all their Requeſts, and, upon that, was admitted into *Rocheſter*, and had the Earldom of *Kent* and *Dover* Caſtle yielded to him.

The former Part of this King's Reign, as may be well imagined, was taken up in making Proviſion for his Adventurers, and in Subduing, Settling, and Modelling of his new *Engliſh* Subjects, amongſt whom were frequent Tumults and Inſurrections, occaſioned moſtly thro' the Inſults of the *Normans*, that but too readily provoked them upon every Occaſion, preſuming, no doubt, very much upon the Favour of the King their Countryman, who, on Times, ſhewed too much Partiality in that Regard. It is true, he had not been a Year inthroned, before he was obliged, upon Commotions there, to paſs over into *Normandy*; but we do not find, till about ten Years after, that he had any foreign Wars, when, paſſing over into *Bretagne*, he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Dolence*, belonging to Earl *Ralph*; which engaged *Philip*, King of *France*, into the Quarrel, and ſo with a mighty Army marches againſt King *William*, who, finding himſelf hereby much ſtreightened for Proviſion, broke up his Siege, not without Loſs, both of Men and Horſes, and of ſome of his Baggage, and hereupon enſued an Accommodation; but, not a Year after, *Robert*, the King's eldeſt Son, to whom, upon his Aſſuming of the *Engliſh* Crown, he had aſſigned the Dukedom of *Normandy*, in the Preſence of King *Philip* of *France*, becauſe now his Father, as he pretended, would not ſuffer him to enjoy the ſaid Dukedom in Quiet, went into *France*, and, being by the ſaid King *Philip* aſſiſted with Forces, committed great Ravages in *Normandy*, burning many Towns, and, at length, engaged with the King his Father in Battle, near the Caſtle of *Garbery*, in *France*; the King, according to his uſual Manner, charged with great Reſolution, and ſpared not to expoſe his Perſon to all Dangers, inſomuch that he had in this Action, firſt, the Misfortune to be unhorſed himſelf, his Son *William* wounded, and many of his Family ſlain, and, as an Addition hereunto, through intemperate Anger to curſe his Son *Robert*, who, it was obſerved, never proſpered after. Things, after this, continued in a tolerable State of Amity between *Philip* and this King, till the laſt Year of his Reign, when reſiding in *Normandy*, and being grown very corpulent, the *French* King was pleaſed to ſpeak reproachfully of him, ſaying, *The King of* England *lieth at* Roan, *and keeps his Chamber as lying-in Women do, and there nouriſheth his fat Belly*, did ſo offend King *William*, that he ſaid, *Well, when after my Delivery I go to Church, I ſhall offer a Thouſand Candles to him, and ſware to the ſame by God's Reſurrection and his Brightneſs*; and this he made good the latter End of *Auguſt*, the ſame Year, when he entered *France*, with Fire and Sword, and burnt down the City of *Meaux*, together with the Church of St. *Mary*, and two Friars incloſed therein, who ſuperſtitiouſly perſuaded themſelves they ought not to forſake their Cell in ſuch Extremity, though to the apparent Hazard of their Lives. This King died at *Roan*, *Anno Dom.* 1087, when he had reigned twenty Years, eight Months, and ſixteen Days, and lived threeſcore and four Years, and was buried at *Caen* in *Normandy*.

The Cauſes of his Wars were, Firſt, *An Irruption made by the* French *into* Normandy, *contrary to the Articles of Peace*; *and*, Secondly, *The contumelious Language uſed by King* Philip, *concerning his Perſon*.

WILLIAM II.

SIrnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, during his twelve Years and about eight Months Reign, had no Wars with *France*, neither do we read of any juſt Cauſe given to engage him thereto; but he unjuſtly invaded *Normandy*, then ſubject to his Brother *Robert*, and diſpoſſeſſed him of the County of *Owe*, many Caſtles, and ſome Monaſteries; but was, in the mean Time, by divine Juſtice, aſſaulted by his younger Brother, *Henry*, in his own Dominions, and it had like to have coſt him his Life, for he was bore down in Fight, from his Horſe, by a valiant Knight, who, taking his Sword to kill him, was ſtopped by the King's crying out, *Hold thy Hand, Knave, I am the King of* England; which Words ſo ſtruck the Knight with Reverence, that he mounted him on another Horſe; and the King, to recompenſe his Valour and Submiſſion, ſwore, by St. *Luke*'s Face, he ſhould be his Knight, and be written in his White Book. He was accidentally killed by Sir *Walter Tyrrell*, as he was hunting in the *New Foreſt*, *Anno* 1100; buried at *Wincheſter*, and died unlamented.

HENRY I.

WHO for his Learning was called *Beauclerk*, was youngeſt Son to *William the Conqueror*; he, paſſing over into *Normandy*, made War againſt the Earl of *Anjou*, who kept *Maine* againſt his Will, and this engaged *Lewis*, the *French* King, to take Part with the Latter; whereupon enſued many ſore Battles, both in *France* and *Normandy*, between them with various Succeſs; at length, taking *Anjou*'s Daughter for Wife to his Son *William*, Peace was concluded. But it will not be amiſs to give the Reader a Taſte of the high Spirit and Reſolution of this King, in a perſonal Quarrel he had in *France*. In his Father's Life-time, he accompanying his eldeſt Brother, *Robert*, into that Kingdom, while the Latter aſſociated himſelf with the then *French* King; *Henry*, according to the Suitableneſs of their Years, took up with the Company and Divertiſements of the *Dauphin*, and being one Evening at *Cheſs* together, the *Dauphin* happened to loſe a conſiderable Sum of Money to the Prince at that Game; whereat the former grew ſo enraged, that, after ſome reproachful Language, he ſtruck the Prince, who, not brooking the high Affront, with the *Cheſs-board* knocks the *Dauphin* fairly down to the Ground, and being intent to purſue his Revenge, his Brother, *Robert*, fortunately came in, and, minding him of the Danger, away they both fled, and with great Haſte and Difficulty recovered the next Part of *Normandy*, before their Purſuers could reach them. This King made his *Exit*, as his Father before him, in *Normandy* in the Year 1135, after he had reigned thirty-five Years and four Months.

The Cauſe of this War we have before aſſigned, to wit, the King of France's *Taking Part with* Anjou *againſt* Henry.

STEPHEN.

KING of *England*, was Son to *Adella* a Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, and Nephew to the two laſt Kings; he laid Claim to the Kingdom of *England* in the Year 1135, notwithſtanding his Oath to *Mawd*, the Empreſs and Daughter to *Henry the Firſt*, to the Contrary; wherefore, without looking Abroad into *France* for any Wars, his whole Reign, which was eighteen Years and about ten Months, was, in a Manner, taken up in inteſtine Broils and Conteſts about his Right to the *Engliſh* Crown, wherein he was ſtiffly oppoſed by ſeveral Nobles, and by the ſaid Empreſs *Mawd*, and her Son *Henry*, afterwards *Henry the Second*, whom ſhe bare to *Geoffery Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, and Duke of *Normandy*; from whence ſprang the noble Family of the *Plantagenets* that ſo long governed *England*. He was once made Priſoner at *Briſtol*, and at laſt, notwithſtanding he had Children of his own, was forced to adopt *Henry* for his Son and Heir, and the Nobles ſware Fealty to him accordingly.

HENRY

HENRY II.

SON of *Mawd* and *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, as aforeſaid, at the Age of Three and Twenty Years, and even in the Life-time of his Mother, under whom he claimed, began his Reign over *England*, in the Year 1154. This Prince, notwithſtanding his Domeſtick Troubles, and famous Atchievements againſt the *Welch*, and his Conqueſt of a great Part of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſo as he was the firſt of our *Engliſh* Kings, that was ſtiled the *Lord* of that Country, yet found Opportunity to make War in *France*, upon ſeveral Occaſions; the Alliance he had made with the *French* Court by the Marriage of his Son *Henry* to King *Lewis*'s Daughter, *Margaret*, proving rather an Incitative to Contention and Diſcord, than a Bond of Peace and Amity: The famous City of *Tholouſe* was chiefly the Seat of this War, which was once and again bravely aſſaulted by King *Henry*, and as vigorouſly defended by *Lewis*. In his firſt Expedition againſt this Place, he was accompanied with *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, a *Welch* King, and with others of higheſt Rank and Dignity in *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anjou*, and *Gaſcoigne*; during his ſecond Expedition in *France*, the Earls of *Bulloign* and *Flanders*, with Six-hundred Sail of Ships, attempted to make a Deſcent into *England*; but their Undertaking proved fruſtrate and abortive through the Vigilance, Courage, and Prudence of *Richard Lacy*, who then governed *England*: This King is famous, or rather infamous in Hiſtory, for the many baſe Children he had, being no leſs than Nineteen in Number; for his fair Concubine *Roſamond*, for whom he built that celebrated Labyrinth at *Woodſtock*, the Receſſes whereof could not be penetrated into, but by inſuperable Jealouſy, the Queen, as it was ſaid, by the Help of a Clew of Thread, finding of her out at laſt, and ſo uſed her that ſhe lived not long after: And no leſs to be mentioned for the Troubles he met with, from that proud Prelate *Thomas a Becket*; to whoſe Shrine, after his Murder, much blind Devotion has been paid even by the greateſt Potentates. Though his Son *Henry*, who was crowned King in his Life-time, and died before him, gave him much Diſturbance, yet when he found, after his Death, that others and particularly his Son *John* conſpired againſt him, he was ſo ſtricken with Grief that, curſing his Son and the Day of his own Birth, he died, *July* 6, 1189, aged 61, having reigned Thirty-four Years, and almoſt ſeven Months.

The Cauſes of the War were, that King Lewis *did incite the Prince his Son againſt the Laws of Nature to oppoſe* Henry *his Father; in the War Time* Lewis *had promiſed, upon the Word of a King, to meet him in Order to a Treaty, but he failed for his own Advantage, whereupon* Henry, *being ſenſible of the Fraud, fought him out with his Army, and made him give Ground; thereupon another Interview being appointed, betwixt* Terwin *and* Arras, *Hiſtories relate that, as the two Kings were buſy in Conference, there fell a Clap of Thunder between them, and meeting the next Day, the like Accident happened; which ſtruck a Conſternation in both Armies, as inclined the Kings the more to an Accommodation.*

RICHARD I.

WHO for his Valour was ſirnamed *Ceur de Lion*, was the third Son of *Henry the Second*, but the Eldeſt when his Father died, aged 35 Years when he began his Reign, the former Part whereof was ſpent by him in the Wars, in the *Holy Land*, *William Longſhamp* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Chancellor of *England*, governing the Kingdom during his Abſence; in this War, he ſignaliſed his Valour to a Wonder, having firſt taken *Cyprus* in his Way thither; and, at *Acon* in *Syria*, ſo behaved himſelf, that he became an Object of Envy to other *Chriſtian* Princes, eſpecially to King *Philip* of *France*, as you ſhall ſee hereafter; wherever he went, Terror was his Forerunner, inſomuch that it grew common, amongſt thoſe *Eaſtern* People, to terrify their Children with the Apprehenſion of King *Richard*'s Coming; in his Return, being driven upon the Coaſt of *Dalmatia*, and thinking to paſs Home by Land, *incognito*, he was made Priſoner by the Duke of *Auſtria*, who brought him to the Emperor *Henry*, and was detained by him in Cuſtody for a Year and five Months, till he paid a great Ranſom

Ranſom; his unparalleled Valour and Bravery was the Occaſion of this Misfortune; theſe and other Princes bearing him Envy, eſpecially the *French* King, who invades *Normandy* during his Abſence, which obliged *Richard* to make a Peace with *Saladine* for three Years, much to the Diſadvantage of the Cauſe they fought for. *Philip* attacked *Giſors* and had it ſurrendered to him and many other Places, and then haſted to lay Siege to *Roan*, but found ſuch a vigorous Defence made by the Valiant and Noble Earl of *Leiceſter*, that he was forced to quit his Enterpriſe, and ſo returned into *France*. On the 12th of *March*, 1194, King *Richard* landed at *Sandwich*, was recrowned again, reduced the Kingdom intirely to his Obedience, which was much divided becauſe of his Brother *John*'s Pretenſions in his Abſence, and, hearing the King of *France* had beſieged *Verneuil*, he paſſed over into *Normandy*, and arrived at *Harfleur* with a Hundred Ships full of Horſemen, Armour, *&c.* The Noiſe whereof ſo frighted the *Monſieur*, that he left the Siege and went his Ways; whereupon *Richard* enters the *French* Dominions, and takes in ſeveral ſtrong Places, but the Noble *Leiceſter* had the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner, who afterward paid a great Sum of Money for his Ranſom, and ſoon after enſued a Truce for a ſhort Time; which was no ſooner ended, but *Richard* takes the Field, poſſeſſes himſelf of the Caſtle of *Briſen*, *Novencourt*, &c. the *French* King, in the mean Time, beſieging *Albemarle*, whither *Richard* haſtening to ſuccour the Place, a ſharp Battle was fought between both Armies, wherein the *French* prevailed, chiefly upon the Account of the *Engliſh* being wearied with their hard March. But *Richard* had no ſooner recruited and refreſhed his Soldiers, but he laid Siege to *Miligio*, took it, and burnt it down to the Ground, whereupon enſued ſome Overtures of Peace; *Albemarle*, in the mean Time, fell into the *French* Hands, and ran the ſame Fate with *Miligio*: Some three Years after, *Richard* turned his Arms againſt the Barons of *Poictiers* that rebelled againſt him, with proſperous Succeſs, till at laſt beſieging the Caſtle of *Chaluz*, and having brought it to that Extremity, that he would grant no other Conditions but a Surrender at Diſcretion, he was ſhot in the left Arm out of a Croſs-bow, with an invenomed Dart by one *Bertram de Gordon*, of which Wound he died the 6th of *April* 1199, after he had reigned nine Years and nine Months, and was buried at *Fonteverault*, at his Father's Feet.

The Cauſes were, that, while Richard *went on ſo proſperouſly in the* Holy Land, *the* French *King out of Envy, and contrary to his Sacramental Oath, invaded* Normandy, *which forced King* Richard *to make Peace with* Saladine, *ſo much diſadvantageous to all* Chriſtendom.

JOHN.

THE Brother of *Richard*, who died without Iſſue, and youngeſt Son of *Henry* the II, ſucceeded his Brother to the Prejudice of *Arthur*, *Geoffrey* his elder Brother's Son, who was the real Heir of Courſe: This *Arthur* in Right of his Mother was Earl of *Bretagne* in *France*, ſo that, by this Excluſion, *England* loſt one of the beſt Provinces in that Kingdom; and, by advancing *John* to the Throne, we not only loſt almoſt all our Poſſeſſions in *France*, but *England* itſelf became Vaſſal to the Pope, the Clergy of thoſe Times growing ſtrangely bigotted to *Rome*, and perverſe to the King: King *John* was in *Normandy*, when his Brother died, and though he wafted over into *England*, with all poſſible Speed, to take Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and that his Preſence was ſo neceſſary here for to keep his new Subjects in their Obedience to him, yet he could make no long Stay, for, before a Year came about, he was forced to return into *Normandy* again, upon Information, that *Philip*, King of *France*, had, with a powerful Army, made an Irruption into *Normandy*, who took the Country of *Maine*, and ſeveral other Places from the *Engliſh*; the *Britons* at the ſame Time poſſeſſing themſelves of the City of *Angiers*, the Towns of *Gorney*, *Butenant*, and *Genſoline*; *Arthur* doing alſo Homage to King *Philip* for *Anjou*, *Poictiers*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, *Bretagne*, and *Normandy*; but ſoon after a Peace was concluded between the Kings, and thereby many Places confirmed to the *French* King that he had taken, and others yielded up by *John*, upon the Account of his Niece *Blanch*'s Marriage with *Lewis*, Heir of *France*, beſides 30000 Marks in Silver paid to *Philip*; and all this to the great Diſhonour, as well as Detriment, of the *Engliſh* Nation. About two Years

Years after this, to wit, the third of the King's Reign, one *Hugo Brune*, a Nobleman of *Aquitain*, raiſed a Rebellion againſt King *John*, in that Province; but he and his Adherents, being not able to withſtand *John*'s Forces, made Complaint of him to *Philip* of *France*, whereupon he was ſummoned by the Nobles of *France*, as Duke or Earl of *Aquitain* and *Anjou*, to appear before the *French* King, and to ſtand to the Judgment of his Peers, which he refuſed; upon which the Court adjudged him to be deprived of all his Lands, which he or his Predeceſſors held of the King of *France*.

King *Philip* forthwith raiſes a great Army, invades *Normandy*, takes in many Caſtles, and a great Part of the Country without Reſiſtance; but *Arthur*, Duke of *Bretagne*, beſieging the Caſtle of *Mirable*, with Queen *Eleanor* then in it, King *John* fell upon him there, with ſuch Force and Fury, that he routed his Army, and took *Arthur*, and many others of Note, Priſoners; *Arthur* ſometime after was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower* of *Roan*, and was there barbarouſly murdered, ſome ſaid, by King *John*'s own Hands; but in all this Time *Philip* proſpered; inſomuch that, in a very ſhort Space, King *John* was in a Manner deſpoiled of all the Lands he held in Fee of the Crown of *France*. King *John* once and again made great Preparations to recover his loſt Dominions, and had the good Succeſs to deſtroy the *French* Fleet, and recover the Province of *Poictou*, but his domeſtick Troubles, both from his Barons and Clergy, prevented his further Deſigns; yet, about the fifteenth Year of his Reign, having entered into a ſtrong Confederacy with other foreign Princes, he ſet Soil for *Bretagne*, and laid Siege to *Nantz*, where a bloody Battle was fought, the *French* King being once in great Danger of his Life; but at length proved victorious, and took many Priſoners; whereof of Note were the Earls of *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, and *Bulloign*; the Emperor, who was alſo at the Battle, being driven out of the Field; and 6000 Marks, on the King of *England*'s Part, was the Purchaſe of a Truce for five Years. Commotions in *England* ſoon followed upon the Neck of this, and for Male-Adminiſtration, inſomuch that, at length, *Lewis*, the *Dauphin*, was invited over by the Barons, to take upon him the Crown of *England*, who came accordingly, with little Oppoſition; but, being ſoon after diſpleaſed with their new King, they reſolved to caſt him off, and ſo he was fain at laſt to depart from whence he came. This was an unhappy Reign, but memorable for *Magna Charta*, and for Building of *London* Bridge of Stone. This King died at *Lyn*, as he was marching with his Army to fight the *Dauphin*, when he had reigned ſeventeen Years and about five Months, and was aged 51 Years, *Anno* 1216.

The firſt Ground of this War was, That Philip *of* France *did infringe the Truce made with* England *for five Years, and invaded* Normandy. *Then, another Truce being made, he violated that alſo, and ſtill fomented the* Barons *Wars.*

HENRY III.

COmmonly called *Henry* of *Wincheſter*, from his Birth-place, ſucceeded his Father King *John*, at the Age of nine Years, as next Heir, maugre all the Attempts of *Lewis*, the *Dauphin* of *France*, whoſe Forces were defeated at *Lincoln*, by the King's Guardian and Brother-in-Law, the famous Earl of *Pembroke*; and ſo from that Time forward Things went worſe and worſe with him, moſt Places yielding by Land, and his Fleet utterly deſtroyed by Sea, by *Hubert de Burg*, *Euſtace* a Monk that commanded it being ſlain by *Richard*, a Baſtard Son of King *John*; he yielded up his Claim to the Crown, and ſo returned with a Glimmering of it into *France*: *Henry*, about the fourteenth Year of his Reign, determined to make War upon *France*; and, to that Purpoſe, he aſſembled at *Portſmouth* all his Nobility, Knights, and ſuch a vaſt Number, both of Horſe and Foot, as never was done by any of his Predeceſſors, deſigning to have recovered all thoſe Territories his Father had loſt; but, when they came to be ſhipped, they had not Carriages enough for half the Army, which he imputed to the Treachery of *Hubert de Burg*, his Chief Juſtice; and in a Rage, drawing his Sword, would have killed him, had it not been for the Earl of *Cheſter* that interpoſed; the Earl of *Bretagne*, who was preſent, and bound by an Oath to conduct the King to his Country, and others, perſuaded him to defer his Expedition for that Seaſon, and ſo his mighty Preparations for the Preſent vaniſhed: But, the Year following, King *Henry*, with a mighty Army, ſailed into *Bretagne*, and, after he had ravaged and committed great Spoil in the Country, laid Siege to the City of *Nantz*; but,

but, after the Conſumption of a vaſt Treaſure, and the Loſs of many Men by Sickneſs, and otherwiſe, returned into *England* the ſame Year, but ſet all Things firſt in Order for the Conſervation of the Country of *Bretagne*. The *French*, making Uſe of the Opportunity of the King's Abſence, took the City of *Rochelle*, and ſo, puſhing on their Conqueſt, reduced the whole Province of *Poictiers* to their Obedience, which King *John*, his Father, had conquered; whereat *Henry* being nettled, prepared for another mighty Expedition, but with the ſame fatal Succeſs as before: For after ſeveral Bickerings, wherein were loſt many of his Men, he made a Peace, and returned *re infecta*, but recovered at laſt the Province of *Aquitan*. The latter Part of his Reign was ſo taken up with inteſtine Broils in the *Barons Wars*, wherein ſometimes he was worſted and impriſoned, ſometimes prevailed againſt his Enemies, that he had no Leiſure to look after his Territories Abroad, and call the *French* to an Account for them, till at laſt, after he had lived 65 Years, and of them reigned 56, and odd Days, and laviſhed away an immenſe Treaſure, he reſigned his Breath to him that gave it, at *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*, was buried at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno* 1272, and was happy in nothing ſo much as in the Hopes of his eldeſt Son *Edward*.

1. *One Cauſe of his Wars with* France *was, that the* French *aſſiſted the* Scots *againſt him.*
2. *Another was, the Recovery of thoſe Towns and Provinces, the* French *unjuſtly took from him, and his Anceſtors.*

EDWARD I.

SIrnamed *Long-ſhanks*, the Son of *Henry*, was in the *Holy Land* with *Eleanor* his Wife, when the Crown fell to him, being then about 33 Years old. He began his Reign the 16th of *November*, and arrived with his Queen in *England*, the 15th of *Auguſt* following, being in the Year 1273. He proved a warlike, wiſe, and victorious Prince, and may juſtly be ſtiled, *The beſt Law-giver*. He made ſeveral Expeditions againſt *Wales* and *Scotland*; the latter became Tributary to him, and the former he reduced intirely, under the Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and has ſo continued to this Day; but the Stratagem he uſed for to ſatisfy thoſe unruly Spirits, and keep them in Subjection, may be worthy of Obſervation.

Having about the twelfth Year of his Reign reduced all *Wales*, and, by a Statute made at *Ruthyn*, incorporated and annexed it to the Crown of *England*; but, finding he could not win the good Will of the People, unleſs he would engage to reſide amongſt them, or allow them a Prince of their own Nation to govern them, and that, after ſeveral Conferences, no *Engliſh* Deputies would do, but that they were content to ſubmit to any Man he ſhould name, provided he were a *Welchman*; at length he privily ſends for his Queen, then big with Child, and cauſed her to remain at *Carnarvan* Caſtle, where ſhe was brought to Bed of a Son, at which Time he ſends for the Barons and chief Men of *Wales*, to come to him to *Ruthyn*, to deliberate about the Affairs of the Country; and when they came, he told them, he had now Occaſion to go out of that Country, but, before he went, he was determined to name them a Prince, if they promiſed to obey him; they replied, They would, provided he were one of their own Nation; wherefore the King rejoined, he would name one born in *Wales*, and that could ſpeak never a Word of *Engliſh*, and who was of unſpotted Life and Converſation, and, when all was agreed to, he named his Son *Edward*, born as aforeſaid.

But, notwithſtanding this King had ſo much to do with *Wales* and *Scotland*, yet he was no ways negligent of his Affairs and Intereſt in *France*; but, as ſoon as he had any Leiſure, which was about the twenty-ſecond Year of his Reign, firſt, like a wiſe Prince, takes Care to have ſufficient Treaſure for ſuch an Undertaking; and therefore, in a Parliamentary Way, raiſed a vaſt Sum of Money, and ſo provides an Army, and Fleet of Ships, ſuitable to ſuch an Expedition; the Army rendezvouſed at *Portſmouth*, the Command whereof he gave to his Nephew *John de Brytain*, Earl of *Richmond*, with whom he joined in Commiſſion *John St. John* and *Robert Tripot*, two prudent Knights, from whence they ſet Sail, and landed at St. *Matthews* in *Bretagne* (and in the mean Time ſet out three Fleets for the Guard of the Seas, and to prevent the Depredations of the Enemy) they entered the Mouth of the *Garonne* towards *Bour-*

Bourdeaux, and took two good walled Towns, *Burgo* and *Bleya*, from whence they marched to *Lyons*, and had the Town delivered to them; about four Years after he generouſly goes over, in Perſon, into *Flanders*, for the Relief of *Guy*, Earl of that Country, who was grievouſly aſſaulted by the *French* King; and, after many noble Atchievements performed, a Peace was concluded; *Edward* taking to Wife *Margaret*, Siſter to *Philip the Fair*, then King of *France*. This King died in 1307, when he had reigned thirty-four Years, ſeven Months, and odd Days, aged 68, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

1. *One Cauſe of this Breach with* France *was the Depredations that were committed at Sea.*
2. *The Relief of* Guy, *Earl of* Flanders, *who was in Danger of loſing his Country.*

EDWARD II.

COmmonly called *Edward* of *Caernarvan* (the firſt Prince of *England*, that bore, in his Father's Life-time, the Title of *Prince of Wales*) proved an unworthy Succeſſor to ſo brave a Father; for he was a diſſolute Prince, and wholly guided by his Favourites; the firſt whereof was *Pierce Gaveſton*, who was bred up with him, and on whom he conferred thirty-two Towns, and as many Caſtles, in *Gaſcoigne*, beſides great Sums of Money out of the Earldom of *Cornwall*, during his Life; which, together with his Arrogance, the Barons, being not able to brook, combined to force the King to baniſh him; and ſo little did this Prince underſtand his true Intereſt herein, that, inſtead of parting with ſuch a pernicious Man, and thereby ſecuring his Intereſt at Home, and taking Meaſures for the ſame in *France*, and elſewhere, he intended to give up *Gaſcoigne* to the *French* King, *Scotland* to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ireland* and *Wales* to others, as hoping thereby to obtain ſuch Aid as might ſecure him his Favourite, againſt all the juſt Attempts of his Barons to the Contrary; but no ſooner was this Man removed, but he had two others, the *Spencers*, Father and Son, that were as pernicious as he, and proved more fatal to *Edward* every Way; for, though they received at length condign Puniſhment, yet it was through their Advice chiefly, that *Edward* refuſed to go to the *French* King, to do Homage for *Aquitain*, and other Lands, he held of him, and thereby loſt *Anjou*, and the Country of *Poictiers*; and it was his Adherence to them that raiſed his Barons and Queen againſt him, which ended in a ſad Cataſtrophe, firſt in his being depoſed, next in making a formal Reſignation of the Crown, and laſtly, in being ſoon after barbarouſly murdered, at *Berkley* Caſtle, by the Procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, the Queen's Favourite: He reigned nineteen Years, ſix Months, and odd Days, and died in 1327.

EDWARD III.

COmmonly called *Edward* of *Windſor*, the eldeſt Son of *Edward the Second*, ſucceeded his Father, upon his Reſignation of the Crown, being then about the Age of Fourteen, his Reign commencing from the 25th of *January*, in the Year of our Lord 1326. He proved a Bleſſing to *England*, and was a Prince of great Wiſdom, and very ſucceſsful in his Enterpriſes; the younger Part of his Reign was much eclipſed by *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, the Queen his Mother's Paramour; but he got quickly rid of him, for he was ſeized at *Nottingham*, by the King's Order and Concurrence, juſt as he was going to Bed with the Queen, and for all the Queen's crying out to him, *Bel Fils, Bel Fils, ayes pitie de gentil* Mortimer, *i. e.* Good Son, Good Son, take Pity upon gentle *Mortimer*; he was forthwith carried away to *London*, committed to the *Tower*, condemned by his Peers in Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, hanged at *Elmes*, and left hanging upon the Gallows two Days and Nights; and all this unheard, becauſe he had done ſo by others before: This King made ſeveral ſucceſsful Expeditions into *Scotland*, and made the King thereof do him Homage; but the Seat of his Wars was in *France*, for, *Charles*, King of *France*, dying, the Maſculine Line of *Hugh Capet* failed, and the Crown deſcended to *Edward the Third* (as he alledged) in Right of his Mother *Iſabella*, who was Siſter

to the ſaid *Charles*; but *Philip de Valois*, Uncle to *Charles*, intruded himſelf by Force of Arms, and took Poſſeſſion; and was not only Aggreſſor in this Reſpect, but grew ſo confident of his Power, that nothing would ſerve him, but he muſt have all our King had left in *France*, and therefore bends his Force againſt all the King's Caſtles and Towns in *Aquitain* and *Poictiers*, and exerciſes abominable Cruelties upon the *Engliſh* Inhabitants, and all this under Pretence of taking Revenge for his Friends the *Scots*. The King in the mean Time holds a Parliament, obtains conſiderable Supplies, and writes Letters to the *French* King, exhorting him to continue his old Amity; but neither this, nor the Pope's Mediation for a Peace, would do; ſo King *Edward* makes mighty Preparation, both by Sea and Land, and the firſt Action happened to be by Sea, and as memorable a one as any in the Records of Time; for he took and ſunk 200 Sail of *French* Ships, which *Philip de Valois* had prepared in the Haven of *Sluce* for the Invaſion of *England*, which Fleet, like that of 88, was held Invincible; but King *Edward* had equipped another as formidable a Fleet, in Oppoſition, whereof he was *Generaliſſimo*, and Admiral himſelf. It was one of the moſt glorious Victories that ever was got at Sea; for the Chronicles mention, that the whole *French* Navy periſhed, and 30000 Men were wounded, ſlain, and taken. This great Naval Battle was fought upon *Midſummer* Eve, and Heaven appeared much for the *Engliſh*, for they had Wind and Sun favourable to them in the Fight; and, to make it more glorious, King *Edward* himſelf was wounded in the Thigh with an Arrow, whereof he was quickly cured. He then goes in Perſon to *France*, with 8000 common Soldiers, and 15000 Archers, but he raiſed moſt of his Horſe in *France*; he took over with him his Son the Prince of *Wales*, then but fifteen Years old, called afterwards the *Black Prince*. He enters *Normandy* like a Whirl-wind, and carries all the Country before him as far as *Poiſſy*, about ten Miles from *Paris*; and, after divers hot Skirmiſhes, a main Battle is appointed. The *Engliſh* Army encamped near a Village called *Creſſy*, where it was divided into three Battalions; the firſt was led by the Prince of *Wales*, the ſecond by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, and in the third was the King himſelf. The Field being thus ordered, the King mounted upon a white Hobby, and rode from Rank to Rank, encouraging every one to the Performance of his Duty.

The *French* Army was at leaſt twice more in Number, conſiſting of above ſixty-thouſand Combatants, with the Flower of all the *French Cavalry*, whereof the Chief was the Duke of *Alenzon* the King's Brother; there were beſides the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Luxemburg*, the Earls of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, with other Foreign Princes: The *French King* was ſo fierce in Confidence of Victory, that he would ſcarce admit of any previous Time for Counſel; the old King of *Bohemia* adviſed, that the Army ſhould receive ſome Refreſhment, before the Fight, and that the Brigade of *Genoa*, whereof there were about fifteen-thouſand *Baleſtiers*, or *Croſs-bows*, ſhould make the firſt Front, and the Cavalry to follow next; which being agreed upon, the Duke of *Alenzon* did ſtomach, that the *Genoeſe* ſhould have the Honour of the firſt Rank. This bred ſuch a Diſcontent that they ſeemed to be more incenſed againſt their Leaders, than againſt the Enemy; but, in the *Interim*, there fell ſuch a huge Shower of Rain, that wetted their Bow-ſtrings, which they had not the Wit to cover all the While, as the *Engliſh* did, inſomuch that, for the Limberneſs thereof, when they came to engage, they grew uſeleſs; at the Ceaſing of the Shower, Heaven appeared in the Action, for the *Engliſh*, for the Sun did ſhine, full in the Faces of the *French*, thereby dazzling their Eyes, but on the Back of the *Engliſh*. King *Edward*, being got into a *Wind-mill*, all the While, whence as from a Watch-tower he might explore, and behold the Face of the Enemy, and diſcerning the Diſturbance that happened, becauſe the *Genoeſe* were put to change their Poſt, inſtantly gave Order to charge that Part, which made the *Genoeſe* recoil; *Alenzon*, perceiving this, rides about in a Rage, crying out, *Sa, Sa*, let us make Way, over the Bellies of theſe *Italians*, for they do but hinder us; ſo, riding thorough them, he came up to the *Engliſh* Wing, where the Prince of *Wales* was; the Fight grew furious, and doubtful, inſomuch that the Commanders about the Prince ſent up to the King, for a Recruit of Power; the King aſking the Meſſenger, Whether his Son was wounded or ſlain, and being anſwered No, he replied, Then tell them who ſent you, that, as long as my Son is alive, they ſend no more to me, for my Will is, that he win his Spurs, and have the Honour

of

of this Day; ſo, the Combatings, on both Sides, being wonderfully eager, the *French* King had his Horſe killed under him, and ſo withdrew; which being known by the *Engliſh*, it added much to their Courage, ſo that ſoon after, they became Maſters of the Field, and being in Heat of Blood, they made no Priſoners, but put all to the Sword; ſo that the Number of the *French* ſlain ſurmounted the whole Army of the *Engliſh*, for there fell about thirty-thouſand of the *Enemy*, the chief whereof was the Duke of *Alenzon*, the *Dukes* of *Bourbon* and *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Dauphin *de Viennois* Son to *Imbert*, who afterwards gave the Province of *Dauphiny* to the *French King*, provided his firſt Son ſhould be called *Dauphin in perpetuum*; and, as a Corollary to this mighty Victory, the next Day ſending Scouts abroad, there was another *French* Army diſcovered, under the Conduct of the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, whom the *Engliſh* encountered alſo, and utterly defeated. There was one Paſſage very remarkable in this Battle, whereof Sir *Walter Rawleigh* makes mention: *That, a Day before the Engagement, the King ſent one Captain* David Gam, *a* Welchman, *to explore and view the* French *Army; which he did, with no leſs Danger than Fidelity, and brought Word, that there were, in the Enemy's Army, Men enough to kill, enough to take Priſoners, and enough to run away; which proved true, and ſo the* Welch *Captain was knighted in the Field.*

This mighty Victory was ſeconded, a few Years after, by another more memorable, for the *Black Prince*, having now wun his Spurs, and being tapered up to his full Growth, was ſent to *Gaſcoigne*, where, the Truce being expired, he over-runs all the Country, as far as *Touraine*; thereupon *John*, the then *French* King, raiſed a potent Army, more numerous than that at *Creſſy*, and going to find out the Prince of *Wales*, he heard of him about *Poictiers*, having not above ten-thouſand effective Men, in his whole Army, and they alſo having been tired with long Marches, whereas the *French* were freſh, and were ſix Times as many; whereupon the Prince being adviſed to turn, falls about towards *Bourdeaux*, when he was ſuddenly ſurrounded by the *French* Army, upon which a Battle being intended, there came two *Cardinals*, to mediate an Accommodation; but the *French* King would hearken to none, unleſs the Prince, as a vanquiſhed Man, would render up himſelf, and his whole Army, to Diſcretion; this was of hard Digeſtion, to a Prince of ſuch a Courage, therefore he anſwered: That, at the Mediation of the Holy Father, he was willing to reſtore ſuch Places, which he had taken *en bonne Guerre*, provided this might be done without Prejudice to his Honour, whereof he was accountable to the King his Father, *&c.* the *French* King, not hearkening to this, reſolved to fight; thereupon the Prince alſo reſolved, for his Part, to part with his Life, at as high a Rate as he could in ſuch a Straight, wherefore making a Virtue of Neceſſity, by a happy Providence, he makes Choice of an advantageous Ground; for, finding that the *French* Army conſiſted moſt in *Cavalry*, he intrenched among the adjacent Vineyards, where, when the *French* Horſe furiouſly entered, being wrapped and entangled amongſt the Vines, the *Engliſh* Archers did ſo ply, pelt, and gall them, that being thereby diſordered, unranked, and routed, the whole Army, in a ſhort Time, was totally defeated. But it ſeems, that this Battle was not ſo fierce as that of *Creſſy*, where no Quarter was given; for in this a great Number of Priſoners were made, among whom was King *John* himſelf, and *Philip* his youngeſt Son, whom the Prince brought to *England*; and, as the *French* Hiſtorians themſelves confeſs, he was ſo civil unto him all the While, that, he knew not whether he was in Quality of a free King, or of a Captive.

And here a fair Occaſion is given to diſcover, and vindicate a great Truth, touching the individual Perſon, who firſt took King *John*; and he was a *Welch* Gentleman, one *Howel*, of the Life-guard to the Prince, which Guard uſed to carry a Kind of Battle-axes, or Partiſans; this *Howel* it ſeems, being one of them, in the confuſed Medley, and Fury of the Fight, did fortunately meet with the King, and ſeized upon him; but, ſuddenly in the Hurly-burley, ſome *Frenchmen* of the Prince's Army ruſh'd in, and the King, knowing one of them, called to him, whoſe Name was *Myrobrecht de Artois*, who going on, with others, to preſent the Priſoner to the Prince, there was a Conteſt, who took him firſt, and the King was deſired to point at him; ſo he pointed at *Howel*, and ſaid, This is the Man who took me. There are authentick Records in ſome *Welch* Manuſcripts that confirm this; moreover, they have a general Tradition, and ſome Songs, which continue freſh to this Day, how *Howel* did put a Bridle in the *French* King's Mouth, with ma-

ny other Expreſſions, touching this great Act. Now, for that ſignal Exploit, the Prince knighted him in the Field, and he was ever after called, Sir *Howel y Fuyall*, Sir *Howel* with the Ax; he had the Conſtableſhip of *Crykyth* Caſtle given him, with the Farms of *Cheſter* Mills, and other conſiderable Things conferred upon him; which ſurely would not have been, but for the Merit of ſome high ſignal Service. The *Britiſh* Records (beſides Tradition and common Report) that mentioned this, were to be found in *John Wynn*'s Library, an honourable knowing Knight, who was a curious Collector of Antiquities.

Theſe and many other glorious Exploits were done by this King in *France*, who ceaſed not his Purſuits till he had got the Key of it hanging at his Girdle, to wit, the Town of *Calais*, that, in thoſe Days, was looked upon to be impregnable, which he carried, after a long Siege. This King's Reign is alſo memorable upon many other Accounts; as for the Inſtitution of the noble Order of the *Garter*; for removing the Staple of Wool, from *Flanders* into *England*; for that great Champion againſt *Rome*, the famous *Wickliff*; and for his own numerous Iſſue, by his heroick Queen *Philippa*, being no leſs than ſeven Sons, and five Daughters; his Sons were theſe, *Edward* the *Black Prince*, the Hopes of *England*, and who died before his Father; *William* of *Hatfield*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edmund* of *Langley*, Duke of *York*, *William* of *Windſor*, and *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*; he died at *Richmond* in 1377, when he had reigned fifty Years and odd Months.

The Cauſe of the War, betwixt the Engliſh *and* French, *in* Edward the Third's *Time, was a Claim to the Crown and Kingdom of* France, *in Right of his Mother* Iſabel, *which they would make invalid by their* Salick *(or Diſtaff Law) to which the greateſt Civilians do allow no Eſſence at all; and* Du Haillan, *the great* French *Hiſtorian, hath no better Opinion of it, but to be a meer* Chimera, *or imaginary Thing, but of this more preſently.*

Of the Salick Law.

'HERE I judge it no way impertinent to be a little more particular yet, touching the Claim of this King *Edward* to the Crown of *France*, and what Gounds the *French* had, by Virtue of this *Salick Law*, for the Excluſion of him, claiming from a Female; and, firſt, we will briefly ſtate his Claim, as it then ſtood, and then come to the Law itſelf, and it was thus: *Philip the Fourth*, ſirnamed the *Fair*, had three Sons, *Lewis* the *Contentious*, *Philip* the *Long*, and *Charles* the *Fair* (all theſe ſucceſſively reigned after him, and died without Iſſue inheritable) he had likewiſe a Daughter named *Iſabel* (I purpoſely omit the other, being foreign to the preſent Affair) married to *Edward the Second*, King of *England*, and ſo was Mother to *Edward the Third*. The Iſſue Male of *Philip* the *Fair* thus failing, *Philip* Son and Heir of *Charles*, Earl of *Valois*, *Beaumont*, &c. (who was Brother to *Philip* the *Fair*) laid Claim to the Crown as next Heir Male, againſt King *Edward*, who made Anſwer to the Objection of the *Salick Law*, that (admitting it was as they aſſerted) yet he was Heir Male, tho' deſcended of a Daughter; and this, in a publick Aſſembly of the States of *France*, firſt about the Protectorſhip of the Womb (for Queen *Joan*, Dowager of *Charles* the *Fair*, was left with Child, and delivered of a Daughter named *Blanch*, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Orleans*) was had in ſolemn Diſpute by *Lawyers* on both Sides, and applied, at length, alſo to the direct Point of inheriting the Crown, and ſo adjudged againſt King *Edward*. What followed hereupon we have, in ſome Meaſure, traced in the preceding Hiſtory of his Wars, and are more at large recorded in *Walſingham*, *Froiſſart*, *Æmilius*, and a Multitude of more modern Writers; whereby it appears, and will in the Wars of this King's Succeſſors in *France*, how the Denial of this Sovereignty to him, by the *French*, coſt the Lives of many Thouſands of their Men, and involved that Country into long and miſerable Calamities.

But as for the Law itſelf, whereby they pretended ſuch an Excluſion of him, it may well be ſaid with *Drayton* in his *Poly-Albion*, that every Mouth ſpeaks of it, but few underſtand the Thing itſelf, or ſo much as the *Etymology* of its Name; and therefore, to clear this Point, as well as we can, we are neceſſitated

ſitated to aſcend a little higher than theſe Times, wherein it was made Uſe of, in Prejudice to the *Engliſh* Claim, and to begin with the Original of the *Francks*, with whom they affirm it was brought into *France*. The *Francks* therefore (according to many modern Hiſtorians) came originally from *Aſia*, into *Germany*, though others, and perhaps upon better Grounds, make their Original to be in *Germany* itſelf; but this is certain, that, upon the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, they inhabited *Franconia*, a Province of *Germany*, and about the Year Four-hundred and Thirteen, or, according to *Davila*, One-hundred and Nineteen, invaded *France*, under *Pharamond*, whom they choſe to be their King and Leader (which *Pharamond* they make to be Son to *Marcovir*, a Prince that governed them in *Franconia)* but, firſt, before they began their Expedition, they held a general Aſſembly, near unto a River named *Sala*, and there, by the Advice of the *Salii*, their Prieſts, or as others of the *Salians*, whom they make to be the ſame with *Francks*, enacted Laws for Government, and amongſt the reſt, one for the Excluſion of *Females*, from inheriting the Crown, which from the aforeſaid Appellations (whether one or all, it matters not) came to be denominated the *Salick Law*. But *Goropius*, that fetches all out of *Dutch*, and this perhaps more tolerably than many of his other *Etymologies* (deriving the *Salians* Name from *Sal*, which, in Contraction, he makes to be from *Sadel*, Inventors whereof, ſays he, the *Salians* were) interprets them to be as much as Horſe-men, a Name fitly applied to the warlike and moſt noble Perſons of any Nation, as *Equites* in *Latin*, *Chevaliers* in *French*, and *Marchog* in *Welch*, do very well agree to; ſo that, upon the Whole, the *Salick Law* is made by him to be as much as a *Chivalrous Law*; and *Salick Land*, *Quæ ad equeſtris ordinis dignitatem & in capite ſummo & in cæteris membris conſervandam pertinebat*; which very well agrees with a Sentence, given in the Parliament at *Bourdeaux*, upon an ancient Will, deviſing all the *Teſtator's Salick Lands*, which was in Point of Judgment interpreted to be a Fief; and who knows not, but that Fiefs were originally military Gifts; but, if Things be ſo, how then comes *Salick* to extend to the Crown, which is held to be meerly without Tenure? Therefore (ſaith a later Lawyer) *Ego ſcio legem Salicam agere de privato Patrimonio tantum*, I know the *Salick Law*, intends only private Poſſeſſions. Again, there are ſome who pretend to give us the Names of the Compilers of this Law (and not this alone, but of many others, as they ſay) *viz.* *Wiſogaſt*, *Bodogaſt*, *Salogaſt*, and *Windogaſt*, wiſe Counſellors, about that *Pharamond's* Reign; the Text of it in this Part is offered us by *Claude de Seiſſel*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, *Bodin*, and other *French* Writers, as if it were as ancient as the Original of the Name, in theſe Words: *De Terra Salica nulla Portio Hæreditatis Mulieri veniat, ſed ad virilem ſexum tota terræ Hereditas perveniat.* No Part of the *Salick Land* can deſcend to the Daughter, but all to the Male, and in Subſtance, as if referred to the Perſon of the King's Heir Female; ſo much is remembered by that great *Civilian Baldus*, and divers others, but rather as a Cuſtom, than any particular Law, as an Author of that Kingdom hath expreſly written: *Ce n' eſt point une loye ecritte, mais nee avec nous, que nous n' avons point inventer, mais l' avons puiſſe de la nature meme, qui le nous a ainſi apris & donne cet inſtinct*; that is, This is no Law written, but learned of Nature. But why the ſame Author dares affirm, that King *Edward* yielded upon this Point to the *French Philip de Valois*, I wonder, ſeeing all Stories and Carriages of State, in thoſe Times, are ſo manifeſtly oppoſite. *Becanus* undertakes a Conjecture of the firſt Cauſe, which excluded *Gynæcocracy* among them, gueſſing it to be upon their Obſervation of the Misfortune in War, which their Neighbours, the *Bructerans* (a People about the now *Over-Iſſel*, in the *Netherlands*, from near whom he, as many others firſt, derives the *Francks)* endured in the Time of *Veſpaſian*, under the Conduct and Empire of one *Velleda*, a Lady even of Divine Eſteem amongſt them. The learned *Drayton*, who has particularly treated of this Subject, leaves it at laſt in Suſpence, and concludes thus:

But, howſoever the Law be in Truth, or interpretable (for it might ill beſeem me to offer Determination, in a Matter of this Kind) it is certain, that, to this Day, they have an Uſage of ancient Time, which commits to the Care of ſome of the greateſt Peers, that they, when the Queen is in Child-birth be preſent, and warily obſerve, leſt the Ladies privily ſhould counterfeit the inheritable Sex, by ſuppoſing ſome other made, when the true Birth is Female, or, by any ſuch Means, wrong

their

their ancient *Cuſtom Royal.* ‘ But, by his Fa-
‘ vour, this is a Cuſtom in *England* as well as
‘ in *France*, where the *Females* do notwithſtand-
‘ ing inherit the Crown, and never any Law
‘ pretended to the Contrary: I ſhall therefore
‘ conclude upon the Whole with this one Re-
‘ mark, that notwithſtanding the many Volumes
‘ that have been writ to juſtify King *Edward* and
‘ his Succeſſors Title to *France* (though it is true
‘ the *Engliſh* in that Age were better ſkilled in
‘ the Sword than in the Pen) and the great Duſt
‘ that has been raiſed by the *French* under Pre-
‘ tence of this *Salick Law*, to impede his Way
‘ to their Crown: Yet after all it appears clear-
‘ ly to me, that the aforeſaid Ducheſs of *Orle-*
‘ *ans* had a better Title than either King *Ed-*
‘ *ward* or *Philip de Valois*, for ſhe was Daughter
‘ to *Charles the Fair*, the laſt King of the *Capu-*
‘ *tian* Line; whereas *Edward* was deſcended
‘ only from *Iſabella*, Siſter to this ſame King.
‘ And as for *Philip de Valois*, his Pretenſions had
‘ little of Reality in them, when it is plain *Hugh*
‘ *Capet* deſcended from a Female of the *Carolovi-*
‘ *nian* Line, yet ſucceeded to the Crown of
‘ *France*; and where was their *Salick Law* then,
‘ whereof they afterwards ſo much boaſted that
‘ it was born with them, and never writ, but
‘ taught by Nature?

RICHARD II.

SON to *Edward* the *Black Prince*, by *Joan* his Wife, Daughter to *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, the youngeſt Son of King *Edward the Firſt*, ſucceeded his Grandfather King *Edward the Third*, being but eleven Years old, but had neither his Wiſdom nor good Fortune; from *Bourdeaux*, his Birth-place, where his Father kept his Reſidence as Duke of *Aquitain*, he was called *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*; in his Minority he was governed by his Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Glouceſter*; his Reign was at firſt much diſturbed with the *Scots*, and there were alſo diverſe Traverſes of War, eſpecially by Sea, with *France*; for the *French* began to improve in Navigation, and did us much Miſchief, for they burnt a good Part of *Rye*, *Haſtings*, and *Portſmouth*, advancing into the River as far as *Graveſend*, where they likewiſe took Booties, and burnt almoſt all the Place; they alſo took Footing in the Iſle of *Wight*, but were ſoon repelled: Sir *John Arundel*, being ſent with a conſiderable Fleet to *Bretagne*, was diſaſterouſly caſt away, with above 1000 Perſons more, whereof ſome were of Rank and Gallantry; but, a little after, Sir *Hugh Caverley* and Sir *Thomas Piercy* being made Admirals, they ſo ſcowered and ſecured the Seas, and they took ſuch a World of Prizes, that *French* Wines were ſold in *London* for a Mark a Ton; and it is a Paſſage of ſome Remark, how one *John Philpot*, a Citizen of *London*, manned out a Fleet, at his own Charge, took Prizes, and did many Exploits againſt the *French*, yet at his Return he was queſtioned for ſetting forth Men of War without a Warrant from King and Council.

This Reign is alſo remarkable for the famous Rebellion of *Wat. Tyler* and *Jack Straw*, for the Expeditions of the Duke of *Lancaſter* to *Spain*, but eſpecially for that famous Interview between the Kings of *England* and *France*, between *Calais* and St. *Omers*, managed with all the Ceremony, Pomp and Grandeur, that could be imagined, and where a Knot of Friendſhip was tied, by King *Richard*'s Taking the Lady *Iſabella* to Wife, the King of *France*'s Daughter, he being then a Widower, as having buried Queen *Anne*, the King of *Bohemia*'s Daughter, about two Years before: This King, after much Male-Adminiſtration, was, at length, depoſed, when he had reigned twenty-two Years and about three Months, and was ſoon after murdered in *Pomfret* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*.

HENRY IV.

COmmonly called *Henry* of *Bollingbroke*, the firſt King of this Line, was Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Son of *Edward the Third*; he came to the Crown by the Power of the Sword, but with the Conſent of the People, the Iſſue of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to the ſaid King *Edward*, being laid aſide, that had a precedent Right; he was a Prince of ſingular Proweſs, but moſt Part of his Time was taken up in ſuppreſſing of Rebellions at Home, and in the old Trade of warring with *Scotland*; whereat the *French* grew inſolent, fitted out divers Fleets, and attempted the Coaſts of *England*, firſt under the Count of St. *Paul*, who landed at the Iſle of *Wight*, with 7000 Men, where he burnt ſome Villages, but the Iſland

Iſland grew quickly too hot for him; *Plymouth* alſo was plundered, and divers Houſes burnt, whereupon the *Weſtern* Men were permitted to ſet out Ships of War, whereby they ſufficiently revenged themſelves of the *French*, and at one Time took forty Sail. The *French* take Footing again in the Iſle of *Wight*, with 1000 Men, but they were repelled, with the Slaughter of many Hundreds; afterwards the *Admiral* of *Britany*, with the Lord of *Caſtile*, and thirty Sail, attempt *Dartmouth*, where, at a fierce Aſſault, *Du Caſtile* was ſlain, with his two Brothers.

The *Engliſh*, during this Reign, had Occaſion alſo to ſignaliſe themſelves by Land in *France*, upon two ſeveral Occaſions; for a great Feud happening between the Duke of *Burgundy* (whom the *French* King and his eldeſt Son favoured) and the Duke of *Orleans*, whoſe Father had been put to Death by the Procurement of the former, it came at laſt to open Wars between them; but *Burgundy*, finding his Adverſary had powerful Aſſiſtance from the Kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Bituria*, *Bretagne*, and others, makes his Application to King *Henry* for Aid, who at firſt gave him good Counſel, and afterwards ſent him good Force under the Command of *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, the famous Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham*, and others, with which Reinforcement he prevailed powerfully againſt his Enemy, inſomuch that, about a Year after, *Orleans* alſo becomes a Suiter to the ſame King *Henry*, for Aſſiſtance againſt *Burgundy*; which the King alſo granted, and diſpatched away, under the Command of *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *York*, &c. many valiant Men who landed in *Normandy* where *Orleans* was to meet them, but did not at the Time appointed; however, they proſecuted their Deſign, and took many ſtrong Places, and at length *Orleans* and *Clarence* met, and having ſettled their Affairs, the *Engliſh* departed to their Winter Quarters in *Aquitain*. *Henry*, like a wiſe Prince, deſigned to make Uſe of theſe Diſſenſions in *France*, and expreſſed as much to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſaying, *Behold now is the acceptable Time, let us go into* France, *and win, with ſmall Ado, that which is our Right*; but, being then labouring under a great Sickneſs, he was by his Lords, with great Difficulty, perſuaded to the Contrary; and thus ended his Wars in *France*, he himſelf dying ſoon after this laſt Expedition under *Clarence*, to wit, on the 20th of *March*, *Anno* 1412, aged 46, when he had reigned thirteen Years, and about ſix Months, and was buried at *Canterbury* by his firſt Wife the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to *Bohun* Earl of *Eſſex*; he had Iſſue four Sons, *Henry*, that ſucceeded him, *Thomas Duke* of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, of whom it was ſaid they could not be diſtinguiſhed for their Excellency, ſave that *Henry* was the Eldeſt: He had alſo two Daughters, *Blanch* Ducheſs of *Bavaria*, and *Philippa* Queen of *Denmark*.

The Cauſes of this War were firſt Self-preſervation, and that the French *aſſiſted the* Scots *againſt* England, *and had alſo ſent* 12000 *Men to* Owen Glendower, *a* Britiſh *Prince, who was up in Arms againſt the King, but, a few Days after they landed at* Milford-Haven, *they ran again back to their Ships.*

HENRY V.

COmmonly called *Henry* of *Monmouth*, the eldeſt Son of *Henry* IV, proved a great Prince, was a Mirror of Magnanimity, and ſtands to this Day one of the greateſt Ornaments of our *Engliſh* Chronicles. He no ſooner mounted the Throne, but he had his Eye preſently upon *France*, for recovering his Royal Right to that Crown; in order whereunto he altered in his Arms the Bearing of *Semy De-luces*, and quartered the three full *Flower-de-luces* as *France* did bear them; thereupon he ſent the Duke of *Exeter* in a magnificent Ambaſſy, attended with 500 Horſe to *Paris*, to demand the Crown, and receiving no ſatisfactory Anſwer, but rather a Jeer, the *Dauphin* ſending King *Henry* a Sackful of Racket Court-Balls, to employ his Time; he replied, That, for every one of thoſe Balls, he had ſo many fiery Bullets to bandy at the proudeſt Towers of *France*, as he ſhould quickly find; and ſo he preſently got over, and encountered the *French* Army at *Agencourt*, the *French* King himſelf being at the Head of it, which he utterly overthrew, and took more Priſoners than he had common Soldiers. The Battle was fought upon a *Sunday* Morning about the Time of High Maſs; for having ſent Notice to *England* before, that extraordinary Prayers ſhould be made in all Churches

Churches about Ten o'Clock in the Morning, he ſtood upon the Defenſive Part all the While till then; but then, making a moving Oration to his whole Army, and, among other Strains, telling them how all *England* was praying for them at that very Hour, he obtained a moſt glorious and compleat Victory. Beſides that great Act of Piety, another of Policy was uſed, for the King, to prevent the Fury of the *French* Cavalry, appointed divers Stakes, ſtudded with Iron at both Ends, of about ſix Feet long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and ordered that Pioneers ſhould attend to remove them, as they ſhould be directed, which Invention conduced much to the good Succeſs of the Action. The King himſelf charged the Duke of *Alenzon*, who, being beaten off his Horſe, was ſlain. There was alſo a great Slaughter of all Kind of *French* Priſoners, becauſe the Number was ſo great, that nothing could give Aſſurance of Safety, but by making them away.

At length, after many wonderful Feats and Succeſſes performed, eſpecially by himſelf and noble Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford*, and *Glouceſter*, he was, upon Articles agreed between him and *Charles* VI, then King of *France*, made *Regent* of that Kingdom, and proclaimed both there and in *England* Heir Apparent to the *French* Crown, and did, thereupon, take *Katherine*, the ſaid King's Daughter to Wife; but the *Dauphin* (afterwards *Charles* VII.) who judged himſelf much aggrieved hereby, made a ſtrong Party in the Kingdom, and with a great Army laid Siege to the Town of *Coſney*, which King *Henry* was ſo concerned at, that he reſolved to go in Perſon to the Raiſing of it; but he was ſo eager and over-haſty in his March, that he could reach no further than *Senlis* (truſting to his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*'s Care in the Proſecuting of that Deſign, who relieved the Town, and obliged the *Dauphin* to retreat) and there his Fever ſo increaſed upon him, that he made his laſt Will, and appointed his Jewels to be ſold for the Payment of his Debts, and ordained his Brother, the Duke of *Bedford*, to be Regent of *France* and *Normandy*, and ſo died at *Vincennes*, leaving no Iſſue but a young Son, whoſe Education he left to the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the Government of *England*, during his Minority, to *Humphry*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, being the Year of our Lord, 1422, aged Thirty-eight, and having reigned nine Years and odd Months. He had the Mortification to have his Brother *Clarence* ſlain with many fine Soldiers, at the Siege of *Bauge* in *Anjou*, before he died, but was otherwiſe in all Attempts ſucceſsful, and is renowned upon all Accounts, but in nothing ſo much as in his Piety to God, to whom he gave all the Glory of his Victories.

The Ground of this War was the former Claim to the Crown and Kingdom of France.

HENRY VI.

COmmonly called *Henry of Windſor*, proved a religious Prince, but weak and unfortunate; he began his Reign when he was eight Years old, and was crowned King of *France* at *Paris*, *Anno* 1431, to whom the Nobles, Provoſt, and chief Burgeſſes ſware Fealty; but loſt it, five Years after, to *Charles the Seventh*, and the Loſs of that drew on the Loſs of the Whole, but it was not without much Struggling. The Beginning of his Reign, which all Perſons feared would have been the worſt, proved quite contrary, and was the moſt proſperous; which is to be attributed to the Wiſdom, Care, and Reſolution of thoſe brave Men that his Father appointed to guard him and his Dominions. Things proſpered in *France*, whilſt the heroick *Bedford* lived, who won many Towns and Forts, and proved *Victor* in ſeveral Encounters and Battles, eſpecially that great Battle of *Verneuil*, where (as a *French* Author confeſſeth) *Bedford*, *Saliſbury*, and *Suffolk* did mighty Exploits, and defeated the whole *French* Power; about which Time, *Bedford*, as Regent, was obeyed in all Places through *Vimen*, *Poictiers*, and *Picardy*; and from *Paris* to *Rheims*, *Chalons*, and *Troyes*, up to the River of *Loyre*; but when this brave Prince died, which was about the fourteenth Year of *Henry*'s Reign, and that the Duke of *York* was made Regent, Things went very much to Wrack in *France*. *Guienne* was the laſt Province in *France* that held out for the *Engliſh*, where we loſt that brave Captain, *John*, Lord *Talbot*, the firſt Earl of *Shrewſbury* of that Family, and Anceſtor to the now illuſtrious Duke of *Shrewſbury*, and called by the *French* Hiſtorians, the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, as we had done ſome Years before, at the Siege of *Orleans*, the valiant Earl of *Saliſbury*; a Siege

a Siege which firſt raiſed the Fame of the *French Amazon*, *Joan*, the Shepherdeſs, commonly called the Maid of *Orleans*, whoſe wonderful Courage and Succeſs proved very fatal to the *Engliſh* (though ſhe was afterwards burnt at *Roan* for a Witch) and which did not a little contribute to haſten our Expulſion out of that Kingdom; all Places at length being reduced, except *Calais*, and the *Norman* Iſles of *Guernſey*, *Jerſey*, &c. And thus was the old Prophecy made good, *That* Henry of Monmouth *ſhould win all, and* Henry of Windſor *ſhould loſe all*; which was verified to ſome Purpoſe in this King, for, to the former Loſſes, was added that of the Crown of *England*, he being depoſed, after he had reigned thirty-nine Years; but lived eleven Years after, and was murdered by *Crookback Richard*, in the *Tower* of *London*. He was a King pious in an intenſe Degree, which made *Henry the Seventh* ſend to the Pope, to have *Henry the Sixth* canoniſed for a Saint; but Anſwer was given, that he would canoniſe him for an *Innocent*, but not for a *Saint*.

The Cauſe of this War, in this King's Time, was the Revolt of the French *from their Obedience to their true King.*

EDWARD IV.

ELdeſt Son of *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and firſt of this Line, came to the Crown by Right of Deſcent, from King *Edward the Third*; for *Anne*, his Grandmother, was Daughter of *Roger Mortimer*, Son of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, and *Philip* his Wife, ſole Daughter of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward the Third*, and elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*; ſo that it is plain, in Courſe of Succeſſion, he had a precedent Right to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: He was fain to maintain his Right, as he had got it, by the Sword; for, to get it, no leſs than ſix Battles had been fought by his Father and himſelf, and ſix more, to ſecure it, were fought in his Reign; but, when his Affairs began to receive any Settlement, he revolves upon his old Right to the Kingdom of *France*; wherefore, upon the Requeſt of the Duke of *Burgundy*, his Brother-in-Law, who was already actually in War with the *French* King, he enters into an Alliance with him, for to carry it on with united Forces; and was the more eaſily induced hereunto, becauſe of the Aſſiſtance *France* had lately given the Earl of *Warwick*, Queen *Margaret*, her Son, Prince *Edward*, and their Accomplices, againſt him. King *Edward* makes very great Preparations for this Expedition, and having got all Things in Readineſs, rendezvouſes at *Dover*, and ſo, from thence, ſails in a Fleet, conſiſting of Five-hundred Sail, of all Burthens (whereof, the Duke of *Burgundy* furniſhed many) and lands at *Calais*, with a greater Force than ever, at any one Time, came into *France*; for he had with him One-thouſand Five-hundred *Gen d'Arms*, being all Nobles and Gentlemen; Fifteen-thouſand Archers on Horſeback, Eight-thouſand common Soldiers, with Three-thouſand Pioneers (Three-thouſand *Engliſh* being at the ſame Time appointed to land in *Bretagne*, for to make a Diverſion on that Side).

But, before King *Edward* embarked, he ſent an Herald from *Dover*, to the King of *France*, with a Letter of Defiance, written in ſuch Language, that, my Author is perſuaded, could never be of an *Engliſhman*'s Penning; (ſo little Eſteem had the *Engliſh* Nation, at that Time, for their Learning, in the World) the Contents of the Letter were, That the King ſhould yield unto him the Kingdom of *France*, that ſo he might reſtore the Clergy and Nobility to their antient Liberty, and eaſe them of thoſe great Oppreſſions they laboured under, *&c.* which, if he refuſed to do, he concluded full of *Menaces*, according to the uſual Form in that Kind. The *French* King read the Letter ſoftly to himſelf, and then withdrawing to another Room, ſent for the Herald to come before him, and told him, he was not ignorant of the Confederacy between the King, his Maſter, and the Duke of *Burgundy*; and how that the Conſtable of *France* had Intelligence alſo with the King of *England*, the King having married his *Niece*; but, adds he, He will deceive the King, your Maſter, as he has done me; and as for *Burgundy*, it is manifeſt, he foully prevaricates, for he is already retired from before *Nunz*; and at laſt concludes with a Preſent of Three-hundred Crowns to the Herald, and a Promiſe of One-thouſand more, if a Peace were concluded; and got him to engage to further it with all his Might. King *Edward* had no ſooner landed at *Calais*, but the Duke of *Burgundy* retires from before *Nunz*, and, with a ſmall Retinue, rides

to the King at *Calais*, leaving his Army, in the mean Time, to plunder the Country of *Lorrain* and *Barr*. From *Calais* they both departed, and paſſing through *Bolloign*, marched to *Peronne*, where the *Engliſh* were but coldly entertained by the Duke, for he would ſuffer but very few of them to come within the Gates, ſo that they were obliged to take up their Quarters in the Fields. There it was the Duke received a Meſſage from the Conſtable of *France*, whereby he excuſed himſelf for not delivering of *St. Quintin*; alledging, that if he had done it, he could have done him no further Service in the Kingdom of *France*; but added, that, ſeeing the King of *England* was come over in Perſon, he would, for the Future, do whatever the *Duke* ſhould command him; and gave him his Faith in Writing, he would ſerve him, and his Confederates, to the utmoſt of his Power, againſt all Opponents whatſoever. The Duke delivers the Conſtable's Letter to the King, adding ſome Things thereto of his own Head; as that the Conſtable would certainly deliver up *St. Quintin*, and all other Places in his Power, as ſoon as ever he came before them; which the King, willing to believe, marches, together with the Duke, forthwith, from *Peronne*, towards *St. Quintin*; the *Engliſh*, expecting to be received with Ringing of *Bells*, approached the Town in a careleſs Manner; but had a quite contrary Entertainment, for they, from the Town, fired their Cannon upon them, and, withal, made a Sally both with Horſe and Foot, wherein ſome *Engliſh* were ſlain, and others taken Priſoners.

This double Dealing, both of the Conſtable and Duke, made the King the more readily hearken to the Overtures of Peace that the *French* King offered him; wherefore, in a Village near *Amiens*, Commiſſioners for both Kings met; whereof, for *France*, were the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, Admiral, the Lord *St. Peter*, and Biſhop of *Eureux*; and for *England*, the Lord *Howard*, one *Chalenger*, and Doctor *Morton*; where it was agreed, the *French* King ſhould pay the King of *England*, preſently, before his Departure out of *France*, Seventy-two-thouſand Crowns, towards the Expence of the *Engliſh* Army, and Fifty-thouſand Crowns a Year for ever; and that the *Dauphin* ſhould marry King *Edward*'s eldeſt Daughter, and have the Duchy of *Guienne* for her Maintenance *. But, at the King's Return, the *Engliſh* Barons held it to be an inglorious Peace, though it was ſaid to be made by the Holy Ghoſt, for a *Dove* was ſeen to be often on King *Edward*'s Tent, during the Treaty. But the laſt Article was never performed, for the *Dauphin* was afterwards married to *Margaret*, Daughter to *Maximilian*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, ſo much to the Diſappointment and Sorrow of King *Edward*, that he fell ſick upon it (as *Comines* ſays) and departed this Life at *Weſtminſter*, the Ninth of *April*, at the Age of Forty-one, when he had reigned twenty-two Years, and about one Month, *Anno* 1483, and was buried at *Windſor*, where before he had provided him a Reſting-place. This King had three *Concubines*, whereof *Jane Shoar* was one, of whom, he would ſay, One was the merrieſt, another the wittieſt, and the third the holieſt Harlot in his Realm.

The Cauſe of this War was a Defection of the French *from their Loyalty to* England, *in Conjunction with the Aſſiſtances they gave Queen* Margaret, *and the Earl of* Warwick, *againſt King* Edward.

EDWARD V.

ELdeſt Son of King *Edward the Fourth*, was not above twelve Years of Age when his Father died. During this King's ſhort Reign (if it may be called ſo) there was neither, nor well could be, any War, or Act of Hoſtility, that we read, between *England* and *France*; for it was but three Months that he reigned: For *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, his Uncle, knowing how eaſy a Step it was from the Place of Protector, and firſt Prince of the Blood, to the Crown, turned every Stone to get the Protectorſhip from the Lord *Rivers*, the King's Uncle, by the Mother's Side; and having compaſſed it, his next Buſineſs was to get Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, into his Clutches, alſo; whom the Queen-Mother was fain to part with, in great Affliction and Struggling of Nature, for ſhe delivered him up, as it were, for Execution; and the Protector, who was reſolved to make both him and the King a Victim to his Ambition, looks upon the two young Princes, from that

† See the next Tract, intitled, *The old* French *Way of managing Treaties.*

very

very Time, as two Birds in a Cage, that ſhould not be long-lived; but, to blind the People, he gave Orders for the King's Coronation, whilſt he ſecretly contrived with the Duke of *Buckingham* (his great Coadjutor in his curſed Deſigns) to fix the Crown upon his own Head. *Buckingham*, with his Artifices, forced, in a Manner, the City to a Compliance, which, *nolens volens*, was at laſt forced to proclaim *Richard*, King of *England*, the Duke pretending, that all the late King's Iſſue were *Baſtards*, and the Protector only, true Heir to the Crown; who, when it was offered unto him, by the Duke, in the Name of the City, refuſed it, with a counterfeit angry Countenance; but when his *Privado*, making himſelf the Mouth of the Aſſembly, ſaid, That, if his Grace would not accept of the Crown, they would find one that ſhould; then he was pleaſed to take it upon him as his Right.

RICHARD III.

WAS youngeſt Brother to *Edward the Fourth*, of whom it was ſaid he was born with Teeth in his Head, and Hair on his Shoulders. At his firſt Coming to the Crown, he took his Seat in the Court of *King's Bench*, where, like a gracious Prince, he pronounced Pardon of all Offences committed againſt him, to inſinuate thereby to the People what a bleſſed Reign this was like to be; but he ſpared not the two young Princes then in the *Tower*, but they were, by his Order, ſtifled in their Beds. This Reign was ſo troubleſome at Home, that *Richard*, though a warlike Prince in himſelf, had not Leiſure to mind his Affairs Abroad; for the Duke of *Buckingham*, the great Inſtrument of all his Villainies, whether through the Horror of the ſaid Murder, or ſome other Reſentment, did, moſt certainly, from that Time, project his Ruin, who had been the chief Inſtrument of his Elevation. There was then at the Court of the Duke of *Bretagne*, in *France*, *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, the next Heir to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Advancement to the Crown, *Buckingham* and others reſolved upon, with *Proviſo* that *Henry* ſhould conſent to marry the Lady *Eliſabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to *Edward the Fourth*, whereby the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* ſhould be united into one; but, before the Plot took Effect, the Duke was taken, and loſt his Head without any Form of Tryal, or any Regard had to his former Service. *Richmond* lands at *Milford-Haven*, in *Wales*, but with Two-hundred Men, from whence advancing forwards, by daily Reinforcements, he made up a Body of Five-thouſand Men, with whom he encountered King *Richard* at *Boſworth*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, being *Auguſt* 12, 1485. The Fight was very ſharp, but ſucceſsful to *Henry*, who carried the Day, and with it the Crown of *England*, for there *Richard* was ſlain, after he had acted the Part of a great Captain and moſt valiant Soldier, and ſo ended his bloody and ſhort Reign, which was but two Years, two Months, and odd Days; but, however, to his Praiſe it muſt be ſaid, that, during his Reign, he procured many good Laws for the Eaſe of his People, and omitted nothing that might tend to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation.

HENRY VII.

BORN in *Pembroke* Caſtle in *Wales*, ſucceeded next to *Richard*, upon *Boſworth* Battle, and aſſumed the Crown as Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, by his Mother's Side, *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, then alive, and lived many Years after, Daughter and Heir of *John de Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerſet*, Son of *John*, Earl of *Somerſet*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, by *Jane Swinford*, but born before *Wedlock*, though afterwards legitimated by Act of Parliament, yet with a *Proviſo*, of not being capable to inherit the Crown; his Father was *Edmund Tewdor*, Son of *Owen Tewdor*, deſcended, as it was ſaid, from *Cadwallader*, the laſt *Britiſh* King; ſo that here was but a very ſlender Title, inſomuch that *Henry*, according to a former Compact, was neceſſitated, for the Strengthening of it, to take *Eliſabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to *Edward the Fourth* to Wife, and Heir to the Houſe of *York*, to whom he proved no very indulgent Huſband, though ſhe wanted no attractive Accompliſhments; but his Averſion to the Houſe of *York* was ſo predominant, that it found Place, not only in his Wars and Council, but in his Chamber and Bed; but his Aſſuming of the Crown firſt in his own Name,

and afterwards never making Uſe of hers, either in his Coins, Proclamations, or any Adminiſtrations, ſpun him out a Thread of many Seditions and Troubles at Home, and might, perhaps, divert him from great Undertakings Abroad, for he was a Prince that wanted neither Wiſdom nor Courage; however, it was in his Time that the Dutchy of *Bretagne* was annexed to the Crown of *France*, which it was in his Power to have prevented; and, indeed, herein he ſeemed to be outwitted by *Charles*, the *French* King, who, by his Artifices, engaged King *Henry* to be a Mediator between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*, while he, with his Forces, beſieges *Nantz*, and routs the Duke's whole Army; it is true, the Lord *Woodville*, the Queen's Uncle, ſecretly ſtole over into *Bretagne*, with a ſmall Band of Men, from the Iſle of *Wight*; which Action expoſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, who then mediated a Peace, to no ſmall Danger; but the Reinforcement was ſo inconſiderable, as to do the *Britons* no great Service. But the Battle of St. *Alban*, aforementioned, wherein the *Britons* were overthrown with the Loſs of Six-thouſand of their Men, and the Duke of *Orleans*, who ſided with them, with the Prince of *Orange*, taken Priſoners, alarmed King *Henry* in ſuch Sort, that he forthwith diſpatched Succours into *Bretagne*, under the Command of *Robert*, Lord *Brooke*, to the Number of Eight-thouſand choice Men, who quickly joined the Remainder of the *Britons* Forces, and marched towards the Enemy; who, though fluſhed with their late Victory, well knowing the *Engliſh* Courage, kept themſelves within their Trenches, and declined Battle, but, in the mean Time, took all Advantages upon our Men with their light Horſe, though they commonly came off with Loſs, eſpecially by Means of the *Engliſh* Archers. But, while theſe Things were thus tranſacting, *Francis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, dies, whereupon the principal Perſons of that Duchy, partly bought, and partly through Faction, put all Things into ſuch Confuſion, that the *Engliſh*, finding no Head nor Body to join Forces with, and being jealous of their Friends, as well as in Danger of their Enemies, upon the Approach of Winter, returned Home five Months after their Landing.

At this Time, Archduke *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*, was Governor of *Flanders*, and in Treaty of Marriage with *Anne*, Heireſs of *Bretagne*, when there happened a Rebellion at *Bruges*, which was carried on by the Ld. *Ravenſtein*, who ſeized upon *Ypres* and *Sluice*, and ſent to the Lord *Corde*, *French* Governor of *Picardy*, infamous in Hiſtory for that Saying *He could be content to lie in Hell ſeven Years, ſo he might win* Calais *from the* Engliſh, for Aid, who, being before provided, immediately beſieges *Dixmude*. Whereat the King of *England*, being diſpleaſed, ſends forthwith the Lord *Morley* with a thouſand Men to the Governor of *Calais*, and with an Addition of a Thouſand more from thence had Order, but under Pretence of ſecuring the *Engliſh* Pale about that City, to put themſelves into *Dixmude*; which, in Conjunction with ſome *Germans*, they effected undiſcovered, and ſo, with the Gariſon, attacked the Enemy's Camp with that Reſolution and Bravery, that, after a bloody and obſtinate Fight, they beat them out of it with the Loſs of about Eight-thouſand Men; but, on the *Engliſh* Part, not above an hundred Men, and among them the Lord *Morley*. The Cannon and Baggage fell alſo into their Hands, with which they marched to *Newport*, from whence the Lord *Daubigny* returned to his Government of *Calais*, leaving the Wounded, and ſome other Volunteers, there; *Cordes*, having Intelligence hereof, departs immediately from *Ypres*, with a great Force, and attacks *Newport*, and had carried the principal Fort of the Town, when fortunately there arrived in the Haven a Reinforcement of *Engliſh* Archers, who beat him out of it again, whereat he became ſo diſcouraged, that he raiſed the Siege, which Accidents tended to an open Rupture between the two Crowns.

Hereupon King *Henry* adviſes *Maximilian* to preſs on his Marriage with *Anne* of *Bretagne*, which he did accordingly, inſomuch that the Marriage was conſumated by Proxy, the Lady put to Bed, and *Maximilian*'s Ambaſſador, with Letters of Procuration in the Preſence of many noble Perſonages, putting his naked Leg between the Eſpouſal Sheets. *Maximilian*, thinking all Things now ſure, neglected, for a Time, his further Proceedings and intended his Wars; in the mean While, the *French* King, conſulting his Divines, got them to declare this Conſummation invalid, ſo as they made Sport of it in *France*, ſaying, That it was an Argument, *Maximilian* was a Widower and a cold Wooer, that could content himſelf to be a Bridegroom by a Deputy, and would not make a little Journey to put all out of Queſtion; and eaſily, by Emiſſaries, whereof he had Store about her, prevailed upon the young Lady to conſent to become

become his Wife, who was a young King and a Batchelor. Which Procedure and Artifice of *France* ſo diſtaſted K. *Henry*, that he cauſed his Chancellor to tell the *French* Ambaſſadors, who were ſent to ſooth him upon this Occaſion, that he was reſolved to recover his Right to *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Anjou*, and to the Kingdom of *France* itſelf, unleſs the *French* King were content to have King *Henry*'s Title to *France* (at leaſt Tribute for the ſame) handled in a Treaty. *Maximilian*, and with good Reaſon, ſtorms more than any Body, at this perfidious Dealing of *France*; ſends forthwith Ambaſſadors both to *England* and *Spain*, to incite them to enter into an offenſive League againſt *France*, promiſing to concur with conſiderable Forces of his own: Hereupon, *Henry* calls a Parliament, gets plentiful Supplies, and raiſes a puiſſant Army, in which were many noble Perſonages, and over whom he makes *Jaſper*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *John*, Earl of *Oxford*, Generals under his own Perſon; and on the Ninth of *September*, in the eighth Year of his Reign, departs towards the Sea-coaſt; *October* the Sixth he embarked at *Sandwich*, and the ſame Day landed at *Calais*; ſome Overtures of an Accommodation were made him from *France*, before he took Shipping, but he was no ſooner arrived at *Calais*, but the calm Winds of Peace began to blow, for he found *Maximilian* was unprovided of the Aſſiſtance promiſed for Lack of Money, which ſoon ſpread through the Army; and upon the Neck of this he received News alſo, that *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* had made Peace with *Charles*, King of *France*, upon his Reſtoring unto them the Counties of *Rouſillon* and *Perpignan*, formerly mortgaged unto *France*, by *John*, King of *Arragon*; however, *October* the Fifteenth, he left *Calais*, and directed his March towards *Bologne*, where he arrived in four Days, and ſo ſat down before it; the Siege continued for near a Month, but without any memorable Action or Accident of War, only Sir *John Savage*, a valiant Commander, was ſlain, as he was riding about to view the Walls; the Town was well fortified, and had a good Gariſon, yet it was much diſtreſſed and ready for an Aſſault (which, if it had been given, it was believed it would have been carried) when the Commiſſioners, appointed for that Purpoſe, concluded a Peace, which was to continue for both the Kings Lives; wherein there was no Article of Importance, being, in Effect, rather a Bargain than a Treaty (as my Lord *Bacon* obſerves) for all Things remained as they were, ſave that there ſhould be paid to the King Seven-hundred Forty-five Thouſand Ducates at preſent, for his Charges in that Expedition, and Twenty-five Thouſand Crowns yearly, for his Expences ſuſtained in the Aids of the *Britons*; and beſides, this was left indefinitely when it ſhould determine or expire, which made the *Engliſh* eſteem it as a Tribute carried under fair Terms; and the Truth is, it was paid both to this King, and to his Son, King *Henry the Eighth*, longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. But this Peace gave no great Contentment to the Nobility and principal Officers of the Army, who had, many of them, ſold or engaged their Eſtates upon the Hopes of the War; and they ſtuck not to ſay, that the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People to feather himſelf; and others made themſelves merry with what the King had ſaid in Parliament: That, after the War was once begun, he doubted not to make it pay itſelf, ſaying, he had kept his Promiſe; however, *Charles* was by this Peace aſſured of the Poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, and free to proſecute his Deſigns upon *Naples*, which Kingdom he won, though he loſt it afterwards in a Kind of Felicity of a Dream, after he had paſſed the whole Length of *Italy*, without Reſiſtance; ſo that it was true what Pope *Alexander* was wont to ſay, *That the* Frenchmen *came into* Italy, *with Chalk in their Hands, to mark up their Lodgings, rather than with Swords to fight.* However, *Henry*, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, upon this Occaſion, entered into a League with the *Italian* Potentates, for the Defence of *Italy*. He had many inteſtine Broils and Inſurrections, and his Reign is noted for *Lambert Simnel*'s and *Perkin Warbeck*'s Impoſtures, and no leſs remarkable for the immenſe Treaſure he left behind him; a Teſtimony of his avaricious Nature; and, after above Twenty-three Years Reign, and having lived Fifty-two, he died, *April* the Twenty-ſecond, at his Palace of *Richmond*, which himſelf had built, *Anno* 1508.

The Cauſes of his Wars were partly for the Relief of Bretagne, *partly on Behalf of the Archduke* Maximilian, *and partly for the Recovery of his own Right in* France.

HENRY

HENRY VIII.

HEIR to both Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and the only ſurviving Son of *Henry* VII, ſucceeded his Father at the Age of Eighteen, and proved a Prince of great Virtues as well as Vices. Towards the fourth Year of his Reign, the *French* King making War upon Pope *Julius*, King *Henry* wrote him monitory Letters to deſiſt, as being his Friend and Confederate; which Letters being little regarded, *Henry* ſent to demand his Duchies of *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, and the Crown of *France* itſelf; but this had the ſame Effect with the former, the *French* King continuing his War in *Italy*; which provoked King *Henry* ſo, that, entering into Confederacy with the Emperor *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and other Potentates, he determined, by the Advice of his Council, to make War upon *France*, and made Preparations both by Sea and Land accordingly; and, in Concert with *Ferdinando*, ſends over into *Biſcay* an Army of Ten-thouſand Men, all Foot, under the Command of the Marquis of *Dorſet*, with a Deſign to invade *France* on that Side, firſt for the Recovery of the Duchy of *Aquitain*; but *Ferdinand* failing in the Promiſes he had made of Horſe, Ordnance, Carriages, *&c.* the *Engliſh*, after they had waited from *May* till *December*, for Performance, returned into *England* without any memorable Action performed, their Number being conſiderably diminiſhed through Sickneſs. *Henry*, nothing diſcouraged hereat, calls a Parliament, who gave him a plentiful Supply for Carrying on the War; wherefore, with a puiſſant Army, wherein were many noble Perſons, and over which as Captain-General was conſtituted the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, under the King's Perſon, he lands at *Calais* on the laſt Day of *June*, being the fifth Year of his Reign; and the Day following lands the Admiral of *England* at *Whitſand-bay*, who entered the Town and burnt it, and then returned. From *Calais*, about the Twenty-firſt of *July*, the King marches in great State and good Order of Battle toward *Terwin*, where he arrives on the Fourth of *Auguſt*, and lays cloſe Siege to it, the *French* attempting to impede his March, but without Succeſs; ſeven Days after came the Emperor *Maximilian*, whom the King received with great Triumph, between *Aire* and the Camp, where he entered into the King's Pay, and, as a Teſtimony thereof, wore St. *George*'s Croſs with a Roſe; the Town made no extraordinary Defence, for, notwithſtanding the Gariſon conſiſted of Four-thouſand, whereof were Six-hundred good Horſe, yet they capitulated the Twenty-third, and marched away the Day following; but the King did not think fit to keep the Place, and therefore raſed all the Works and burnt the Town, removing firſt the Ordnance that was in it to *Aire*; from hence he directs his March towards the City of *Tournay*, and, about the Twenty-firſt of *September*, ſits down before it; it was but weakly gariſoned, tho' full of Inhabitants, and ſo, on the Twenty-ninth of the ſame Month, was, by Capitulation ſurrendered; the Citizens, which were to the Number of Sixty-thouſand, ſwearing Allegiance to him. Here Sir *Edward Poinings* was made Governor, and of this City, *Wolſey*, then the King's Almoner, was made Biſhop; and ſo, by the Way of *Calais*, *Henry* returns for *England*, and on the Twenty-fourth of *October* lands at *Dover*, the Earl of *Surrey*, during his Abſence, having fought the *Scots*, ſlain their King, *James the Fourth*, and defeated their whole Army. The King's Army thus prevailing by Land, in *France* itſelf, and againſt the *Scots*, its Confederates proved no leſs ſucceſsful by Sea; for Sir *John Wallop* had landed on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, and burnt to the Number of Twenty-one Towns and Villages, together with many Ships in the Haven of *Trapart*, *Staples*, and other Places. The *French* King, by the Means of *Leo*, with whom he was now accorded, ſues for a Peace; which was at length concluded, the Lady *Mary*, the King's Siſter, for the Tying of the Knot, being given to the *French* King in Marriage, whom, however, ſhe did not long enjoy, *Lewis the Twelfth* dying Eighty-two Days after. The Remainder of this King's Reign was, in a Manner, ſpent in Domeſtick Affairs, which is not our Province to treat of, till about the Thirty-fifth Year, when, in Conjunction with the Emperor, he again makes War upon *France*; the Emperor took the Field in Perſon, and the *Engliſh* joining him, under the Command of Sir *John Wallop*, laid Siege to *Landarſey*. The *French* King haſted with a great Army to ſuccour the Town, which was brought to great Extremity, upon whoſe Approach, the Emperor, expecting to give Battle, raiſed his Siege, the Town, being by this Means

Means relieved, which was all the *French* cared for, declining to hazard a Battle, and ſo, upon the Approach of Winter, both Camps broke up.

The Year following, the King raiſed a mighty Army, the Front led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the main Battle by the Duke of *Suffolk*, where the King intended to be preſent himſelf alſo, and the Rear by the Lord *Ruſſel*, attended with many other Nobles, as the Earls of *Surrey*, *Oxford*, &c. which about *Whitſuntide* landed at *Calais*, and from thence, leaving *Bolloign* to the Right, directed their March towards *Muterell*, and were as they paſſed joined by the Emperor's Forces under the Count of *Buren*; but, finding the foreſaid Place extraordinarily well fortified and provided for its Defence, the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the King's Army, wheels off towards *Bolloign*, where he arrives *July* 19, and pitched his Camp to the *Eaſt* of the Town upon the Hill; but, thence removing into a Valley after many ſharp Skirmiſhes, entered the lower Town deſerted by the Inhabitants, who, under the Covert of the Smoke, got into the high Town undiſcovered; ſoon after, the Tower, called the *Old Man*, was yielded up by ſixteen Soldiers that kept it, which notwithſtanding diſcouraged not the Gariſon, who continued to make a vigorous Defence; on the 26th of *July*, the King arrives in Perſon, orders a Mount to be raiſed upon the *Eaſt-ſide* planted with divers Pieces of Cannon and Mortars, which incommoded the Town very much, ſo that few Houſes were left whole within it; in this Diſtreſs, Two-hundred *French* and *Italians*, under the Conduct of *Joncurtio*, attempted to get into the Town in the Night, and ſucceeded ſo well by the Means of a Prieſt that ſpoke *Engliſh*, that moſt of them were got over the Trenches before diſcovered, and a Matter of a hundred and twenty got in, the reſt being either ſlain or taken; at length, a Piece of the Caſtle being blown up, the King ſtormed the Place, but did not carry it; however, the Cannon continuing playing, and the Gariſon having loſt the beſt of their Commanders and Men, in this Action, and fearing as well as concluding that ſuch another Aſſault muſt carry the Town, thought it Time to capitulate, before Things came to the laſt Extremity; and ſo Articles were agreed upon, and the Gariſon marched out with Bag and Baggage to the Number of Sixty-ſeven Horſe, One-thouſand Five-hundred and Sixty-three Foot, Eighty-ſeven wounded, and One-thouſand Nine-hundred and Twenty-ſeven Women and Children. On the 25th of *September*, the King with the Sword borne before him, by the Marquis of *Dorſet*, enters *Bolloign* in Triumph, the Trumpets, all the While, ſounding on the Walls; and, two Days after viewing of the Place, cauſed St. *Mary*'s Church to be pulled down, and a Mount to be made in the Room of it, for the Strengthening the Town, and at his Departure made Sir *John Dudley* Governor, and, on the Firſt of *October*, lands in *England*; next Year, *September* the 9th, Sir *John Dudley*, then Admiral, lands with Six-thouſand Men, at *Trey-Port* in *Normandy*, burns the Town and Abby, and thirty Ships in the Haven, with the Loſs of fourteen Men only. The *French* attempted the Recovery of *Bolloign*, again and again, but to little Purpoſe, ſo that at length a Peace was concluded, wherein it was agreed, the *French* King ſhould pay King *Henry* Eight-hundred Thouſand Crowns within the Term of eight Years, and then, to have *Bulloign* reſtored to him; but, whilſt the Oath for Confirmation hereof was taken by both Kings, Monſieur *Chatillon* began to make a new *Baſtilion* at the very Mouth of the Haven of *Bulloign*, calling it *Chatillon*'s Garden; the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, then Governor of *Bulloign*, advertiſed the King hereof, by Sir *Thomas Palmer*, requiring to know his Pleaſure therein; the King adviſes with his Council, who all agree the Conditions of Peace ought by no Means to be infringed, and therefore, to let the *Baſtilion* ſtand; whereupon the King ordered his Secretary to write to the Lord *Grey* to that Purpoſe, but then called to Sir *Thomas* privily, and told him, that, notwithſtanding the Contents of that Letter, he ſhould from him command the Lord *Grey* to raiſe the Fortification to the Ground with all Speed. Sir *Thomas* replied, that a Meſſage by Word of Mouth, contrary to a Letter, would never be believed; Well (ſays the King) tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to him. Sir *Thomas*, upon his Arrival at *Bolloign*, delivered the Governor the Letter, and withal the Meſſage, who hereupon calls a Council what to do, wherein they all agreed the Letter ſhould be obeyed; to which the Lord *Grey* himſelf ſaid Nothing, but cauſed the Meſſage to be written down *verbatim* from Sir *Thomas*'s Mouth, and thoſe of the Council to ſet their Hands to it; and when this was done, the very next Night, he iſſues out and raſes the Fort to the Ground, and then ſent Sir *Thomas*

back

back to the King with Letters to acquaint him with what he had done, who, as ſoon as he ſaw him, aſked aloud, What will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas*, delivering the Letter, ſaid, Your Majeſty ſhall know by theſe; but the King, half angry, ſaid, Nay, tell me, has he done it or no? And, being told it was done, he turned about to his Lords, and ſaid, What ſay you, my Lords, to this? *Chatillon*'s Garden is raſed down to the Ground? Whereunto one preſently anſwered, that he that had done it deſerved to loſe his Head; to which the King immediately replies, *That he would rather loſe a dozen ſuch Heads as his was, than one ſuch Servant that had done it*; and therewith commanded preſently the Lord *Grey*'s Pardon to be drawn, which he ſent to him with Letters full of Thanks and Promiſes of Reward. The Cauſe why the King took this Courſe was this, leſt, if he had given Order in Writing for the Raſing of the Fort, it might have come to the Knowledge of the *French*, before it was done, and ſo have been prevented. This may be taken as an Inſtance of King *Henry*'s great Capacity; and was the concluding Act of his Life as to foreign Affairs, for he died not long after, to wit, in the Year 1547, the Fifty-ſixth of his Life, and of his Reign the Eight and Thirtieth.

The Cauſes of this War with France *were partly Reaſons of State, and partly the League which King* Henry *had made with the Emperor.*

EDWARD VI.

BORN at *Hampton-Court*, ſucceeded his Father King *Henry the Eighth*, at the Age of nine Years; a moſt excellent Prince, and the Wonder of the Age, both for Learning and Piety; but *England* did not long enjoy the Fruit of the Bleſſings, couched in his Perſon, his Reign being ſhortened by an immature Death, as it had been in a great Meaſure rendered uneaſy, through the Feuds of the Nobles, during his Life; this together with the Reformation, carried on at Home, made the Enemy inſult Abroad, inſomuch that the *French* aſſumed the Boldneſs, in Conjunction with the *Scots*, to attack us in our own Borders; for in the ſecond Year of this King's Reign on St. *Peter*'s Eve, Monſieur *Daſſey*, the *French* General, with ten-thouſand *French* and *Germans*, beſides *Scots*, laid Siege to *Haddington*, a Town in *Scotland*, but then in the Hands of the *Engliſh*; the Town made a moſt vigorous Defence, and at length came one-thouſand three-hundred Horſe from *Berwick*, with Intent to relieve it, but failed in the Attempt, for moſt of the Horſe being ſurrounded by the Enemy, were either ſlain, or made Priſoners, together with Sir *Robert Bowes* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, their Commanders; but for all this great Diſcouragement and Misfortune, the Gariſon would not flinch, but continued making frequent and ſucceſsful Sallies upon the Enemy till *Auguſt* 20, when the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with ſixteen-thouſand Men, four-thouſand whereof were *Germans*, came to ſuccour the Place; the Enemy had no ſooner Intelligence thereof, but they marched away with all Speed, but firſt highly applauded the Bravery of the Gariſon; the Earl revictualled the Place for that Time, and then returned, though it was thought, afterwards, convenient to demoliſh it; which was accordingly performed the Twentieth of *September* following, by the Earl of *Rutland*.

The Year following, *i. e.* the third of the King's Reign, it came to an open Rupture between *England* and *France*; the *French* thinking to ſurpriſe *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, came ſuddenly with many Gallies upon our Fleet there, but were received with that Reſolution and Bravery, that they were forced to flee, with great Loſs, both of Men and Shipping. News came to the King and Protector, *Auguſt* 28, that the *French* had taken *Blackneſs*, *Hamilton*, and *Newhaven* near *Bolloign*, by the Means of one *Sturton* (as it was ſaid) a natural Son of the Lord *Sturton*, who betrayed this laſt Place into the Hands of the Enemy, and took Service himſelf in the *French* Army; hereupon the Captain of *Bolloign* Bark, fearing the Conſequence, after he had conveighed the Stores and Ordnance to the high Town, blew up the Fort; the *French* made all poſſible Preparations to attack the Place, and for the more vigorous Carrying on of the Siege, and Encouragement of the Soldiers, the *French* King comes before *Bolloign* in Perſon, where were many famous Exploits done both by the Aſſailants and Defendants; but the brave Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, who was Governor, began and continued to make ſo prudent as well as brave Reſiſtance, that the *French* were conſtrained

ſtrained at laſt to quit their Enterpriſe, and hereupon were made ſome Overtures of Peace, which at laſt was concluded, and wherein it was agreed, that *Bollogn* ſhould be delivered up to the *French*, upon Condition, there ſhould be a Reſervation of King *Edward*'s Title to the Crown of *France*, and due Payment made unto him of five-hundred Thouſand Crowns. This King, being about ſixteen Years old, died at *Greenwich*, *July* 6, having reigned ſix Years, and about five Months.

The Cauſes of this War were the King's Minority and Feuds at Home, whereof the French *thought to take Advantage.*

MARY.

ELdeſt Daughter to King *Henry the Eighth*, by Queen *Katherine* of *Spain*, ſucceeded her Brother *Edward*, *Anno* 1553, purſuant to their Father's Will, though contrary to her Brother's, who left the Lady *Jane Grey* his Succeſſor; and after ſome ſmall Oppoſition by the foreſaid Lady's Party, more eſpecially the Duke of *Northumberland*, her Huſband's Father, got peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and was crowned at *Weſtminſter*, the Laſt of *April*, in great State and Magnificence; the former Part of her Reign, which in all was but ſhort, was much taken up in reſtoring Popery, and the Papal Power, in her Dominions; which ſhe effected in a great Meaſure, through the Shedding of much innocent Blood, which has left a bitter Stain upon her Memory, in the Records of Time, as well for her Cruelty as Superſtition, though Authors generally repreſent her to be a Princeſs, of herſelf, compaſſionate and good-natured; ſhe was married to *Philip* King of *Spain*, on St. *James*'s Day, in the ſecond Year of her Reign, and this Marriage engaged her, about the fifth Year of her Reign, in a War with *France*; for King *Philip*, paſſing over to *Calais*, and ſo to *Flanders*, made great Preparations againſt the *French* King, and was aſſiſted therein, with a thouſand *Engliſh* Horſe, four-thouſand Foot, and two-thouſand Pioneers, whereof the Earl of *Pembroke* was General; with this Reinforcement King *Philip* directs his March to St. *Quintin*, and after a ſharp Siege, takes the Place, the *Engliſh* (of whom the Lord *Henry Dudley*, who firſt advanced the Standard upon the Wall, was here ſlain) doing him mighty Service herein, which the King generouſly rewarded, with the Spoils of the Town; but this Action may be truly ſaid to have been fatal to *England*, in regard it was the principal Cauſe of the Loſs of *Calais*; for while the greateſt Part of that Gariſon was employed in the foreſaid Siege, and before *Calais* was reinforced, having then but five-hundred Men in it, the Duke of *Guiſe*, with a powerful Army, advancing towards it, intrenches himſelf at *Sandgate*, and ſent one Detachment along the *Downs*, towards *Riſe-bank*, and another to *Newnembridge*; he ſoon poſſeſſes himſelf of both, for the few Soldiers that guarded them, had fled ſecretly into the Town; the next Day, they raiſed a Battery from the Hills, of *Riſe-bank*, againſt the Walls of *Calais*, between the Water-gate and the Priſon, and continuing the ſame for three Days, made a ſmall Breach, by which they could not well enter, neither was it ſo deſigned; for while the *Engliſh* were buſy in the Defence of this Place, the *French* making their Way through the Ditch (which was full of Water) entered the Caſtle, deſigning thence to paſs into the Town; but here the brave Sir *Anthony Agar* withſtood them, and ſtopped their further Progreſs, though to the Loſs of his own Life; for there was not a Man beſides killed, during the Siege; till the Governor the Lord *Wentworth*, that ſame Evening which was the Fifth of *January*, conſidering Succours far, the Enemy's nigh Approach, and the Weakneſs of the Gariſon, thought fit to capitulate; and ſo it was agreed, the Town, with the Ammunition and Artillery, ſhould be delivered to the *French*, the Lives of the Inhabitants ſaved, and all to depart where they pleaſed, excepting the Governor and fifty more, ſuch as the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould appoint to remain Priſoners, and be put to Ranſom; thus the good Town of *Calais*, after it had been in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, for the Space of two-hundred and ten Years (for it was taken by *Edward the Third*, after a Siege of eleven Months, in 1347) was loſt in leſs than a Fortnight, till which Time, we had the Keys of *France*, at our Girdles; and ſo it was believed Queen *Mary* reſented the Loſs accordingly, for ſhe died ſoon after, having ſaid not long before, that if ſhe were opened, they ſhould find *Calais* at her Heart; ſome Feints were made for the Repairing of this

Loſs, for the Queen equipped out a Fleet, with a Deſign to ſurpriſe *Breſt*; they landed in *Conquet* Road, and in a ſhort Time became Maſters of the Town, with the great *Abbey*, which they ſacked and burnt, together with divers adjacent Villages, where they found good Plunder; from hence (having now alarmed the Country) the Admiral judged it not convenient to purſue their Enterpriſe, and ſo returned; King *Philip*, in the mean Time, went on with his Wars, and could not conclude a Peace (though both Sides ſeemed to deſire it) becauſe he inſiſted ſtifly upon the Rendition of *Calais* to the *Engliſh*, which the *French* would by no Means yield to; which, together with the King's Abſence, haſtened the Queen's Death, for ſhe departed this Life at St. *James*'s, *November* 17, 1558, when ſhe had reigned five Years, four Months, and odd Days.

The chief Ground of this War with France *was the conjugal Tie, whereby the Queen was bound to adhere to King* Philip *her Huſband.*

ELIZABETH.

SEcond Daughter to *Henry the Eighth*, by Queen *Anne Bullen*, ſucceeded her Siſter *Mary* to the Imperial Crown of *England*; a Princeſs whoſe Virtues it is impoſſible for me to celebrate (if it were my Deſign) having advanced the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, both at Home and Abroad, beyond any of her Predeceſſors; and how far ſhort her Succeſſors have been from improving, or ſo much as maintaining of it, is evident in Hiſtory, but no where ſo well as in that celebrated Piece, the *Detection* of the four laſt Reigns, *&c.* in War ſhe was involved almoſt all her Reign, and had not only to do with, but triumphed over the proudeſt Monarchy then in *Europe* (I might ſay in the World) I mean that of *Spain*, which, however, being foreign from the preſent Deſign, I ſhall not meddle with: The firſt Occaſion of Quarrel ſhe had with *France* was, in the ſecond Year of her Reign, when the *French*, having upon the Suit of the *Queen* Dowager of *Scotland*, ſent great Numbers of Soldiers, to aid and aſſiſt her againſt the Reforming Lords, Queen *Eliſabeth*, diſliking ſuch Neighbours, and knowing the Queen of *Scots* was married and governed in *France*, and began to aſſume the *Engliſh* Arms, upon the humble Suit of the ſaid Lords, ſent them a ſtrong Reinforcement by Land, under the Command of the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and at the ſame Time diſpatched Sir *William Winter* Vice-Admiral with a Fleet of Ships, for to block up *Leith*; the Army, after ſome Stay at *Berwick*, purſued their March, and after ſome uſual Pickering by the Way, and Overtures of a Ceſſation, arrived before *Leith*, which was chiefly gariſoned by *French* Soldiers; the Place was bravely attacked ſeveral Times, and Wonders done by the *Engliſh* both by Sea and Land againſt it; and the *French* omitted nothing that could be done for its Defence; and this continued from about the Beginning of *April*, till the latter End of *June*, at which Time, the Place being very much ſtreightened, and muſt have yielded, the Commiſſioners appointed for that Purpoſe made a Peace at *Edinburgh*, which, *July* 7, was proclaimed in the Town of *Leith*; by Virtue of which Treaty the *French* were to depart out of *Scotland*, except one-hundred and twenty, and the *Scottiſh* Queen to put out of her Title the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, &c. About two Years after, that horrid *Maſſacre* was perpetrated, in *France*, upon the poor *Proteſtants*, that is ſo infamous in Hiſtory, the Popiſh Party having leagued themſelves againſt them; which Barbarity powerfully induced the Queen to aſſiſt the Reformiſts, in Order to prevent their final Deſtruction; and, to that Purpoſe, ſent over a good Band of Soldiers to *New Haven* in *France*, which the Townſmen joyfully received, over whom, and other Forces that did arrive, was conſtituted General the Earl of *Warwick*, who landed here, the Twenty-ninth of *October*, *Anno* 1562. This Place is remarkable in Hiſtory for the long Siege it ſuſtained, through the Valour of the *Engliſh*; firſt came the *Rhinegrave* before it, then the Conſtable of *France*, and laſt of all, the Prince of *Conde*, whoſe united Forces had in all Probability been baffled, had it not been for a violent Peſtilence that raged within, and ſwept away its Defendants in great Numbers; but notwithſtanding this, and that the Enemy's Cannon were within twenty-ſix Paces of the Town, and many Breaches made, yet the noble *Warwick*, with his reſpective Officers and Soldiers, ſtood at the Breaches to receive the Enemy, if they offered to make an Aſſault; which the Conſtable perceiving, he cauſed a Trumpeter to ſound a Parley;

Parley; which being accepted of, the Town was ſurrendered upon honourable Articles, after the Earl had held it eleven Months, the Perfidy of the Reformiſts giving alſo an helping Hand to theſe Misfortunes; to which may be added another Diſadvantage, in that the *French* had a Pretence, by this our Aiding the Proteſtants, to with-hold the Surrendering of *Calais*, after the Term of eight Years, whereof ſome were already expired.

About the thirty-ſecond Year of the Queen's Reign, *Henry the Third*, King of *France*, was murdered; whereupon the Leaguers armed under the Duke of *Maine*, to keep *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, then a Proteſtant, from the Crown; whom they preſſed ſo hard upon, that he was forced to fly into *Dieppe*, deſigning from thence to get over into *England*; but firſt ſends to the Queen an Account of his Circumſtances, who, commiſerating his Condition, forthwith ſends him Sixty-thouſand brave Soldiers, under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*; the Report of whoſe Arrival coming to *Maine*'s Ears, he ſuddenly raiſes the Siege; which ſo animated the King, that he marched out, encountered and defeated his Enemy, and ſo, by Degrees, prevailed, through the Queen's good Aſſiſtance, from Time to Time, both of Men and Money. The *Spaniards* having alſo, about this Time, by Means of the Leaguers, got Footing in *Bretagne*, the Queen diſpatches thither Three-thouſand Men, under the Command of that thrice famous General, Sir *John Norris*, who beat them quite out of that Country. About a Year after my Lord *Willoughby*'s Succours, arrives in *France* the renowned Earl of *Eſſex*, with four-thouſand Foot more, ſome Horſe and Pioneers, as a further Reinforcement to the King, and did honourable Service, challenging Monſieur *Villerſe*, Governor of *Roan*, to a ſingle Combate, which he refuſes, and then returned; but had the Mortification to have his Brother, *Walter Devereux*, a brave young Gentleman, ſlain with a Muſquet-bullet, before *Roan*. The laſt Succours were to the Number of two-thouſand, and put under the Command of that excellent Soldier, Sir *Roger Williams*, who was always forward for the greateſt Attempts, and did here excellent Service. He beat the Leaguers that blocked up the Paſſes about *Dieppe*, upon ſuch unequal Terms, that *Henry the Fourth* could not but take Notice, and highly extol his Valour, in his Letter to the Queen. This Queen, after a glorious Reign of forty-four Years, five Months, and odd Days, at the Age of ſeventy Years, *Anno* 1602, having lived longer than any of the Kings of *England*, ſince the Conqueſt, died at *Richmond*, and lies buried at *Weſtminſter*.

The Cauſes of the War in this Queen's Time were not direct, but collateral, in Behalf of the King and Reformiſts of France.

JAMES I.

THEN the Sixth King of *Scotland* of that Name, was immediately, upon the Death of Queen *Eliſabeth*, proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. as being deſcended from the united Roſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, King *Henry the Seventh* and Queen *Eliſabeth*, his Wife, whoſe Iſſue, by the Male, failing in the late deceaſed Queen *Eliſabeth*, the Off-ſpring of *Margaret*, their eldeſt Daughter, was next Heir, which Lady was married to *James the Fourth*, King of *Scotland*, and by him had Iſſue *James the Fifth*, whoſe only Daughter, Queen *Mary*, was Mother to this our Monarch. This King was of a timorous Nature, and peaceable Diſpoſition, ſo that *Beati Pacifici* was his *Motto*; and was ſo far from making any Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*, or any Part of its Dominions, notwithſtanding his great Power, and the flouriſhing State of the Nation, that he ſuffered his Son-in-Law, the *Palſgrave*, and his own Daughter, *Eliſabeth*, his Wife, with their numerous Iſſue, not only to be beaten out of *Bohemia*, but even from their juſt Patrimony, the *Palatinate*, and to live many Years in great Want and Penury, to the King's great Diſhonour, who was nothing but a Bluſter of Words, and ever and anon ſending Ambaſſadors, till all was quite loſt and unretrievable. This King died at *Theobalds*, *March* 27, 1625, in the fifty-ninth Year of his Age, having reigned twenty-two Years compleat.

CHARLES I.

THE only ſurviving Son of King *James* (for that noble Prince, *Henry*, died before his Father) ſucceeded to the Imperial Crown of *England*. The Reformed in *France*, in the Beginning of this King's Reign, lay under great Oppreſſions from their King, *Lewis the Thirteenth*, and his prime Miniſter of State, Cardinal *Richelieu*; inſomuch that they were forced, for their Safety, to have Recourſe to Arms, under the Command of that ever famous Captain, the Duke of *Roan*, by Land, and Monſieur *Sobiez*, his Brother, who rid Admiral at Sea; and by that Means, *Rochelle*, beſieged by the *French* King's Arms, was relieved upon all Occaſions: Hereupon, through the Contrivance of the Duke of *Buckingham*, an *Engliſh* Fleet was ſent to join that of the *French*, under the Duke of *Montmorency*, the *Dutch* then baſely concurring with ſome Ships of theirs alſo; with which united Force, *Montmorency* fights, and utterly defeats the Fleet of the *Rochellers* under Monſieur *Sobiez*, and then reduced the Iſles of *Rhee* and *Oleron* under the *French* Power. But *Buckingham* ſoon after changing his Sentiments (the Grounds whereof we will aſſign in the Cauſes of this War) there is a Declaration of War publiſhed againſt *France*, and, for the Proſecution of the ſame with Vigour, the Duke is commiſſioned Admiral and General of a Navy of one-hundred Sail, and ſix or ſeven-thouſand Land Soldiers, with which he came before *Rochelle*, ſtill beſieged by the *French*, where *Sobiez* came on Board of him; and, for ſeveral Reaſons, it was agreed to land the Army on the Iſland of *Oleron*, and not on the Iſle of *Rhee*: But *Sobiez* going to perſuade the *Rochellers* to join with the *Engliſh*, the Duke, before his Return, lands on the Iſle of *Rhee*, in Spight of the Oppoſition made by the *French*; but, inſtead of purſuing the Blow, not only neglects to take the Fort *La Prie*, to ſecure his Retreat, and prevent the *French* from landing Supplies, but ſtays five Days, whereby *Toiras*, the *French* Governor, encouraged his Men, and alſo got more Force and Proviſions into the Cittadel of St. *Martin's*. The *French* were ſo alarmed at this Invaſion, that the King offered the Duke of *Roan*, and the *Rochellers*, any Terms to join againſt the *Engliſh*, which both refuſing, it cauſed both their Ruins.

The Enemy's Retreat, upon the Landing of the *Engliſh*, was ſo haſty, that they quitted a Well, about twenty Paces from the Counterſcarp, which ſupplied the Cittadel with Water; which not being poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, upon their firſt Approach, the *French* drew a Work about it, which our Men could not force, and without which Well, the Beſieged could not have ſubſiſted: However, the Duke reſolves to take the Fort by Famine; but, inſtead of preſſing it with a ſtreight Siege, he entertains a Treaty of Surrender with *Toiras*, and ſeveral Compliments paſſed between them, ſubſcribed, your humble Servant, *Buckingham*, and your humble Servant, *Toiras*, till the latter got Relief of Men, Victuals, and Ammunition, and then broke off the Treaty with the Duke. Soon after this, the *French* landed Forces on the Iſland, by the Neglect of the *Engliſh* to oppoſe them, and Orders were given to draw the *Engliſh* out of their Trenches, which the *French* poſſeſs; whereupon the *Engliſh* were forced to retreat: At laſt the Duke makes a vain Storm upon the Caſtle, but was beaten off, and two Days after retreats, the *French* being now equal to him in Foot, and ſuperior in Horſe; when the *Engliſh* were entangled in their Retreat, the Duke having neglected to take *La Prie*, or build a Fort upon a narrow Lane or Cauſey, to ſecure the Retreat, the *French* charged the *Engliſh* Horſe in the Rear and routed them, who rout the Foot in the narrow Paſſages, between the Salt-pits and Ditch; but, in this Confuſion and Adverſity, the Bravery of the *Engliſh* appeared, for a few having paſſed the Bridge, the *French* following, the *Engliſh* rallied, and faced about gallantly to charge the *French*, who cowardly retreated over the Bridge: And of this a foreign Author ſpeaking ſaith, The *Engliſh* were *magis audaces quam fortunati*, and, withal, taxeth them for Want of Secrecy in their Counſels and Conduct of ſo great an Affair. The Duke of *Buckingham*, upon his Retreat from the Iſle of *Rhee*, promiſed the *Rochellers* to ſend them ſpeedy Relief, now cloſe beſieged by the *French* King; and, upon his Return, ſent away the Earl of *Denbigh*, his Brother-in-Law, with a Fleet to that Purpoſe, who, on the Firſt of *May*, 1628, arrives before *Rochelle*, where he found the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of twenty Sail,

Sail, had blocked it up by Sea: Upon the Earl's Approach, the *French* retired towards their Fortification, and anchored within two Cannon-ſhot of our Fleet, and ſo continued till the Eighth of *May*. The Earl promiſed the *Rochellers* to ſink the *French* Fleet when the Waters increaſed, and the Winds became *Weſterly*, it being then Neap-tide; but two Days after, the Waters increaſing, and the Wind becoming *Weſterly*, the Earl was intreated to fight the *French* Fleet, but did not, and weighed Anchor, and ſailed away. The Duke, to redeem this Miſcarriage of his Brother-in-Law, in *Auguſt* following, goes to *Portſmouth*, to command the Fleet there, for the Relief of *Rochelle*; but, on the Twenty-third of the ſaid Month, was ſtabbed by *Felton*, on whom, by the Way, hanging in Chains at *Portſmouth*, was made this ingenious Copy of Verſes:

There uninterr'd ſuſpends (though not to ſave
Surviving Friends the Expences of a Grave;)
Felton's *dead Earth, which to itſelf muſt be*
His own ſad Monument, his Elegy;
As large as Fame, but whether bad or good,
I ſay not, by himſelf 'twas wrought in Blood.
For which his Body is intomb'd in Air,
Arch'd o'er with Heaven, and ten-thouſand fair
And glorious Diamond Stars, a Sepulchre;
Which Time can never ruinate, and where
Th' impartial Worms (not being brib'd to ſpare
Princes wrapp'd up in Marble) do not ſhare
His Duſt, which oft the charitable Skies
Embalm with Tears, doing theſe Obſequies,
Belonging unto Men, while pitying Fowl
Contend to reach his Body to his Soul.

Yet the Deſign was purſued under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, who attempted ſeveral Times to force the Barricadoes of the River before *Rochelle*, but all in vain; or, if he had, it had been to no Purpoſe, for the Victuals wherewith the *Rochellers* ſhould have been relieved, were all tainted, and it was well the *French* had no Fleet there, for the *Engliſh* Tackle and other Materials were all defective; and ſo *Rochelle* fell, and with it, in a Manner, all the Glory and Intereſt of the Reformed in *France*; but it is remarkable what Counſel concurred to the Reducing of this important Place, and what Accidents followed after: The *French* Army had been before it a long Time, and had made no conſiderable Progreſs in the Siege, when the Marqueſs *Spinola*, returning from *Flanders* into *Spain*, directed his Courſe through *France*, and hearing the King and Cardinal, were at the Siege of *Rochelle*, waited upon both; and going to view the Works one Day, aſked the Cardinal what they meant to do there, and continuing his Diſcourſe, ſaid, That as they managed Matters, there was no Poſſibility of taking the Place. What muſt we do then, ſays the *Cardinal?* Puſh! replies the Marqueſs, do as we have done at *Antwerp*, make a Dike at the Mouth of the Harbour, and you will by that Means ſtarve them out; the Cardinal immediately takes up the Project, ſets all Hands on Work, and with immenſe Labour and Celerity, finiſhes the Dike, which, in a ſhort Time, reduced the Place to that ſtarving Condition, that they were at length forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion; and it is Note-worthy, that as *Leyden*, about fifty-four Years before, was miraculouſly preſerved from the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for being reduced to the laſt Extremity, they let looſe the Waters upon them, which the Dams reſtrained before, and upon that, the Army marched away; whereas, had they ſtaid but two or three Days longer in the Neighbourhood, they might have had an open Paſſage to the Town, for the Walls of it fell down to the Ground, and a ſtrong *Northerly* Wind had cleared the Country of the Water; ſo *Rochelle*, by a quite contrary Fate, had been ſurrendered but a very few Days, when the Dike ſo far broke, as that they might have been relieved by Sea, had there been a Fleet ready for that Purpoſe. But when *Spinola* came to the Council in *Spain*, he was ſo brow-beaten and ſnubbed for his Advice to the Cardinal, by the Duke of *Medina*, then prime Miniſter of State, and other Grandees, that he never could get his Money paid, that was owing him, and died a Beggar, in the utmoſt Diſgrace; ſo well did the *Spaniards* then underſtand their true Intereſt, that as long as the Reformed could make Head in *France*, the Arms of that Kingdom would be confined within its own Limits, and they and other Princes be leſs moleſted, by thoſe aſpiring and reſtleſs Neighbours; and this was the unhappy End of this War, between *England* and *France*; and the dreadful Preſages of the Duke of *Roan*, hereupon (to give his Words the mildeſt Terms I can) had but too fatal Effects, upon the Perſon of that Prince, to whoſe Perfidy he attributed the Loſs of this Fortreſs, and the Proteſtant Intereſt in *France*; for after this, Diſſenſion grew daily more and more in *England*, which drew

on

on an unnatural Civil War, that ended with a ſad Cataſtrophe, in the King's Dying by the Ax, for he was beheaded, *January* 30, 1648, after he had reigned twenty-three Years, ten Months, and odd Days, and in the forty-ninth Year of his Age.

1. *The Cauſes pretended for this War were, that the* French *King had employed the eight Men of War, which the King of* England *had lent him, to be made uſe of againſt* Genoa, *againſt the* Rochellers.

2. *That the King's Mediation, in Behalf of the Reformiſts, was ſlighted.*

3. *That the* Engliſh *Merchant Ships, and their Effects, were ſeized, before there was any Breach between both Kingdoms, though it certain, that the Duke of* Buckingham, *as Lord High Admiral of* England, *by an extraordinary Commiſſion, firſt ſeized the St.* Peter *of* Newhaven, *the whole Cargo being computed to amount to Forty-thouſand Pounds; and though the King ordered the Releaſement of the Ship,* December 7, 1625, *yet the Duke, upon the Sixth of* February *following, cauſed the ſaid Ship to be again arreſted, and detained, as you may ſee in* Ruſhworth, *Fol.* 313.

4. *A fourth Cauſe of this War we have aſſigned in the noble* Baptiſta Nani, *that the Duke of* Bucks, *having, while in* France, *contracted Love in that Court, and deſiring Leave to go thither, under Pretence of compoſing the Feuds, that broke forth in the Queen's Family in* England, *was by* Richelieu's *Advice denied Entrance into that Kingdom, and grew thereupon ſo enraged, that he ſwore, ſince he was forbidden Entrance in a peaceable Manner into* France, *he would make his Paſſage with an Army.*

CHARLES II.

After about twelve Years Exile, during which Interval, we had no Wars with *France*, was reſtored to the Throne of his Anceſtors, *Anno* 1660. This Prince had not been above five Years ſettled in his Dominions, when a War broke out with the *Dutch* by Sea, the *French* joining with them in it at that Time againſt us, ſo that there was a Declaration of War ſet forth againſt *France*, but the *Dutch* found no great Aſſiſtance from them in this Confederacy; for while the *Dutch* in all the Engagements, we had with them, but one (and that was when the Fleet was fooliſhly divided) were beaten by us; the *French*, inſtead of uniting their Force with the other, diſpatched away a Fleet to ſubdue the *Engliſh*, in their Plantations in the *Leeward* Iſlands; almoſt totally expelled the *Engliſh* out of St. *Chriſtophers*, interrupted them in their Trade to their other Iſlands, and aſſumed a Sovereignty in thoſe Seas, but upon the Treaty of Peace, they were forced to reſtore all to the *Engliſh* again; but they left St. *Chriſtophers*, in ſo pitiful a Plight, that it ſeemed, in a Manner, to be as much a Wilderneſs, as when firſt the *Engliſh* took Footing in it. About ſeven Years after, Things veered about, the *French* joining with the *Engliſh*, againſt the *Dutch*, in a ſecond *Dutch* War, during this Reign; and here a late learned Author has obſerved, that as the *Engliſh* were ſo ſucceſsful in the former War againſt both, and the *Dane* to boot, and were never beaten but once, and that, when the Fleet was divided; ſo in this the *Engliſh* in all the Fights they had, which were four, came off with more Loſs than the *Dutch*; but the Truth of it is, the *French* only came out to learn to fight, both in the one, and the other Way, for they ſtood ſtill looking on, or firing at a very great Diſtance, while the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* battered one another; and Monſieur *de Martel*, for Falling on, and Engaging bravely, was recalled, checked, and diſmiſſed his Employ; inſomuch that the Parliament, who began to ſmell the *French* Deſigns, moved, *November* the Fourth, 1673, that the Alliance with *France* was a Grievance; and ſo a Peace was concluded with the States, and our King ſets up for a Mediator at *Nimeguen*, between the *French* and *Dutch*, with their Confederates, and in the mean Time, having got conſiderable Supplies from his Parliament, raiſes Forces; for the *French* King had, during this Naval War, poſſeſſed himſelf of a great Part of *Flanders*, and the Territories of the States; but before a Peace was ſhuffled up, or at leaſtwiſe, before the Prince of *Orange* knew, *or would know*, of its being concluded, the Prince, not ſtaying for eight-thouſand *Engliſh*, that were on their March to join him, did with the Aſſiſtance only of ten-thouſand *Engliſh*, under the Command of

of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Offery*, ſtorm the Duke of *Luxemburg*'s Camp, fortified with all imaginable Art, before *Monts*, with that Reſolution and Bravery, that he beat him out of it, and relieved the Place; and this was the laſt Act of Hoſtility, between *England* and *France*, of any Kind, during this Reign; this King afterwards, inſtead of putting a Stop to the growing Greatneſs of that Kingdom, fell in more and more with the Intereſt of it; and the Nation, during the latter Part of his Reign, was almoſt rent to Pieces, with the Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, which are but too much felt to this Day; and he himſelf, at laſt, died on the Sixth of *February*, $168\frac{4}{5}$. in the fifty-fifth Year of his Age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his Reign, computing it from his Father's Death.

JAMES II.

ONly ſurviving Brother to *Charles the Second*, immediately aſſumed the *Engliſh* Crown, of which, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made againſt him, in the preceding Reign, he got peaceable Poſſeſſion; but had not been long inveſted with the regal Dignity, when the Earl of *Argyle*, landing in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth*, in the Weſt of *England*, put him in no ſmall Danger of loſing, that he had ſo lately attained; but this Storm blew over, and ended in the Execution of both the aforeſaid Chiefs, with a Multitude of their Followers, and that in a very barbarous Manner; which Execution, as it drew no ſmall Emulation upon his Perſon, ſo the Succeſs egged him on, with ſo much Violence, in the Purſuits of his Deſigns, for the Advancing of the Papal Power in theſe Kingdoms, that it made the Subjects now in Danger of the Loſs, both of their Religion, and Civil Properties, have Recourſe for Relief to that Prince, who has ſince ſo worthily filled the abdicated Throne, and who then readily embraced their Quarrel, and in the moſt perillous Seaſon of the Year, with an Army from *Holland*, landed at *Torbay*, *November* 5, 1688; a Day and Year memorable in the Annals of Time, for the *Engliſh* Deliverance; and, having wiſhed Succeſs, was the Thirteenth of *February* following, with his Princeſs, proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, &c. King *James* having, ſometime before, withdrawn himſelf into *France*, with whom he was ſo far from having any Wars during his four Years Reign, that he entered into a ſtricter Alliance with that Crown; but ſince his preſent Majeſty's Aſcending of the Throne, what Traverſes of War there have been between *England* and *France* by Sea and Land, and what the Cauſes of them, I purpoſely omit, becauſe they are yet freſh in every Man's Memory, and for that a final Period has not hitherto been put unto them.

The Old *French* Way of managing Treaties.

Subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. HORACE.

SIR,

Since you tell me that you do not well underſtand French, *eſpecially that old Dialect, which* Comines *wrote*; *and that you are willing to have an Account of the Treaty which was made betwixt our* Edward the Fourth *and* Lewis the Eleventh *of* France, *by the Intervention*

vention of ſome mean Fellows; and that you deſire likewiſe to be informed of the Intrigues of the Great Conſtable of France, *who played with all Sides, and was the chief Trickſter of that Time; I am willing to oblige you, and am ſatisfied you will be pleaſed with the Diverſity of Scenes that the Story preſents to your View.*

THAT Treaty, which *Comines* gives an Account of ſo much to the Diſhonour of our Nation, was firſt ſet on Foot to publick Appearance by an *ordinary Fellow*, Servant to a Gentleman of the *French* King's Houſhold, who had not above twenty Crowns Salary *per Annum*, himſelf; therefore, I can ſuppoſe the Servant to have been no more than a Footman. This Fellow was taken near St. *Quintin*, by the *Engliſh*, when they marched up to the Town in Hopes of being received into it without Oppoſition, according to Promiſe by the Count *de St. Paul*, Great Conſtable of *France*, who was the chief Trickſter of his Time, but loſt his Head for it at laſt, as you ſhall hear in its Place. The Footman being brought before King *Edward the Fourth*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of the Predeceſſors to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who was his Ally in this War againſt *France*, they examined him; after which the King ordered him to be ſet at Liberty, ſince he was the firſt Priſoner they had taken in this Expedition. As the Fellow was going, the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley* gave him a Noble, and bid him in the Stile of thoſe Times *recommend them to the good Grace of the King his Maſter, if he could have Acceſs to ſpeak to him.*

The Fellow made Haſte to the *French* King, who was then at *Compiegne*, and found Acceſs to deliver the Meſſage. *Lewis* XI. took him at firſt for a Spy, becauſe his Maſter's Brother was in the Service of the Duke of *Britany*, who was alſo in Alliance with the King of *England* and Duke of *Burgundy*, and therefore ordered him to be kept in Cuſtody that Night. Abundance of People had Liberty however to talk with him, and finding him ſpeak with ſo much Aſſurance, they gave it as their Opinion, that the King ought to allow him a further Hearing. Next Morning betimes the King ſent for him, and, after examining him more thoroughly, ordered him ſtill to be kept in Cuſtody.

As the King went to Dinner, he was full of Thoughts about this Matter, whether he ſhould ſend to the King of *England* or not? And, before he ſat down, whiſpered *Comines* in the Ear, that he remembered the *Engliſh* Herald had told him, that, when the King of *England* landed, he needed not ſend to him for a Paſs-port, but might direct any Meſſenger to the ſaid Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*. [This Myſtery you will find unravelled in the Courſe of the Story.] The King, having ſpoke thus, ſat down, and ruminating a little, he whiſpered again to *Comines*, bid him riſe up, and ſeek for one who was Servant to the Lord *Halles*, and ask him if he durſt undertake to go to the *Engliſh* Army in the Habit of an Herald; *Comines* found out the Man, and asked what the King had commanded him, but was perfectly amazed when he ſaw the Fellow, for he had neither Mein nor Behaviour fit for ſuch an Undertaking, nor had the King ever ſpoke to him but once; *Comines* owns though, that the Man had Senſe, and a very graceful and ſmooth Way of Speaking. The Servant was ſo much ſurpriſed when *Comines* ſpoke to him, that he fell on his Knees as if he would have dropped down dead, ſo that he had much ado to keep him from falling into a Swoon, the Propoſal was ſo amazing to one in his Circumſtances. *Comines*, to encourage him, promiſed him a Poſt and Money, and told him, that he needed not be afraid, *for the Motion came from the* Engliſh, kept him to dine with him, and inſtructed him what he ſhould do. In the mean Time the King ſent for *Comines*, who gave him an Account of the Man, and adviſed him to ſome others that he thought more proper; the King would not hear of this, but went and talked with the Fellow himſelf, and having animated him by Promiſe of a great Reward, he taught him his Leſſon; but was ſo hard put to it to rig him out on a ſudden, that he was forced to take a Banner from one of his Trumpets, to make him a Herald's Coat, and to borrow a Badge from a Herald belonging to the Admiral, for the King had none of his own there, and ſo mounted him with his Habiliments, put up in a fine Bag fixed to the Bow of his Saddle, till he ſhould come to the *Engliſh* Camp, which was but eight Miles diſtant. Thus he ſent him a-going unknown to any Body but *Comines*, and the Lord *Villiers*, his Maſter of the Horſe.

The Fellow, according to Inſtructions, came to the *Engliſh* Camp, and, putting on his Coat of Arms, was brought to the King's Tent; told thoſe in waiting, *That he was ſent from the King of*

of France *to the King of* England, *and was ordered to addreſs himſelf to the Lords* Howard *and* Stanley *to be introduced.* The King being at Dinner, this new vamped Herald was carried to another Tent, where he had his Belly-full of more ſubſtantial Food than *French* Kick-ſhaws; and, when the King had dined, the Herald was brought before him, and delivered his Meſſage thus: 'The King of *France* had of a long Time 'coveted his Majeſty's Friendſhip, and that 'their two Realms might live in Peace; that, 'ſince his Maſter came to the Crown, he had 'never undertaken any War directly againſt 'the King, or King of *England*; and, though 'he had entertained the Earl of *Warwick*, it 'was only againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, and 'not againſt him. He likewiſe ſaid, that the 'Duke had *invited his Majeſty beyond Sea, only 'that he might be able to make the better Terms 'for himſelf; and that the reſt of the Allies, who 'concurred with him, had done it to retrieve their 'own Affairs*, and *to gain their particular Ends:* 'That the Winter now drew on; that his Ma'ſter, the King of *France*, *knew his Majeſty had 'been at great Expence, and that there were many* 'in England, *both of the Nobility and Gentry*, &c. '*who were eager for War at Home, in Favour 'of the Pretenders of* Lancaſter; but, if the King 'of *England* would liſten to a Treaty, the King 'his Maſter would do all that was poſſible on 'his Part, *that both he and his Kingdom ſhould 'have Satisfaction*, and that he might be more 'thoroughly informed of Matters. If he would 'grant a Paſſport for an hundred Horſemen, 'the King of *France* would ſend Ambaſſadors 'to him fully inſtructed; or, if the King of 'England had rather that they ſhould meet at 'a Village, half Way betwixt both Armies, 'the King of *France* would readily agree to it, 'and ſend Paſſports on his Side.

The King of *England*, and Part of his great Men, liked theſe Propoſals very well, and gave this ſuppoſed Herald ſuch a Paſſport as he deſired, and a Preſent of four Nobles; they alſo ſent a Herald with him, to get the King of *France*'s Paſſport; and next Day there met in a Village near *Amiens*, on the Part of the *French* King, the Baſtard of *Bourbon*, the Admiral, the Lord *St. Peter*, and the Biſhop of *Eureux*; on the Part of the King of *England*, my Lord *Howard*, Mr. *Chalanger*, Dr. *Marten*, Chancellor of *England*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Thus, Sir, you ſee the Treaty ſo far advanced by a Footman; for I can ſuppoſe a Gentleman who had only twenty Crowns, or 4 *l.* 10 *s. per Annum* Salary, was not able to keep a Servant of a higher Station, and a *Valet de Chambre*, for ſo we muſt account of this new vamped Herald at beſt.

I come next to tell you how a nine Years Truce was concluded betwixt *Edward the Fourth* and *Lewis the Eleventh*, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours uſed by the Duke of *Burgundy* and his other Allies againſt it.

The *French Valet de Chambre* having thus performed his Part, he was rewarded with a Poſt and Money, and the Day after the Ambaſſadors on both Sides met; the *Engliſh* (ſays *Comines*) demanded, according to Cuſtom, the Crown of *France*, or, at leaſt, *Normandy* and *Guienne*. They made a vigorous Attack, and the *French* made as brave a Defence; however, the very firſt Day of Meeting, they began to come within Ken of one another, for both Sides were eager for a Peace. At laſt, the Demands of the *Engliſh* terminated in 70000 Crowns, to be paid down before they marched off: That *Lewis the Eleventh*'s Son ſhould be married to King *Edward*'s Daughter, and that the Duchy of *Guienne* ſhould be given to King *Edward*, or 50000 Crowns paid him annually, in the *Tower* of *London*, for nine Years; after which, *Guienne* was to be peaceably enjoyed by the Prince and Princeſs above-mentioned. Some other Articles there were, relating to Trade, *&c.* which are not worth mentioning; and there was Room left for the Allies on both Sides to come into this Treaty, if they pleaſed. Nay, the King of *England* was ſo forward, that he offered to give the *French* King an Account in Writing, of ſeveral of his own Subjects, who were Traytors to his Crown and Dignity.

The *French* Ambaſſadors having reported theſe Things to *Lewis the Eleventh*, he was extremely rejoiced, and called a Council upon it; at which *Comines* was preſent. Some were of Opinion that the *Engliſh* diſſembled, and that there was Fraud couched under the Propoſals; which proceeded, I ſuppoſe, from the extraordinary Forwardneſs that appeared in the *Engliſh* Court towards a Peace. But the King of *France* was of another Opinion, becauſe of the advanced Seaſon, that the *Engliſh* had not one Place of Retreat in their Hands: That there was a Miſunderſtanding betwixt them and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and that the King knew our *Edward the Fourth* was wholly given up to his Eaſe and Pleaſures; and as to the Conſtable of

France, though the King knew him to be a Trickſter, yet he was ſure he would deliver up none of the Places he had promiſed to the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Engliſh*, becauſe the King, being jealous of him, kept fair with him, and was continually ſending Meſſengers, with fine Words and large Promiſes, to keep him from doing any Miſchief. Therefore it was concluded to raiſe the Money demanded by the *Engliſh* with all poſſible Speed, and to borrow it from thoſe that were able to lend; for the King was reſolved to be rid of the *Engliſh* at any Rate, and rather to hazard all, than to ſuffer them to get Footing in the Kingdom of *France*, which they were juſt ready to enter.

Comines, being ſenſible that this was a very mean Submiſſion on the Part of the *French* King, excuſes it thus: That he knew what Miſchiefs the *Engliſh* had formerly done in *France*, and knowing the Danger of his own Circumſtances from the Duke of *Britany*, and others, that were ready to raiſe Commotions in the Bowels of the Kingdom, he wiſely choſe this Part, as the only Means left him to diſappoint the Deſigns of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the other Confederates.

The Conſtable of *France* perceiving the Treaty to be near concluded, and being ſenſible that he had tricked with all Sides, he ſent his Secretary, and one of his Gentlemen, to the King, with Propoſals to break off the Treaty. At the ſame Time one of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Gentlemen, who had been taken before *Arras*, was let go on his Parole to procure his Ranſom, and promiſed a great Sum by the *French* King, beſides being let go Ranſom-free, if he could bring his Maſter to a Peace. He happened to return the very ſame Time when the Conſtable ſent his Servants to the King of *France*, who improved the Opportunity thus: He put the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Gentleman and *Comines*, behind a large Screen in his own Chamber, and called in the Conſtable's Secretary and Gentleman, that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Servant might hear their Propoſals, and report them to his Maſter, which he doubted not would have a good Effect. The Conſtable's Servants began their Diſcourſe, and told the *French* King that their Maſter had ſent ſeveral Times to perſuade the Duke of *Burgundy* to break with the *Engliſh*, and found him ſo much incenſed againſt the King of *England*, that he had almoſt gained him not only to deſert them, but to fall upon them as they retired; and, the better to pleaſe the King, one of the Conſtable's Servants acted the Duke of *Burgundy* before him, ſtamped with his Foot againſt the Ground, ſwore by St. *George*, which was the Duke's uſual Oath, and called the King of *England Blayborgne*, the Baſtard of a Beef-Eater of that Name, and all the other reproachful Names which he could invent. The *French* King laughed heartily, and, pretending to be thick of Hearing, bid the Fellow repeat it, and ſpeak out louder; which he did with a very good Grace. The Concluſion of their Meſſage was, that the Conſtable adviſed his Majeſty to make a Truce with the *Engliſh*, to avoid the Dangers which otherwiſe threatened him from the Allies, and to grant the King of *England* a little Town or two for Winter-Quarters, pointing at *Eu* and St. *Valery*: And added, That the Conſtable was ſure this would pleaſe the *Engliſh*; and for his Part he would be Guarantee they ſhould keep the Treaty. The *French* King having gained his End, which was to let the Allies know the Conſtable's Knavery, he anſwered his Meſſengers very civilly, told them he would in a little Time let his Brother the Conſtable know his Mind, for ſo he thought fit to call him, becauſe he had married a Daughter of *Savoy*, Siſter to the Queen of *France*; and then diſmiſs'd them, after one of them had taken his Oath that he would diſcover every Thing that he knew to be tranſacted againſt his Majeſty's Intereſt. The King had much ado to diſſemble his Wrath at the Conſtable's Propoſal to give the *Engliſh* thoſe two Towns, becauſe he knew it was made on Purpoſe to excuſe himſelf at their Hands for not delivering them St. *Quintin*, &c. according as he had promiſed to the King of *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; but he concealed his Diſpleaſure, and ſent a civil Anſwer to the Conſtable to keep him in Suſpenſe, and prevent his Delivering up the Towns under his Government. When the Conſtable's Meſſengers were gone, the King called the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Gentleman (who had much ado to keep his Patience when he heard his Maſter ſo much abuſed) and *Comines*, from behind the Screen. The King laughed heartily, and was very merry, while the Duke's Gentleman was in ſuch a Rage, that he could ſcarce be kept from taking Horſe immediately to acquaint his Maſter with the Conſtable's Treachery. But the King prevailed with him to ſtay till he wrote down with his own Hand what paſſed: And the King writ to the Duke, aſſuring him of the Truth of what his Gentleman Seigneur *de Con-*

tay

tay (for that was his Name) had writ. The Truce with *England* was concluded before this, on the Terms above-mentioned, and an Interview agreed on betwixt the two Kings; after which the King of *England*, upon receiving his Money, was to return to his own Country, and to leave the Lord *Howard* and Mr. *Cheyney*, who was Maſter of his Horſe, as Hoſtages behind him. A private Penſion of 16000 Crowns *per Annum* was alſo promiſed to the King of *England*'s Servants. The Lord *Haſtings* had 2000 *per Annum*, the Lord *Howard*, the Maſter of the Horſe, Mr. *Chalanger*, the Lord *Montgomery*, and others, had the Remainder, beſides good Sums in Hand, and Preſents of Plate to others of King *Edward*'s Servants.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, being informed of this Negotiation, came from *Luxemburg* in all Haſte, attended only by ſixteen Horſe, to the *Engliſh* Camp. King *Edward* was very much ſurpriſed at his Coming in that Manner, and, perceiving by his Countenance that he was in a Rage, asked him the Reaſon. The Duke told him he came to ſpeak with him, and aſked if he had made a Peace. The King anſwered, He had made a Truce for nine Years, which he prayed him to agree to, ſince there was Room left for him, and the other Allies, to enter into it. The Duke upbraided him, as *Hollinſhed* tells us, with this ſhameful Treaty, and that he had not ſo much as killed a Fly, or burnt a Sheep-cote for his Coming to *France*: That his glorious Anceſtor, King *Edward the Third*, behaved himſelf otherwiſe, and would never make Peace till he conquered *France*, was made Regent of it, and declared Heir Apparent. That the ſaid victorious Prince was as near a-kin to him, the Duke of *Burgundy*, as the King of *England* was to King *Henry the Fifth*, whoſe Blood he charged him with having deſtroyed; and told him, *that he had agreed to a Peace not worth a Peaſe-cod*: That he did not invite him beyond Sea, for any Need he had of him, ſince he was able to revenge his own Quarrel, but only to give him an Opportunity to recover what had been unjuſtly taken from him; and, to let the King of *England* ſee that he did not value his Aſſiſtance, he ſcorned to enter into his Truce, or to make any League with the *French* King till three Months after King *Edward* was returned Home; and, throwing down his Chair in a Rage, would have been gone. But the King ſtopped him, and anſwering his Reproaches with others, for which I refer to *Hollinſhed*; the Duke left him in a Fury. Some of the King of *England*'s Council, who were againſt the Peace, approved very much of what the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſaid.

I return now to the tricking Conſtable. He, being afraid of the Conſequences of this Treaty, ſent his Confeſſor, as *Comines* and *Hollinſhed* agree, with a Letter to King *Edward*, praying him, for God's Sake, not to believe the *French* King, who would break his Promiſe as ſoon as the King of *England* was returned; and, rather than he ſhould conclude a Peace for Want of Money, he would lend him Fifty-thouſand Crowns. Therefore he adviſed him to take *Eu* and St. *Valery* for Winter-Quarters, and, before two Months were over, he promiſed that he would take Care his Quarters ſhould be enlarged. King *Edward* anſwered, he had already agreed with the *French* King, and ſo left the Conſtable in Deſpair.

I come next to the Interview between the Kings of *England* and *France*, and the Circumſtances which preceded it. The King of *England*, to ratify this Peace, came with his Army within half a League of *Amiens*, but they marched in ſuch Diſorder, ſays *Comines*, as ſhewed they did not underſtand Diſcipline. The *French* King viewed them from the Gate of the Town, and, though they were very numerous, he might eaſily have defeated them, had he thought it for his Purpoſe; but his Deſign was to treat them nobly, and to make Peace with them at any Rate, in order to diſſolve the Alliance: He ſent the King of *England* three-hundred Waggon Load of the beſt Wine he could get, which, with their Convoy, made as great a Shew as the *Engliſh* Army; and, beſides this, he ordered two very large Tables to be placed at the Entrance of the Gate, with all Sorts of Proviſions that would make them drink, and at each Table there was the ſtrongeſt Wine in *France*, with ſix or ſeven *French* Men of Quality, of the fatteſt and largeſt that were in the Kingdom, to entertain and pleaſe the *Engliſh*, who loved jolly Companions and good Cheer. The *Engliſh* came in great Numbers, with their Horſe and Arms to the Town, without obſerving any Order; and as ſoon as they approached the Gate, there were *Frenchmen* who took them by the Bridle, and, pleaſantly aſking them to run at the Lance with them, brought them to the Tables, where they made them eat and drink *en paſſant*, and told them they might go into the Town, and call for what they would, but ſhould pay for nothing. This pleaſed them

mightily, and thus they were treated for three or four Days ſucceſſively. They came in ſuch Numbers, that the Lord *de Torcy* and *Comines* told the *French* King, it was dangerous to have ſo many Enemies in the Town, for they were at leaſt Nine-thouſand. Upon which *Comines* was ordered to mount on Horſe-back, and to ſpeak to the *Engliſh* Captains about it, for the King would ſeem to take no Notice of it himſelf. *Comines* did ſo, but, for one that the Captains ſent back, there were twenty came in their Places; ſo that the King ſent *Comines* again with a Mareſchal of *France*, to view their Poſture in the Town, where they found moſt of them drinking, or aſleep in the Publick Houſes, and reported it to the King; who, though he thought there was no great Danger, from Men who obſerved ſo little Order, commanded Troops to be privately armed, placed ſome of them at the Gate, and came himſelf to the Porter's Lodge, where he invited the Chief of the *Engliſh* to dine with him. The King of *England*, being informed of theſe Diſorders, was aſhamed of it, and ſent to the *French* King to ſuffer no more of them to enter the Town; to which *Lewis the Eleventh* anſwered, that he would never do ſo, but, if the King of *England* pleaſed, he might ſend his own Guards to keep the Gates, and to let none in but whom they thought fit. This was accordingly done, and the Town cleared of the *Engliſh*.

To put an End to thoſe Diſorders, the Place of Interview was agreed on, by Gentlemen deputed on both Sides. A wooden Bridge was made on Purpoſe over the *Soame*, with an Apartment for the two Kings in the Middle, and a Barrier betwixt them. *Comines* obſerves, that the Road by which the King of *England* came to the Bridge was a ſtraight Cauſe-way, with a dangerous Moraſs on both Sides, whereas the *French* King had the Country open on his Side; from whence, that Author remarks, *That the* Engliſh *are nothing ſo ſubtle as the* French, *and go very awkardly about Treaties; but, being cholerick, thoſe that deal with them muſt have Patience, and not give them hard Words.* I ſhall not inſiſt upon the further Particulars, but the Interview was made: The *French* King came firſt to the Barrier, and, leaning againſt it, the King of *England* came up, took off his black Velvet Cap, adorned with a great Flower-de-Luce ſet in Jewels, and kneeled to the *French* King, who returned him a very low Bow, and ſaid to him, *Couſin, you are very welcome. There's no Man in the World I deſired to ſee ſo much as yourſelf; and thank God, that we are met here in ſo friendly a Manner.* The King of *England*, who ſpoke *French* well, made a ſuitable Return in that Language; and then the Biſhop of *Ely*, who was Chancellor of *England*, began his Speech with a Prophecy (for the *Engliſh* are never without one, ſays *Comines*) the Import of which was, *That* Merlin *had foretold there ſhould be a remarkable Peace concluded between* England *and* France *at that Place.* After this, the Articles were read and ſworn on both Sides. Then the *French* King ſaid ſmilingly to King *Edward*, *That he muſt come to* Paris, *and feaſt with the Ladies, and he would give him the Cardinal* de Bourbon *for Confeſſor, who would readily pardon him, if he happened to commit any Slip.* King *Edward* laughed, for he knew the Cardinal was a boon Companion. Some farther Diſcourſe of this Nature having paſſed, the *French* King ordered his own Courtiers to retire, for he would ſpeak with the King of *England* alone. The *Engliſh* Courtiers retired, ſays *Comines*, at the ſame Time, without expecting their King's Orders; and, when thoſe Princes had ſpoke a While together, the *French* King called for *Comines*, preſented him to the King of *England*, and aſked his Majeſty if he did not know him? King *Edward* owned that he did, and remembered the Services he had formerly done him at *Calais*. The *French* King aſked King *Edward* what he would aviſe him to do, if the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had ſo haughtily rejected the Treaty, continued in that Mind? King *Edward* anſwered, he would offer it him once more, and, if he did not comply, they would conſult about it: Then the *French* King aſked him the ſame Queſtion about the Duke of *Britany*. To which King *Edward* replied, that he deſired his Majeſty not to make War upon him, ſince he had been his chief Friend, when he was forced to retire from *England*. Upon this they parted after very fine Compliments, the *French* King to *Amiens*, and King *Edward* to his Army. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, the King of *England*'s Brother, and ſeveral others, who did not like this Peace, would not aſſiſt at the Conference; but they were induced to wait upon the *French* King afterwards, who preſented them with Plate and fine Horſes nobly accoutred. On the Road to *Amiens*, the *French* King told *Comines*, that he did not like King *Edward*'s being ſo willing to come to *Paris*, for he was a handſome Prince, and loved Women, ſo that he was afraid,

fraid, if he came thither, he might find ſome Lady that would tempt him to return again; that his Predeceſſors had been too often in *Paris* and *Normandy*, and that he did not care for their Company on that Side the Sea, though he loved to have them his Friends in *England*. He was likewiſe diſpleaſed that he would not abandon the Duke of *Britany*, but urged it no further, leſt he ſhould have provoked him. When the *French* King returned to *Amiens*, three or four *Engliſhmen* of Quality, who had promoted the Treaty, came and ſupped with him, during which, the Lord *Howard* whiſpered him in the Ear, that, if his Majeſty pleaſed, he believed he could prevail with the King of *England* to come and make merry with him at *Amiens*, if not at *Paris*. The *French* King received the Meſſage with a pleaſant Countenance, but put it off by ſaying, that he muſt make Haſte to obſerve the Duke of *Burgundy*. The next Day after the Treaty, Abundance of *Engliſh* came to *Amiens* and ſaid, that the Peace was made *by the Holy Ghoſt*, becauſe a white Pigeon perched upon the King of *England*'s Tent during the Interview, and would not move from it, notwithſtanding all the Noiſe made by the Soldiers. But the Truth of the Matter, ſays *Comines*, was told him by one of King *Edward*'s own Servants, *viz.* that there had been a great Rain, and after that the Sun ſhined out very hot, and the Pigeon lighted upon the King's Tent, which was the higheſt, to dry itſelf. The ſame Gentleman, who was a *Gaſcoign*, told *Comines* privately, *That he perceived the* French *Court made nothing but a Jeſt of the King of* England. *Comines* aſked how many Battles that Prince had won? The *Gaſcoign* anſwered he had gained Nine in Perſon. *Comines* aſked further, how many he had loſt? The Gentleman anſwered, none but this, meaning the Treaty, by which he ſaid, he loſt more Honour than he had gained by all the Nine Battles. *Comines* told this to the King of *France*, who thereupon ſaid, the *Gaſcoign* was a curſed Son of a Whore, and that *Comines* muſt take Care what he ſaid to him. He afterwards ſent him to invite that Gentleman to Dinner, which he accepted; and the King offered him very great Rewards, if he would take Service under him, which the Gentleman refuſed; but the King told him, he would take Care of his Brothers that were in *Gaſcoign*, made him a Preſent of a Thouſand Crowns, and *Comines* whiſpered him in the Ear, that he ſhould be well rewarded, if he would uſe his Intereſt to entertain a good Correſpondence betwixt the two Kings.

Lewis XI. reſolved to take great Care after this to ſay nothing that might give the *Engliſh* Ground to think that he laughed at them; yet, the very next Day, when there were none but *Comines* and three or four more about him, he could not forbear laughing at the Wine and other Preſents which he had ſent to the *Engliſh* Army; but turning about he ſaw a *Gaſcoign* Merchant in the Room, who lived in *England*, and was come to beg Leave to carry over ſome Wine Cuſtom-free. The King was vexed, when he ſaw him, aſked him who he was, and what Eſtate he had; and, underſtanding that he had no great Matter, he gave him a Poſt in *Bourdeaux*, granted him his Demand, and preſented him with a Thouſand Franks, on Condition that he ſhould ſend for his Family from *England*, and go no more there himſelf.

Comines gives another Inſtance of the King's Care to avoid giving any Offence to the *Engliſh*: A Gentleman of our Nation, ſeeing Part of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Guards, who came with his Ambaſſadors to treat with the King after he had been deſerted by the *Engliſh*, ſaid to *Comines*, *Had we known that the Duke of* Burgundy *was ſo well provided with Troops, we ſhould not ſo readily have agreed to a Peace.* The Lord of *Narbonne* replied, *Were ye ſuch Fools as not to know that? Ye only ſay ſo now, but Six-hundred Pipes of Wine and a Penſion from our King has ſent you all a packing again to* England. The *Engliſh* Gentleman broke out into a Rage, and ſaid, *He perceived it now to be true what he had often been told, that the* French *made their Games at the* Engliſh; *but, by St.* George, ſays he, *what your King gave us is not a Penſion but a Tribute.* Upon which *Comines* interpoſed, broke off the Diſcourſe, turned it into a Jeſt, and told the King of it, who ſharply rebuked the Lord of *Narbonne*.

I return again to the tricking Conſtable, who finding, that he had intirely diſobliged the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the King of *England*, ſent one of his chief Servants to beg of the King, not to believe all the Ill that was ſaid of him; and, to aſſure his Majeſty of his Fidelity, he offered to prevail with the Duke of *Burgundy* to fall upon the *Engliſh* in their Retreat. The Meſſage was delivered to *Comines*, and he reported it to the King, who, in Preſence of the Lord *Howard* and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Gentleman that had formerly overheard the Conſtable's treacherous Propoſals, delivered a Letter

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to the Conſtable's Servant, and told him, *That he was taken up about Affairs of great Concernment, and ſtood in Need of ſuch an Head as his Maſter's.* The poor Man thought it a very friendly Anſwer; but, when he was gone, the King turned about to the Gentleman above mentioned, and ſaid merrily, *I did not intend to have the Conſtable's Body, for his Head is all I want.* At the ſame Time the King of *England* ſent *Lewis* XI. two of the Conſtable's private Letters, with an Account of all that he had ſaid and done againſt him; ſo that thoſe three Princes conſpired to take off this Trickſter's Head, which certainly he very well deſerved, though it was below the Character of the King of *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy* to become Evidence againſt him.

It is Time now to wind up the Story in as few Words as I can: *Comines* tells us, that the King of *England* did not engage cordially in this War, for, before he came from *Dover*, he began to treat with the *French* King; and that he brought his Army over to *France* for the two following Reaſons: Firſt, *Becauſe his People were eager for a War againſt* France, and the Duke of *Burgundy* preſſed him to it. Secondly, *That he might ſave moſt of the Money which had been granted him by the Parliament for that War; and, the better to impoſe upon his Subjects, he brought with him twelve of the principal Commons of* England, *who had been the moſt zealous for the War, and contributed chiefly to raiſe the Money for maintaining it.* The King lodged them in good Tents; but being corpulent Men, and not accuſtomed to the Fatigues of War, they hoped the King would ſoon have ended the Matter by a Battle. His Majeſty, who never intended it, *filled their Heads with Doubts and Fears as to the Iſſue of a Battle, and managed Matters ſo well, that he brought them to approve the Peace, and engaged them to help in ſuppreſſing the Murmurs of his Subjects upon his Return; for there never was a greater and better appointed Army ſent from* England *to* France. But King *Edward* was not of a Complexion to endure ſuch Fatigues as the Conqueſt of that Kingdom would have required; beſides he was mighty earneſt for a Match betwixt the *Dauphin*, afterwards *Charles* VIII, and his own Daughter, which made him diſſemble many Things that afterwards turned to the *French* King's Advantage.

All the *Engliſh* being returned Home, except the Hoſtages, the Treaty betwixt the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy* was brought to bear by M. *de Contay*, that Duke's Gentleman formerly mentioned, and the King carried the *Engliſh* Hoſtages to *Vervins*, where the Treaty was finiſhed. The King of *England* being informed of the Negotiations, and enraged that the Duke of *Burgundy* would not agree to this Truce, ſent Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, one of his Favourites, to the King of *France*, to pray him that he would make no other Treaty with the Duke than he had done with him, and particularly that he would not yield up St. *Quintins*. He proffered at the ſame Time, if the King had a Mind to continue the War, that he would join him, next Year, in Perſon againſt the Duke, provided the *French* King would pay half his Army, and give him an Equivalent for the Cuſtoms of Wool at *Calais*, which was about Fifty-thouſand Crowns *per Annum*. *Lewis* XI. thanked the King for his Proffer, and told Sir *Thomas*, the Treaty was already concluded; that it was only for nine Years, but the Duke would have a particular Treaty for himſelf; and thus making the beſt Excuſes he could, he made Sir *Thomas* a rich Preſent of Plate, and ſent the *Engliſh* Hoſtages Home with him. Thus *Lewis* XI. thought himſelf well rid of the *Engliſh*, and did not care to ſee them any more on that Side the Sea, leſt they ſhould have renewed their Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

This Prince was at laſt ruined by the Intrigues of *Lewis* XI, who ſtirred up Enemies againſt him on every Side; and after his Death he ſeized the Duchy of *Burgundy*, beſides ſeveral Places in *Flanders*. The King of *England* was the only Prince capable to put a Stop to *Lewis* XIth's Career, and the Heireſs of *Burgundy* ſent Ambaſſadors to intreat his Aſſiſtance, which the Parliament came heartily into, and repreſented to King *Edward* the *French* King's Perfidiouſneſs, and his Breach of the above-mentioned Treaty, in not concluding the Match betwixt the *Dauphin* and his Daughter. But King *Edward* being *a heavy unweildy Man*, and wholly addicted to his Pleaſures, he had no Regard to their Remonſtrances; beſides, the Penſion of Fifty-thouſand Crowns, paid him every Year, was a Bait for his Avarice. And *when he was obliged to ſend Ambaſſadors with ſharp Meſſages, to pleaſe his Subjects, the* French *King always treated them well, took them off by rich Preſents, and gained Time, by pretending that he would ſpeedily ſend Ambaſſadors with full Inſtructions to give their Maſter Satisfaction; and at other Times he propoſed to ſhare the* Netherlands with him. But his chief Truſt

was

was in the great Number of Penſioners he had in *England*, whom *Comines* names as follows: The Lord Chancellor, the Maſter of the Rolls, the Lord *Haſtings*, who was Great Chamberlain, and in mighty Favour with his Maſter; Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, the Lord *Howard*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*; the Maſter of the Horſe, Mr. *Chalanger*, and the Marquis, Son to the Queen of *England*, by a former Marriage. To all theſe he gave great Gifts beſides their Penſions, and particularly to the Lord Chamberlain, *Haſtings*, a thouſand Marks of Plate at once; and the Acquittances of all thoſe Penſioners were to be ſeen in the *French* King's Chamber of Accounts, ſays *Comines*, except thoſe of the Lord *Haſtings*, who had formerly been a Penſioner to the Duke of *Burgundy*, by *Comines*'s Intereſt; who, knowing his weak Side, adviſed *Lewis* XI. to purchaſe him in the ſame Manner, for he was at that Time a great Enemy to *France*, and mightily preſſed King *Edward* to aſſiſt the Heireſs of *Burgundy*; but *Lewis* XI. bought him off, by doubling his Penſion. He ſent it him by Mr. *Cleret*, Maſter of his own Houſhold, and ordered him to take an Acquittance for it, as he did from the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High-Admiral, the Maſter of the Horſe, and others, and as he had formerly done from the preceding Lord Chamberlain. But when he came to the Lord *Haſtings*, and delivered him his Meſſage with the Penſion, that Lord refuſed him an Acquittance. The *French* Gentleman inſiſted on it, and ſaid, that his Maſter might otherwiſe think he had cheated him, and not delivered the Money. The Lord *Haſtings* replied, That what he ſaid was very juſt, but, ſince the Money came by the King's free Will, and not at his Deſire, he muſt put it into his Sleeve without Witneſs or Acquittance; for it ſhould never be ſaid, that the Great Chamberlain of *England* was a Penſioner of *France*, or that his Acquittance ſhould be found in the *French* King's Chamber of Accounts. *Cleret* was forced to comply, and, though *Lewis* XI. was angry at firſt when he told him the Story, he ever after eſteemed the Lord *Haſtings* more than any of his other *Engliſh* Penſioners, and ordered his Money to be paid him, without demanding any more Acquittances.

Thus, Sir, you have an Account of this diſhonourable Treaty, how *England* was tricked by the *French* King's Perfidiouſneſs and Cunning, how our Allies were abuſed and ruined, how the exorbitant Power of *France* was founded, though *England* was in a Capacity to have prevented it; and how our Country and Parliaments were impoſed upon, to the perpetual Diſhonour of the Nation, by the *French* King and his Penſioners.

A true and ſtrange Diſcourſe of the *Travels* of two *Engliſh* Pilgrims: What admirable Accidents befell them in their Journey towards *Jeruſalem*, *Gaza*, *Grand Cairo*, *Alexandria*, and other Places. Alſo, what rare *Antiquities*, *Monuments*, and notable Memories (according with the ancient Remembrances in the holy Scriptures) they ſaw in *Terra Sancta*, or the *Holy Land*; with a perfect Deſcription of the Old and New *Jeruſalem*, and Situation of the Countries about them. A Diſcourſe of no leſs Admiration, than well worth the Regarding: Written by *Henry Timberlake*.

London, Printed by *Nicholas Okes*, MDCXVI.

What

What recommends this Tract, *is the* Plainneſs *and* Impartiality, *which the Reader will juſtly recommend, when he has read it throughout; as well as the* Subject, *on which it is wrote: For he gives an exact Journal of his Journey, from* Grand Cairo, *to* Jeruſalem, *with ſeveral curious Obſervations in his Way, and a particular Account of the Toll or Tribute, to be paid by all Travellers at ſtated Places. He deſcribes the Power of the* Romiſh *Friars, which are ſettled at* Jeruſalem; *and gives an Inſtance of their inveterate Hatred to* Proteſtants, *in his own Perſon; then he proceeds to ſhew the Ceremonies uſed by theſe* Friars, *to purify the* Pilgrims, *before they are admitted to viſit the* Holy Places; *and without the* Superſtition *of a* Bigot, *who believes all, upon the Credit of the Relator, he gives you an honeſt Account of every individual* Place, *and* Relick, *which thoſe* Friars *ſhew, and recommend to the Devotion of ſuch as go in Pilgrimage to the* Holy Land. *Beſides, his Topographical Deſcription of* Jeruſalem, *and the adjacent Villages and Places, is moſt accurate, and conveighed the more ſenſibly to our Underſtandings, as compared with the Diſtances of certain Towns and Villages from* London; *ſo that this* little Piece *may juſtly be eſteemed one of the beſt, if not the firſt* Proteſtant *Account of the* Holy Land; *and from which, I dare venture to ſay, moſt others that have wrote ſince, on the ſame Subject, have been ſupplied with thoſe Particulars of greateſt Certainty, that grace their Journals.*

ALthough it paſſes as a general Proverb, that *Travellers may tell Leaſings by Authority*; yet I being no way daunted by that Bug-bear Thunderbolt, but confidently ſtanding on the Juſtice of my Cauſe; my kind Commendations to all you my dear Friends firſt remembered, thus from *Jeruſalem*, I begin to ſalute you. You ſhall underſtand, that ſince my Departure from *Grand Cairo*, towards the *Holy Land*, I wrote you a Letter from *Rama*. (This *Rama* is a Place, where the Voice was heard of *Rachel*, weeping for her Children) wherein I certified you of all my Proceedings, from *Grand Cairo*, even to that very Place. I ſent it, with ſeven other Letters beſide, to *Damaſco* in a Caravan, from thence to be conveighed to *Conſtantinople*: But doubting, leſt the ſaid Packet is not as yet come to your Hands, I thought good to write you, concerning all my aforeſaid Proceedings; as alſo the reſt of my Voyage to *Jeruſalem*, with my Impriſonment, and Troubles in the City, and what memorable Antiquities I ſaw there, and elſewhere, until my Return back to *Alexandria*.

Firſt, you ſhall know, that I departed not from *Grand Cairo*, till the Ninth of *March*, upon which Day I came to the Place, where (it is ſaid) the Virgin *Mary* did ſtay * with our Saviour, *Chriſt*: So far was I accompanied by *Anthony Thorpe*, and four others, that went to *Grand Cairo* with me, but there left me, departing back to the City; and I, with my Fellow-traveller, Maſter *John Burrell*, both of us being in our Pilgrims Habits, came that Night to a Town called *Canko*, where we were glad to take up our Lodging in a Yard, having no other Bedding than the bare Ground. The next Day we departed thence, and came to a Town in the Land of *Goſhen*, where we met with a Company of *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Chriſtians*, and ſome Seven-hundred and fifty Camels, all which were bound for *Damaſco*, over the Deſarts; yet were there amongſt them two and twenty *Greeks* and *Armenians*, whoſe purpoſed Travel lay to *Jeruſalem*, which made us the gladder of their Company. At this Town, being named *Philbits*, we ſtaid two Days and one Night; in which Time, I went into a Houſe, where I ſaw a very ſtrange Secret of hatching of Chickens, by artificial Heat, or Warmth: The like I had ſeen before at *Grand Cairo*, but not in ſuch extraordinary Numbers or Multitudes as here; the Manner whereof I will declare as followeth: The Country People inhabiting about this Town, four or five Miles diſtant, every Way, bring their Eggs in apt Carriages for the Purpoſe, upon Aſſes or Ca-

* When they fled into *Egypt*.

mels, to this Place, where there is an Oven, or Furnace, purpoſely kept temperately warm, and the Furner or Maſter thereof ſtandeth ready at a little Door, to receive the Eggs of every one, by Tale; unleſs that when the Number ariſes ſo high (as to ten Camels Loading or more) then he filleth a Meaſure by Tale, and after that Order, meaſures all the reſt. And I tell you this for a Truth, that I ſaw there received by the Furner, Cook, or Baker, in one Day, by Tale, and by Meaſure, the Number of *thirty-five*, or *forty-thouſand Eggs*; and they told me, that for three Days Space together, he doth nothing, but ſtill receive in Eggs, and at twelve Days End, they come again to fetch Chickens, ſometimes at ten Days, and ſometimes (but not very often) at ſeven Days, according as the Weather falleth out. Perhaps, ſome two-hundred Perſons are Owners of one Rangeful, ſome having two-thouſand, ſome one; or more, or leſs, as the Quantities amount to: The Furner noteth the Names and Portions of every Bringer; and if he chanceth to have a hundred and fifty Thouſand, or two-hundred Thouſand, at one Heat (as many Times it chanceth that he hath) yet doth he mingle them all together, not reſpecting to whom they ſeverally belong. Then he layeth them, one by one, upon his Range, ſo near as they can lie, and touch each other; having firſt made a Bed for them, of Camels-dung burnt; and the Place, whereon the Aſhes do reſt, is of a very thin Matter made of Earth, but mixed with the Camels-dung in the making, and ſome Pigeons-dung amongſt it; yet herein conſiſteth not the Secret only; for there is a Concave, or hollow Place, about three Feet Breadth, under it, whereon is likewiſe ſpread another Layer of Camels-dung, and under that is the Place, where the Fire is made. Yet can I not rightly call it Fire, becauſe it appeareth to be nothing but Embers; for I could not diſcern it, but to be like Aſhes, yielding a temperate Heat to the next Concave, and the Heat being reſiſted by the Layer of Dung next it (which Dung being green, and laid upon Pieces of withered Trees) delivereth forth an extraordinary Vapour, and that Vapour entereth the hollow Concave, next under the Eggs, where, in Time, it pierceth the aforeſaid mixed Earth, which toucheth the Aſhes, whereon the Eggs are laid, and ſo ſerveth as a a neceſſary Receptacle for all the Heat coming from underneath. This artificial Heat, gliding through the Embers, whereon the Eggs lie, doth by Degrees warm through the Shells, and ſo infuſeth Life by the ſame Proportions of Heat; thus, in ſeven, eight, nine, ten, or ſometimes twelve Days, Life continueth by this artificial Means. Now when the Furner perceiveth Life to appear, and that the Shells begin to break, then he beginneth to gather them; but of a Hundred-thouſand, he hardly gathers Three-ſcore-thouſand, ſometimes but Fifty-thouſand, and ſometimes (when the Day is overcaſt) not Twenty-thouſand; and if there chance any Lightning, Thunder, or Rain, then, of a Thouſand, he gathers not one; for then they all miſcarry and die. And this is to be remembered withal, that be the Weather never ſo fair, the Air perfect clear, and every thing as themſelves can deſire, and let the Chickens be hatched in the beſt Manner, that may be, yet have they either a Claw too much, or too little: For ſometimes they have five Claws, ſometimes ſix, ſome but two before, and one behind, and ſeldom, very few or any in their right Shape. Afterwards, when the People come to receive their Eggs, that before had brought them in, the Furner gives to every one rateably, according as the Furnace yieldeth, reſerving to himſelf the Tenth for his Labour. Thus have you the Secret of hatching Eggs, by Heat artificial, at the Town of *Philbits* in the Land of *Goſhen*, which I think were in vain to be practiſed in *England*, becauſe the Air there is hardly ten Days together clarified, neither is there any Camels-dung, though they have Dung of other Beaſts every Way as hot; therefore, when the Sun is in *Cancer*, *Leo*, or *Virgo*, you may, if you pleaſe, try what may be done. Perhaps ſome will think this to be a Lye, or Fable; but to ſuch I anſwer, I can urge their Credence no further than my Faith and Truth can perſuade them: And if thereon they will not believe me, let them take Pains to make their own Eyes a Witneſs, and when they have paid as dearly as I have done (for the Sight of this and other Things coſt me an *hundred Marks* in fifty Days) their Judgements will be better confirmed.

But now to my Journey toward the Deſarts of *Arabia*, which I was of Force to paſs, before I could come to the *Holy Land*. Then we departed from the Town of *Philbits*, travelling all Night in Company with the *Caravan* of *Damaſco*, and the Fourteenth at Nine of the Clock, we pitched our Tents at *Baharo*, in the Land of *Goſhen*. From thence we departed that Night, and the Fifteenth at Night, we pitched at *Salhia*,

bia, which is to the Eaſtward of the Land of *Goſhen*, and ſtands on the Borders of the *Arabian* Deſarts; there we ſtaid two Days for Fear of the wild *Arabs*, and departed thence the Seventeenth. We paſſed that Night over a great Bridge, under which the Salt-water ſtandeth. This Water comes out of the Sea from the Parts of *Damietta*, and by Men's Hands, was cut out of that Place, ſome Hundred and fifty Miles into the main Land, by *Ptolomeus*, King of *Egypt*, who purpoſed to bring the *Red-ſea*, and the *Mediterranean*, all into one: But when he foreſaw, that if he had gone through with his Work, all his Country had been quite drowned, he gave it over, and built a Bridge there to paſs over. This Place parteth *Arabia* and *Egypt*; and no ſooner had we paſſed this Bridge, but we were ſet upon by the wild *Arabs*; and, notwithſtanding our great Company (for we were more than a thouſand Perſons) a Camel, loaden with Callicoes, was taken from us, four of our Men hurt, and one of them mortally wounded; and the *Arabs* ran away with the Prey, we being unable to help it, becauſe it was Night. The next Day we pitched by a Well of brackiſh Water: But I forgot to tell you, that my Fellow-Pilgrim, Mr. *John Burrell*, eſcaped very narrowly in the laſt Night's Bickering; there we reſted ourſelves till Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, which they call *Laſara*; for the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* divide the Day into four Parts: Then we departed, and pitched the next Morning at a Caſtle in the Deſarts, called *Carga*, which is one of the three Caſtles which the *Turks* keep in the Deſarts, to defend all Travellers from the wild *Arabs*: Therefore, there we paid a certain Tax, which was ſixty Pieces of Silver *, of two Pence a Piece Value, for each Man or Boy, and ſeventy-ſix Pieces † for a Camel loaden, and fourteen ‡ for a Mule: Having paid this Impoſition, we departed, and pitched again the Nineteenth, at another brackiſh Well: From whence ſetting onward, we pitched the Twentieth of *March*, at the ſecond Caſtle, called *Arris*, kept alſo by the *Turks*, in the ſaid Deſarts, where our Tax was but twenty Pieces of Silver ‖ for each Paſſenger, and thirty § for a Camel. From thence we were guided by many Soldiers to the third Caſtle, called *Raphael*, making one long Journey of twenty-four Hours together. Here, it is ſaid, that the Kings of *Egypt* and *Judea* fought many great Battles; which, to me, ſeemed very unlikely, becauſe there is nothing to relieve an Army withal, except Sand and Salt-water.

There we paid ten Pieces ** every Paſſenger, and twenty for a Beaſt. So departing thence, the Twenty-ſecond in the Morning, we pitched at *Gaza*, in *Paleſtine*, a goodly fruitful Country, and there we were quitted of all the Deſarts. In this Town, I ſaw the Place where (as they told us) *Sampſon* pulled down the two Pillars, and ſlew the *Philiſtines*: And ſurely it appears to be the ſame Town, by Reaſon of the Situation of the Country. There we paid twenty-two Pieces †† for each Beaſt, and ten ‡‡ for each Paſſenger. From thence we departed, and pitched at a Place called, in *Arabian*, *Canvie*; but, by the *Chriſtians*, called *Beerſheba*, being upon the Borders of *Judea*, where we paid but two Pieces ‖‖ of Silver each one, and four §§ for a Beaſt. Departing thence, the Twenty-third in the Morning, we pitched our Tents upon a green Cloſe, under the Walls of *Ramoth* ***, in *Gilead*: There I ſtaid all the Day, and wrote eight Letters for *England*, by the forenamed *Caravan*, which went for *Damaſco*, to be conveighed to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo for *England*. The next Day, being the Twenty-fourth, in the Morning, I, with other *Chriſtians*, ſet towards *Jeruſalem*, and the great *Caravan* went their Way for *Damaſco*; but we pitched ſhort that Night, at a Place called, in *Arabian*, *Cudechelanib*, being ſixteen Miles from *Hebron*, where the Sepulchre of our Father *Abraham* is, and five little Miles from *Jeruſalem*. From thence we departing in the Morning, being our *Lady-day* in *Lent*, and Nine of the Clock before Noon, I ſaw the City of *Jeruſalem*, when kneeling down, and ſaying the *Lord's Prayer*, I gave God moſt hearty Thanks for conducting me thither, to behold ſo holy a Place with my Eyes, whereof I had read ſo often before. Coming within a Furlong of the Gates, I, with my Companion, Mr. *John Burrell*, went ſinging and praiſing God, till we came to the Weſt Gate of the City, and there we ſtaid, becauſe it was

* Value ten Shillings *Engliſh*. † Twelve Shillings and eight Pence. ‡ Two Shillings and four Pence. ‖ Three Shillings and four Pence. § Five Shillings. ** One Shilling and eight Pence. †† Three Shillings and eight Pence. ‡‡ One Shilling and eight Pence. ‖‖ Four Pence. §§ Eight Pence. *** Or *Rama*.

not

not lawful for a *Chriſtian* to enter unadmitted. My Companion adviſed me to ſay I was a *Greek*, only to avoid going to *Maſs*: But I, not having the *Greek* Tongue, refuſed ſo to do, telling him even at the Entry of the Gate, that I would neither deny my Country nor Religion: Whereupon, being demanded who we were, Mr. *John Burrell* (anſwering in the *Greek* Tongue) told them that he was a *Greek*, and I an *Engliſhman*. This gave him Admittance to the *Greek* Patriarch; but I was ſeized on, and caſt in Priſon, before I had ſtaid a full Hour at the Gate, for the *Turks* flatly denied, that they had ever heard either of my Queen * or Country, or that ſhe paid them any Tribute. The *Pater* † *Guardian*, who is the Defender of all *Chriſtian* Pilgrims (and the principal Procurer of my Impriſonment, becauſe I did not offer myſelf under his ‡ Protection, but confidently ſtood to be rather protected under the *Turk*, than the *Pope*) made the *Turk* ſo much my Enemy, that I was reputed to be a Spy, and ſo by no Means could I be releaſed from the Dungeon.

Now give me Favour to tell you, how it pleaſed God (the very Day) to deliver me, and grant me Paſs as a *Proteſtant*, without yielding to any other Ceremony, than Carriage of a Wax-candle only, far beyond my Expectation. Here let me remember you, that when I ſtaid at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, where I wrote the eight Letters for *England*, by the *Caravan* of *Damaſco*, having ſo good Leiſure, I went to a Fountain to waſh my foul Linnen, and being earneſt about Buſineſs, ſuddenly there came a *Moor* unto me, who taking my Cloaths out of my Hand, and calling me by my Name, ſaid he would help me.

You doubt not, but this was ſome Amazement to me, to hear ſuch a Man call me by my Name, and in a Place ſo far diſtant from my Friends, Country, and Acquaintance: Which he perceiving, boldly thus ſpoke in the *Frank* ‖ Tongue, Why, Captain, I hope you have not forgot me, for it is not yet forty Days ſince you ſet me a Land at *Alexandria*, with the reſt of thoſe Paſſengers you brought from *Algier*, in your Ship, called the *Trojan*? And here is another in this *Caravan*, whom you likewiſe brought in Company with you, that would not be a little glad to ſee you. I demanded of him, if he dwelt there? He anſwered me, No; ſaying, that he and his Fellow were going in that *Caravan* to *Damaſco* (which Place they call *Sham*) and from thence to *Bagdad*, which we call *Babylon*, and from thence to *Meccha*, to make a *Hadgee*, for ſo they are called, when they have been at *Meccha*: Moreover, he told me, that he dwelt in the City of *Feſſe*, in *Barbary*.

This Man (in my Mind) God ſent to be the Means of my immediate Delivery: For, after I had taken good Notice of him, I well remembered that I ſaw him in my Ship; though one Man, among Three-hundred, is not very readily known: For ſo many I brought from *Algier*, into thoſe Parts, of different Nations; as *Turks*, *Moors*, *Jews*, and *Chriſtians*: I deſired this Man to bring me to the Sight of his other Companion, which (having waſhed my Linnen) he did, and him I knew very readily. Theſe two concluded, that the one of them would depart thence with the *Caravan*, and the other go along with me to *Jeruſalem*, which was the *Moor* before remembered: And ſuch kind Care had the *Infidel* of me, that he would not leave me unaccompanied in this ſtrange Land: Which I cannot but impute to God's eſpecial Providence for my Deliverance out of Priſon, or elſe I had been left in a moſt miſerable Caſe.

When this *Moor* ſaw me thus impriſoned in *Jeruſalem*, my Dungeon being right againſt the Sepulchre of *Chriſt*, albeit he wept, yet he bade me be of good Comfort, and went to the *Baſhaw* § of the City, and to the *Saniake* **, before whom he took his Oath, that I was a Mariner of a Ship, which had brought two-hundred and fifty, or three-hundred *Turks* and *Moors* into *Egypt*, from *Algier* and *Tunis*, their Journey being unto *Meccha*.

This *Moor* (in Regard he was a *Muſſelman*) prevailed ſo well with them, that, returning with ſix *Turks* back to Priſon, he called me to the Door, and there ſaid unto me, that, if I would go to the Houſe of the *Pater Guardian*, and yield myſelf under his Protection, I ſhould be inforced to no Religion but mine own, except it were to carry a Candle; to the which I willingly condeſcended.

So, paying the Charges of the Priſon, I was

* *Eliſabeth.* † *i. e.* Father or chief of the Friars, ſettled in that City. ‡ *Romiſh.* ‖ That is, in a mixed Kind of Speech, uſed among Sailors, that get a Smattering of every Tongue where they come. § *Turkiſh* Governor. ** Or, chief Juſtice.

preſently delivered, and brought to the *Guardian*'s Monaſtery, where the *Pater*, coming to me, took me by the Hand, and bade me Welcome, marvelling I would ſo much err from *Chriſtianity*, as to put myſelf rather under the *Turks*, than his Protection: I told him, what I did was, becauſe that I would not go to *Maſs*, but keep my Conſcience to myſelf: He replied, that many *Engliſhmen* had been there, but (being *Catholicks*) went to *Maſs*, telling the *Turks* at the Gate's Entrance, that they were *Frenchmen*, for the *Turks* know not what you mean by the Word *Engliſhman*; adviſing me further, that, when any of my Countrymen undertook the like Travel, at the Gates of *Jeruſalem* they ſhould term themſelves either *Frenchmen* or *Britons*, becauſe they are well known to the *Turks*.

This, or ſuch like Conference, paſſed between us; and further he asked me, how old our Queen's Majeſty was, and what was the Reaſon ſhe gave nothing to the Maintenance of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as other Kings and Princes did? with divers other frivolous Queſtions: Whereto I anſwered accordingly. This Day being ſpent even to Twilight, Mr. *John Burrel*, who paſſed as a *Greek*, without any Trouble, came in unto us, being nevertheleſs conſtrained to this Monaſtery, or elſe he might not ſtay in the City; for ſuch Sway do the *Papiſts* carry there, that no *Chriſtian* Stranger can have Admittance there, but he muſt be protected under them, or not enter the City. Mr. *Burrel* and I being together in the Court of the Monaſtery, twelve fat-fed Friars came forth unto us, each of them carrying a Wax-Candle burning, and two ſpare Candles beſide, the one for Mr. *Burrel*, and the other for me. Another Friar brought a great Baſon of warm Water, mingled with Roſes, and other ſweet Flowers, and a Carpet being ſpread on the Ground, and Cuſhions in Chairs ſet orderly for us, the *Pater Guardian* came and ſet us down, giving each of us a Candle in our Hands; then came a Friar and pulled off our Hoſe, and (ſetting the Baſon on the Carpet) waſhed our Feet.

So ſoon as the Friar began to waſh, the twelve Friars began to ſing, continuing ſo till our Feet were waſhed; which being done, they went along ſinging, and we, with the *Guardian*, came to a Chapel in the Monaſtery, where one of them began an Oration in Form of a Sermon, tending to this Effect: How *meritorious it was for us to viſit the Holy Land*, and ſee thoſe ſanctified Places where our Saviour's Feet had trod.

The Sermon being ended, they brought us unto a Chamber, where our Supper was prepared; there we fed ſomewhat fearfully, in Regard the ſtrange Cats have as ſtrange Qualities; but, committing ourſelves to God, and their outward-appearing *Chriſtian* Kindneſs, we fell to heartily, ſupped very bountifully, and after (praiſing God) were lodged deſcently. Thus much for my firſt Entertainment in *Jeruſalem*, which was the 25th of *March*, 1601, being our *Lady-day* in *Lent*.

Now follows what the Friars afterward ſhewed me, being thereto appointed by the *Pater Guardian*. Early the next Morning we aroſe, and, having ſaluted the *Pater Guardian*, he appointed us ſeven Friars and a Trouchman; ſo forth we went to ſee all the Holy Places in the City, which were to be ſeen, except thoſe in *Sepulchra Sancta* *; for that required a whole Day's Work afterward; and at every Place where we came we kneeled down, and ſaid the *Lord's Prayer*.

The firſt Place of Note, that the Friars ſhewed us, was the Place judicial next the Houſe of *Veronica Sancta* †; and demanding of them what Saint that was, they told me it was ſhe that did wipe our Saviour's Face, as he paſſed by in his Agony.

Deſcending a little lower in the ſame Street, they ſhewed me the Way which our Saviour *Chriſt* went to be crucified, called by them *Via Doloroſa* ‡.

Then, on the right Hand, in the ſame Street, I was ſhewn the Houſe of the rich Glutton, at whoſe Gate poor deſpiſed *Lazarus* lay.

Holding on our Way down this Street, we came to a turning Paſſage, on the left Hand, whence they told me *Simon Cyrenus* ‖ was coming towards the *Dolorous Way*, when the Soldiers, ſeeing him, called him, and compelled him, againſt his Will, preſently to help our Saviour to carry his Croſs.

Then they told me, that in that ſame Place the People wept, when *Chriſt*, anſwering, ſaid unto them, *Oh Daughters of* Jeruſalem, *Weep not for me*, &c §.

* Or, Holy Sepulchre. † Or, St. *Veronica*. ‡ Or, the dolorous or mournful Way.
‖ *Simon of Cyrene*, Matt. xxvii. 32. § *Luke* xxiii. 28.

Next

Next they ſhewed me the Church where the Virgin *Mary* fell into an Agony, when *Chriſt* paſſed by, carrying his Croſs *.

Afterward they brought me to *Pilate*'s Palace, which, though it be all ruinated, yet is there an old Arch of Stone, which is ſtill maintained by the *Chriſtians*, and, it ſtanding full in the High-Way, we paſſed under it; much like the Way or Paſſage under Mr. *Hammon*'s Houſe in the *Bulwark*, but that the Arch is higher; for, upon that Arch, is a Gallery which admiteth Paſſage (over our Heads) from one Side of the Street to the other; for *Pilate*'s Palace extendeth over the High-Way on both Sides, and *Pilate* had two great Windows in the ſaid Gallery, to gaze out both Ways into the Street, as Mr. *Hammon* hath the like Advantage at both his Windows.

Into this Gallery was our Saviour brought when he was ſhewn unto the *Jews*, and they, ſtanding below in the Street, heard the Words, *Ecce Homo* †. A little from this Place, is the Foot of the Stairs where our Saviour did firſt take up his Croſs. Then they brought me to the Place where the Virgin *Mary* was conceived, and born, which is the Church of St. *Anne*, and no *Turkiſh* Church. Next they ſhewed me the Pool ‡ where *Chriſt* cleanſed the Lepers, and then, guiding me to St. *Stephen*'s Gate, a little within it, upon the left Hand, they ſhewed me the Stone wherewith St. *Stephen* was ſtoned. From hence I ſaw the Stairs going up to Port *Area*, at which Port there are divers Relicks to be ſeen; it was the Eaſt Gate of the Temple which *Solomon* built upon Mount *Moria*, in which Temple was the Place of *Sanctum Sanctorum* ‖; but now in that Place is built a goodly great Church, belonging to the *Turks*.

Thus ſpent I the ſecond Day, being the 26th Day of *March*, all within the Gates of *Jeruſalem*, except my going to ſee the Stone wherewith St. *Stephen* was ſtoned. The next Day being the 27th, having done our Duty to God, and the *Pater Guardian*, we hired Aſſes for the Friars and the Trouchman to ride on, and, going forth the City-Gates, we mounted, and rode directly towards *Bythinia* §.

By the Way as we rode, they ſhewed me the Place of the fruitleſs Fig-tree, which *Chriſt* curſed: Next, the Caſtle of *Lazarus*, that *Lazarus* whom *Chriſt* loved ſo well; for his Houſe or Caſtle was in *Bythinia*, but it was utterly ruinated, and nothing to be ſeen but the two Sides of the Wall.

In the ſame Town they ſhewed me the Houſe of *Mary Magdalen*, but ſo ruinated, that nothing is left of it but a Piece of a Wall: There I ſaw likewiſe *Martha*'s Houſe, conſiſting of three Pieces of a Wall; and thence they brought me to the Stone where the two Siſters told *Chriſt* that *Lazarus* was dead; from whence, paſſing on, they ſhewed me the Place where our Saviour raiſed *Lazarus* from Death, after he had lain three Days in the Ground, and where he was buried afterward, when he died.

This Place hath been notably kept from the Beginning, and is repaired ſtill by the *Chriſtians*; but yet in poor and very bare Sort: And this is all that I ſaw in *Bythinia*.

From hence we rode unto Mount *Olivet*, and, paſſing by *Bethphage*, they brought me to the Place where our Saviour took the Aſs and Colt when he rode to *Jeruſalem*, upon *Palm-Sunday*. Riding through *Bethphage* directly North, we came to the Foot of Mount *Olivet*, where they ſhewed me the Place *Benedicta* of the Virgin *Mary*'s Annunciation; and, aſcending to the Top of the Mount, we ſaw the Place of our Saviour's Aſcenſion; at the Sight whereof we ſaid our Prayers, and were commanded withal to ſay five *Pater-Noſters* **, and five *Ave Mary's* ††; but we ſaid the *Lord's Prayer*, took Notice of the Place and departed. This is the very higheſt Part of Mount *Olivet*, and hence may be diſcerned many notable Places; as, firſt, Weſt from it is the Proſpect of the new City of *Jeruſalem*; South-weſt from it, may be ſeen the Proſpect of Mount *Sion*, which is adjoining to new *Jeruſalem*; alſo in the Valley between *Sion* and the Mount, whereon I ſtood, I ſaw the Brook *Cedron*, the Pool *Siloam*, the *Garden* wherein our Saviour prayed, the Place where afterwards he was *betrayed*, and divers other notable Things in this Valley of *Gethſemane*; as, the Tomb of *Abſolom*, King *David*'s Son, the Tomb of *Jehoſhaphat*, and others, which I will ſpeak of, when I come to them.

Full South from Mount *Olivet*, I could ſee the Places we came laſt from, as all *Bythinia* and *Bethphage*; alſo, Eaſt-North-Eaſt from this

* This is unſcriptural, or a *Monkiſh* Invention. † *Behold the Man.* ‡ Of *Siloam.* ‖ The Holy of Holies. § i. e. *Bethany.* ** Or, the Lord's Prayer five Times. †† Or, Hail *Mary*'s, a Prayer to the Virgin *Mary*, uſed by Papiſts.

Mount,

Mount, may be ſeen both the River of *Jordan*, which is about fifteen Miles off, and *Jericho*, which is not far, becauſe it is to the Weſtward of *Jordan*.

From Mount *Olivet* Eaſt and Eaſt-South-Eaſt, may be ſeen the Lake of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, which is about an hundred Miles long, and eight over; all theſe Places I ſet with the Compaſs, when I was on Mount *Olivet*; for I ſtaid on the Top of it about two Hours and an Half, having a little Compaſs about me.

Deſcending hence towards the Foot Weſtward, we came to a Place where the Friars told me, that a Woman, called St. *Pelagia*, did Penance there in the Habit of a Friar; whereat I ſmiling, they demanded, why I did ſo? I anſwered, that to believe *Pelagia* was a Saint ſtood out of the Compaſs of the Creed; they told me, when I ſhould come Home at Night, they would ſhew me ſufficient Authors for it; but, when I came Home, I had ſo much to do in writing my Notes out of my Table-Book, that I had not Leiſure to urge their Authors for St. *Pelagia*.

By this Time they brought us to the Place where our Saviour did foreſee the Judgment; then where he made the *Pater Noſter* *, and then where the Apoſtles made the *Creed* *.

From hence we came to the Place where *Chriſt* wept for *Jeruſalem*, and from thence to the Place where the Virgin *Mary* gave the Girdle to St. *Thomas* *, and then to the Place where ſhe prayed for St. *Stephen* *. All theſe laſt were coming down Mount *Olivet*, towards the Valley of *Gethſemane*, where by the Way we came to our *Lady*'s Church, wherein is her Sepulchre *, and the Sepulchre of her Huſband *Joſeph* *, with the Sepulchre of *Anna* *, and many others in that Church.

This Church ſtandeth at the Foot of Mount *Olivet*, and was built, as they ſay, by *Helena*, the Mother of *Conſtantine the Great*; here the Friars went into the Virgin *Mary*'s Sepulchre, and there either ſaid Maſs or Prayers, while we in the mean Time went to Dinner.

In this Church is a Fountain of exceeding fine Water, and in Regard we went down into a Vault, as it were, it giveth a marvellous lound Eccho or Sound.

Hence we went to the Cave whither *Judas* came to betray *Chriſt*, when he was at Prayer, and thence to the Garden where our Saviour left his Diſciples, commanding them to watch and pray, but found them ſleeping at his Return; then they brought me to the Garden where *Chriſt* was taken; and all theſe laſt three were in the Valley of *Gethſemane*. Riding unto the Town (whereof the Valley bears the Name) on the left Hand I ſaw the before-mentioned Sepulchres of *Abſolom* and *Jehoſhaphat*, and on the right Hand the Brook *Cedron*, which, at my being there, had not one Drop of Water in it; for, indeed, it is but a Ditch to conveigh the Water to the two Hills (I mean Mount *Olivet* and Mount *Sion*) when any Store of Rain falleth. And this Ditch, or Brook *Cedron*, is in the Valley between both thoſe Hills.

Hard by the Brook *Cedron*, they ſhewed me a Stone, marked with the Feet and Elbows of *Chriſt*, in their throwing of him down when they took him, and ever ſince (ſay they †) have thoſe Prints remained there.

From thence we rode to the Place where St. *James* the younger did hide himſelf, and afterwards was buried there. There alſo they ſhewed, where *Zechariah*, the Son of *Barachiah*, was buried, and brought me to another Place, where (they ſay) the Virgin *Mary* uſed often to pray.

Then came we to the Pool of *Siloam*, wherein Mr. *Burrel* and I waſhed ourſelves, and hence we was ſhewn the Place where the Prophet *Iſaiah* was ſawn in Pieces; thence they guided us to an exceeding deep Well, where the *Jews* (as they ſay) hid the holy Fire in the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Here we aſcended from the Valley to a Hill-ſide, which lieth juſt South from Mount *Sion*, but there is a great Valley between, called *Gehennon*, and there they ſhewed me the Place where the Apoſtles hid themſelves, being a Cave in a Rock. Aſcending higher hence, they brought me to the Field, or rather to be more rightly termed the Rock, where the common Burial-place is for Strangers, being the very ſame (as they ſay) which was bought with the thirty Pieces of Silver, that *Judas* received as the Price of his Maſter, which Place is called *Aceldama* ‡, and is faſhioned as followeth: It hath three Holes above, and on the Side there is a Vent; at the upper Holes they let down the

* According to the *Monkiſh* Traditions. † Not the Scriptures, or any good Author; but the *Monks* and *Friars*, that are now in Poſſeſſion, and contrive all Means to pick the Pockets of the Devout and Credulous. ‡ Or, Field of Blood.

dead

dead Bodies, to the Eſtimation of about fifty Feet down.

In this Place I ſaw two Bodies, new or very lately let down, and looking down (for by Reaſon of the three great Holes above, where the dead Bodies lie, it is very light) I received ſuch a Savour into my Head, that it made me very ſick, ſo that I was glad to intreat the Friars to go no further, but to return Home to the City.

So here we went through the Valley of *Gehennon*, and at the Foot of Mount *Sion* (having a little Bottle of Water which I brought from the Pool *Siloam*) I drank, and reſted there an Hour's Space, eating a few Raiſins and Olives, which we brought with us from *Jeruſalem* in the Morning.

After I had well reſted and refreſhed myſelf, we began to aſcend Mount *Sion*, and a little Way up the Hill they ſhewed me the Place where *Peter* having denied *Chriſt*, and hearing the Cock crow, went out and wept.

Aſcending higher, they ſhewed me the Houſe where the Virgin *Mary* dwelt, which was near unto the Temple; then they brought me to the Place where, the *Jews* ſetting on the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, to take her, ſhe was conveighed away by Miracle.

Hence we went to the Houſe of *Caiphas*, which was ſomewhat higher upon Mount *Sion*, and there I ſaw the Priſon wherein our Saviour was detained. Paſſing on ſtill higher, they guided me to a little Chapel, which is kept by the *Armenians*, whereinto entering, at the high Altar, they ſhewed me the Stone, which was upon our Saviour's Sepulchre (as they ſay) and it is near to the Place where *Peter* denied *Chriſt*; for there they ſhewed me the Pillar whereon the Cock ſtood when he crowed.

Hence was I brought to the Place where our Saviour made his laſt Supper, and thence I came where the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the Apoſtles; whence paſſing on, they ſhewed me the Place where *Chriſt* appeared to his Diſciples, the eighth Day after his Reſurrection, where St. *Thomas* deſired to ſee his Wounds.

Near to this Place upon Mount *Sion*, the Virgin *Mary* died, and, hard by, they ſhewed me a Place bought by the *Pope* of the *Turks*, for the Burial of the *European* Chriſtians; becauſe he would not have them caſt into *Aceldama*; they told us, the Year before five *Engliſhmen* were buried in that Place, whether by the Friars Poiſoning them, or howſoever elſe it happened; but we thought it ſtrange, that all five ſhould die together in one Week. Thence came we to the Houſe of *Annas* the High Prieſt, which is now but a pair of very old Walls, and nothing elſe of it to be ſeen; but at the Side of one of the Walls is an old Olive-tree, whereto they told me that our Saviour was faſt bound; and demanding a further Reaſon thereof they ſaid, that when he was brought unto his Houſe, *Annas* being aſleep, his People would not awake him; ſo, during their Time of Stay, they bound him to the ſaid Olive-tree, and when he awaked, then he was brought in and examined.

Departing hence, towards the South-gate of the City, which ſtandeth likewiſe upon Mount *Sion*, we alighted from our Aſſes, and entering, I noted it well; for I had ſeen three of the four Gates.

And, being deſirous to ſee the North-gate alſo, they brought me to the Church of St. *Thomas*, which is within the Wall all ruinated; then to the Church of St. *Mark*, where *Peter* came, being delivered out of Priſon, by the Angel, that broke open the Gate. Then they ſhewed me the Houſe of *Zebedeus*, whence we came to the Place kept by the *Abaſſenes* *; and there, aſcending firſt by a dark Way, led on by a Line or Cord, we attained to a high Place, near to the *Sepulchra Sancta*, where I paid two Pieces † of Silver to go in, and, being entered, I demanded what Place it was? The ſame (ſay they) where *Abraham* would have ſacrificed his Son *Iſaac*.

Thence went we to the Priſon where St. *Peter* and St. *John* were, being the next Door to the Priſon wherein I was put before; which made me the ſorrier, that it was not my Fortune to have gone into it, being ſo near it.

Hence we came to the North-gate, being on Mount *Calvary* Side, where having well viewed the Gate, and perceiving it waxed late, we went directly Home. This was my third Day's Work, in and about *Jeruſalem*, wearied not a little with often alighting to pray, for, at each ſeveral Place before recounted, we diſmounted and ſaid the *Lord's Prayer* on our Knees.

On the Morrow, being the twenty-eighth Day, early in the Morning, we took our Aſſes, riding forth at the Weſt-gate, through which I firſt entered, and, paſſing on to the Southward,

* A Sort of Eaſtern *Chriſtians*, ſettled in the Land of *Preſter John*.

† Four Pence.

we

we left Mount *Sion* on the left Hand; at the Foot whereof they ſhewed me the Houſe of *Uriah*, and the Fountain where *Bathſheba* waſhed herſelf at, when King *David* eſpied her out of his Turret.

Thence went we to the Place where the Angel took up *Habakkuk*, by the Hair of the Head, to carry Meat to *Daniel*, in the Lions Den. Next came we to the Place where the *Wiſe Men* found the Star when it was loſt, and then where the Virgin *Mary* reſted herſelf under a Tree, as ſhe came from *Bethlehem* to *Jeruſalem*, which Tree they ſtill repair, by Setting another cloſe to the Root of it.

Hence rode we to the Houſe of *Elias* the Prophet, where they ſhewed me his uſual Place of Sleeping; and his Houſe ſtandeth ſo upon a Hill, as from thence I did ſee *Bethlehem* afar off.

Thence we went to an old ruinated Houſe, which they told me was *Jacob*'s; which may the better appear to be ſo, for, in the Field thereto adjoining, is the Tomb of *Rachel*, *Jacob*'s Wife; and about two Miles from this Tomb is a Town in the ſame Field, called *Bethefula*, the Inhabitants whereof are all *Chriſtians*.

In this great Field (being between *Jeruſalem* and *Bethlehem*) did lie the Camp of *Senacherib*, when he beſieged *Jeruſalem*. From hence we rode to the Field, where the Angels brought Tidings of great Joy to the *Shepherds*, which is two Miles from *Bethlehem*; and thence we rode to *Bethlehem* to the Monaſtery, wherein were about ten Friars; who welcomed me very kindly, and brought me firſt into a great Church, then into a large Entry, wherein I ſaw the Name of Mr. *Hugo Stapers* twice ſet, one above another, and between them both I ſet my Name.

Then they guided me down the Stairs into a Vault, where was a Chapel ſet in the Place of our Saviour's *Nativity*, incloſing both it and the Manger wherein *Chriſt* was laid, and alſo the Place where he was preſented with Gifts by the *Wiſe Men*.

Over this Chapel is a great Church, built by Queen *Helena*, Mother to *Conſtantine the Great* (as they ſay) and further I ſaw divers Tombs of holy Men and others.

Going up to the Top of the Church, I ſaw, upon the Leads, the Name of Mr. *Hugo Stapers* again engraven, which made me look the more earneſtly for ſome other *Engliſhmens* Names; but, finding none, I engraved down my Name, and came away; then we went and dined with the Friars.

After Dinner, they brought me to a Place where the Virgin *Mary* hid * herſelf, when Search was made to kill the Children.

So taking my Leave of *Bethlehem*, giving the Friars three Pieces of Gold, for my Dinner, and my Company with me, being Eight in Number, mounting on our Aſſes, we rode to the Well, where King *David*'s three Captains fetched Water for him, through the whole Hoſt of the *Philiſtines*; which ſtandeth a little Way from *Bethlehem*, towards *Jeruſalem*, and hath three Places to draw Water up.

Hence went we preſently back to *Jeruſalem*, entering the Gate at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and at Five the *Turks* let us into the *Sepulchra Sancta*, each of us paying nine Pieces of Gold for our Entrance.

No ſooner were we in, but they locked the Gates; ſo there I ſtaid till Eleven of the Clock the next Day, and then came forth. Now follows what I ſaw in *Sepulchra Sancta*: *Firſt*, I noted hanging without the Gate, at the leaſt, an hundred Lines and Strings, and in the Gate is a great Hole, whereat a little Child may eaſily creep in; whereof demanding the Reaſon, they told me the Hole ſerved to give Victuals at, for them which lie within the Church, which are above three hundred Perſons, Men and Women, all *Chriſtians*; and there they live continually Night and Day, and can have no Paſſage in or out, but when the *Turks* do open the Gate for ſome Pilgrim; which happeneth not ſometimes in fourteen Days: Wherefore, theſe *Chriſtian* Legiers in the Church have there their whole Houſhold, and boarded Lodgings there builded for them.

The Strings before ſpoken of, hanging at the Gate, have each one a Bell, faſtened at the Lodgings, and when their Servants (which are without) bring them any Meat, each rings the Bell belonging to his Houſhold, and ſo come accordingly (each knowing his own Bell) for Receipt of their Food. The ſeveral Sorts of *Chriſtians*, which I ſaw in this Church, I will in order deſcribe unto you.

* This is contrary to Scripture, which aſſures us, that *Joſeph*, being warned of an Angel, took *Mary* and the Child *Jeſus*, and fled into *Egypt*, before Search was made, by *Herod*'s Order, to kill the Infants.

Firſt,

Firſt, the *Romans* *, for they bear the greateſt Sway of all. *Secondly*, the *Greeks* †, for they be next in Number to the *Romans*, yet little better than Slaves to the *Turk*. *Thirdly*, the *Armenians* ‡, who have been ſo long Time Servants to the *Turks*, that, having forgotten their own Language, they uſe all their Ceremonies in the *Arabian* Tongue, and ſo I heard them. The *fourth* Sort of *Chriſtians* are *Neſtorians* ‖, who are as Slaves to the *Turk*, and have no other Language § than the *Arabian*. The *fifth* are the *Abaſſenes*, being People of the Land of *Preſter John*. The *ſixth* are the *Jacobines* ††, that are circumciſed *Chriſtians*, but Slaves likewiſe and Servants to the *Turk*.

All theſe (*Chriſtians* in Name) have bought of the *Turk* their ſeveral Places in the Church, and By-rooms for Eaſe, being never fewer in Number, of all theſe ſix Sorts, than Two-hundred and fifty, or Three-hundred, continually there lying, and praying after their Manner.

The Places where they ordinarily uſe to go, and ſay their Devotions, are thus, as I deſcribe them, and as the *Roman* Friars brought me to them:

Firſt, the Pillar whereat our Saviour was *whipped*.

Secondly, the Place where he was *impriſoned*, while they were preparing or making his Croſs.

Thirdly, where the Soldiers divided his *Garments*.

Fourthly, where the *Croſs* was *found* by Queen *Helena*, which is at the Foot of Mount *Calvary*, and hard by it is the Chapel of the ſaid Queen *Helena*.

Fifthly, the Place where *Chriſt* was *crowned* with *Thorns*; which I could not ſee, till I was glad to give the *Abaſſenes* that kept it two Pieces of Silver *‡.

Sixthly, the Place where, the Croſs being laid along on the Ground, our Saviour was *nailed* faſt unto it.

Seventhly, the Place on the Top of Mount *Calvary*, where the Croſs *ſtood* when he ſuffered.

Eighthly, the *Rock that rent* at his Crucifying, which is a Thing well worth the Beholding; for it is ſlit, like as it had been cleft with Wedges and Beetles, even from the Top to the two-third Parts downwards, as it were through the Brow and Breaſt of the Rock: Nor is the Rent ſmall, but ſo great, in ſome Places, that a Man might eaſily hide himſelf in it, and ſo groweth downward leſs and leſs.

Ninthly, the Place where the three *Mary's* anointed *Chriſt* after he was dead.

Tenthly, where he appeared to *Mary Magdalen* in the Likeneſs of a *Gardener*.

And whence we came to the *Sepulchre* itſelf, which is the laſt Place where they uſe any Prayers.

From whence I went to ſee the Tombs of *Baldwin* and *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*: And, returning back to the Sepulchre, I meaſured the Diſtance between Place and Place, ſpending thus the Time from Five of the Clock before Night, when I came in, until next Day at Eleven of the Clock, at my Coming forth, writing down all Things I thought Note-worthy.

My Companion, Mr. *John Burrel*, and I being thus come forth of the Church, we went to the *Pater Guardian* to Dinner, where we had Tidings that five other *Engliſhmen* were arrived at the City-Gates, directing towards *Aleppo*. Their Names were Mr. *William Bedle*, Preacher to the *Engliſh* Merchants, which were Liegers at *Aleppo*: Mr. *Edward Abbot*, Servant to the Right Worſhipful Sir *John Spencer*; Mr.

* *Viz.* Papiſts.

† *Chriſtians* of the *Greek* Church, who deny the *Pope*'s Supremacy, *&c.*

‡ The *Chriſtians* that live in the Territories of *Armenia*.

‖ *Chriſtians*, ſo called from *Neſtorius*, Biſhop and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, in the Fifth Century; who taught, that the two Natures in *Chriſt* were united only in a *myſtical* and *moral* Manner. They are very numerous in the *Eaſt*, eſpecially in *Meſopotamia*, and along the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. Their *Patriarch* is generally ſeated at *Moſul*, which is the ancient *Seleucia*.

§ *i. e.* Uſe no other Lauguage in their Holy Offices.

†† Or rather *Jacobites*. A Sect of *Chriſtians*, ſo called from one *Jacob*, a *Syrian*, in the Days of the Emperor *Mauricius*; or from *Jacob Zanzales*, who flouriſhed in 550, and hold but one Nature in *Jeſus Chriſt*; though they are much divided among themſelves; for the *Cophtes*, *Abaſſenes*, and *Armenians* are frequently comprehended under that Name. They perform Divine Service in the *Chaldean* Language; and are under their own *Patriarch*, who reſides at *Caramit*.

*‡ Four Pence.

Jeffry Kirby, Servant to the Worſhipful Mr. *Paul Banning*, and Liegers for them in *Aleppo*: Two other young Men, the one called *John Elkins*, and the other *Jaſper Tymme*. Theſe Five, hearing of my being there, came all to the Houſe, and theſe (though they ſaw not my Impriſonment, nor were with me at the Sight of thoſe Things, in and about *Jeruſalem*) can witneſs that they were acquainted therewith at the Gates, and teſtify the other Truths beſide. Theſe Men, as alſo my Companion Mr. *John Burrel*, I left behind me in *Jeruſalem*, departing thence to ſee other Places in the Country of *Paleſtine*: But let me firſt tell you, what I obſerved in the City's Situation, becauſe I was informed, before I came to ſee it, that it was all ruinated (albeit on the Sight thereof) I found it otherwiſe, having a little Compaſs about me, to ſet ſuch Places as I could eaſily come by.

Underſtand then, firſt of all, that the very Heart of the old City was ſeated on Mount *Sion* and Mount *Moria*; to the North Part whereof was Mount *Calvary*, without the Gates of the old City, about a Stone's Caſt, and no farther. But now I find this new City ſituated ſo far in the North Part, that it is almoſt quite off Mount *Sion*, but yet not off Mount *Moria*, which was between Mount *Sion* and Mount *Calvary*, ſo that now, undoubtedly, the South Walls of the City are placed on the North Foot of the Hill of *Sion*. The Eaſt Wall, which doth confront Mount *Olivet*, is a great Part of the ancient Wall, and ſo, from the South-Eaſt Angle North, a Quarter of a Mile behind Mount *Calvary*; ſo that Mount *Calvary*, which was, in former Times, a Stone's Caſt without the City, and the appointed Place for ordinary Execution, I find it to be now ſeated in the Heart or Middle of the new City.

This Mount *Calvary* is not ſo high as to be called a Mount, but rather a piked, or a ſpired Rock: For I noted the Situation of it, both when I was at the Top of it, and when I came to the Sepulchre, the Sepulchre being diſtant from it (I mean from the Foot of it) an hundred and ſeventy-three Feet, as I meaſured it: Whereupon I conclude, that the Place of Burial, which *Joſeph* of *Aramathea* made for himſelf, was, from the Foot of Mount *Calvary*, an hundred and ſeventy-three Feet Weſtward, in which Place is the Sepulchre of our Saviour.

The Sepulchre itſelf is two Feet and a half high from the Ground, eight Feet in Length, and four Feet broad, wanting three Inches, being covered with a fair Stone, of a white Colour. Over the Sepulchre is a Chapel built, the North Wall whereof is joined cloſe with the North Side of the Sepulchre; and the Chapel is of like Stone as the Sepulchre is, conſiſting of fifteen Feet in Breadth, twenty-five Feet in Length, and above forty Feet in Heighth. In this Chapel are always burning thirty or forty Lamps, but upon Feſtival Days more, which are maintained by Gifts given at the Death of *Chriſtians* in *Spain*, *Florence*, and other Parts, to be kept continually burning; and the Givers of theſe Lamps have their Names engraven about the upper Edges of them, in Letters of Gold, ſtanding in a Band of Gold or Silver.

This Chapel is incloſed with a Church, and yet not it only, but therewith are circled in all the before-named Holy Places, *viz.* where *Chriſt* was whipped; where he was in Priſon; where his Garments were divided; where the Croſs was found; where he was crowned with Thorns; where he was nailed on the Croſs; where the Croſs ſtood when he ſuffered; where the Vale of the Temple rent; where the three *Mary's* anointed him; where he appeared to *Mary Magdalen*; and, in brief, all the moſt notable Things, either about Mount *Calvary*, or *Joſeph*'s Field of *Arimathea*, are incloſed within the Compaſs of this Church, which was built by the fore-remembered Queen *Helena*, Mother to *Conſtantine the Great*, ſhe being (as I have read in ſome Authors) an *Engliſh* Woman, and Daughter to King *Coel*, that built *Colcheſter*; which being urged to them, they denied it. I meaſured this Church within, and found it to be four-hundred and twenty-two Fathoms about; the one Side of it likewiſe I found to be an hundred and thirty Fathoms. Thus much for Mount *Calvary*, which is in the Midſt of the City now.

From the North-Eaſt Angle of the City to the North-Weſt, is the ſhorteſt Way of the City, and from the North-Weſt Angle to the South-Weſt, is as far as from the South-Eaſt to the North-Eaſt: But, from the South-Weſt to the South-Eaſt, which is the South Wall that ſtandeth on the Foot of Mount *Sion*, I meaſured, and found it to be Three-thouſand ſeven-hundred and ſeventy-five Feet, which is about three Quarters of a Mile. Upon this South Side of the City, is a great iron Gate, about which Gate are laid ſeventeen Pieces of braſs Ordnance:

nance: This Gate is as great as the Weſt Gate of the *Tower* of *London*, and exceeding ſtrong, the Walls being very thick, and on the South Side fifty or ſixty Feet high. So much for the South Wall and Side of the City.

The North Wall is not altogether ſo long, but much ſtronger, for on the North Side it hath been often ſurpriſed, but on the South Side never; and on the Eaſt Side it is impregnable, by Reaſon of the Edge of the Hill which it ſtandeth on, which is five Times as high as the Wall.

On the North Side are twenty-five Pieces of braſs Ordnance, near to the Gate, which is of Iron alſo; but what is in other Places, as at the Corners and Angles, I could not come to ſee, and demand I durſt not. The Eaſt Wall, containing the Gate where St. *Stephen* was ſtoned, a little without, and to this Day called St. *Stephen*'s Gate, I ſaw but five Pieces of Ordnance there, and they were between the Gate and the Relick of Port *Aurea*, which is to the Southward; and concerning the Weſt Side of the City, at the Gate whereof I entered at my firſt Arrival, it is very ſtrong likewiſe, and hath fifteen Pieces of Ordnance lying near together, and all of Braſs. This Gate is alſo made of Iron, and this Weſt Wall is altogether as long as the Eaſt Wall; but it ſtandeth upon the higher Ground; ſo that coming from the Weſt, to the Weſt Wall, you can ſee nothing within the City but the bare Wall; but upon Mount *Olivet*, coming towards the City, from the Eaſt, you have a very goodly Proſpect of the City, by Reaſon the City ſtandeth all on the Edge of the Hill.

To conclude, this City of *Jeruſalem* is the ſtrongeſt of all the Cities that I have yet ſeen in my Journey, ſince I departed from *Grand Cairo*; but the reſt of the Country is very eaſy to be entreated; yet in the City of *Jeruſalem* are three *Chriſtians* for one *Turk*, and many *Chriſtians* in the Country round about, but they all live poorly under the *Turk*.

Now concerning how the Country about *Jeruſalem* lieth, for your more eaſy and perfect Underſtanding, I will familiarly compare their ſeveral Places, with ſome of our native *Engliſh* Towns and Villages, according to ſuch true Eſtimation as I here made of them. Imagine I begin with *London*, I mean much upon the Point of Diſtance.

The City of *Bethlehem*, where Chriſt our Saviour was born, is from *Jeruſalem* as *Wanſworth* * is from *London*; I mean much upon the Point of Diſtance †.

The Plain of *Mamre* is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Guilford* ‡ is from *London*; in which Place, or near to it, is the City of *Hebron*, where our Father *Abraham* lieth buried.

Beerſheba is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Alton* is from *London*: *Ramoth Gilead* is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Reading* ‖ is from *London*.

Gaza, which is the South-Weſt Part of *Paleſtine*, is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Salisbury* § is from *London*.

Aſcalon is from *Gaza*, North-Eaſt, three Miles.

Joppa is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Aylesbury* ** is from *London*.

Samaria is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Royſton* †† is from *London*.

The City of *Nazareth* is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Norwich* *† is from *London*.

From *Nazareth* to Mount *Tabor* and *Hermon*, is five Miles North-Eaſt; theſe two do ſtand very near together, *Tabor* being the greater.

From *Tabor* to the Sea of *Tiberias*, is eight Miles North-Eaſt.

From *Jeruſalem* to Mount *Sinai*, is ten Days Journey, and North-Eaſt thence.

Theſe Places laſt ſpoken of (beginning at *Samaria*) I was not in, but the other five *Engliſhmen* that met me in *Jeruſalem*, coming through *Galilee*, they came through them, and of them had I this Deſcription; they received of me likewiſe the Deſcription of my Journey through *Paleſtine*.

The Place where *Chriſt* faſted forty Days and forty Nights, called *Quarranto*, is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Chelmsford* ‡‖ is from *London*.

The River *Jordan* (the very neareſt Part thereof) is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Epping* §‖ is from *London*.

Jericho, the neareſt Part of the Plain thereof, is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Lowton*-Hall §§ (Sir *Robert Wrath*'s Houſe) is from *London*.

The Lake of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Graveſend* ‖‖‖ is from *London*.

* In *Surrey*. † Four Miles. ‡ In *Surrey*, twenty-five Miles. ‖ In *Berkſhire*, thirty Miles. § Seventy Miles. ** Forty-two Miles. †† Thirty-four Miles. *† Ninety-five Miles. ‡‖ In *Eſſex*, twenty-four Miles. §‖ In *Eſſex*, thirteen Miles. §§ In *Eſſex*, eleven Miles. ‖‖‖ In *Kent*, twenty Miles.

The River *Jordan* runneth into the Lake, and there dieth; which is one of the greateſt Secrets (in my Mind) in the World, that a freſh Water ſhould run continually into this ſalt Lake, and have no Iſſue out, but there die; and the ſaid Lake continuing ſtill ſo ſalt, as no Weight of any reaſonable Subſtance will ſink into it, but fleeteth upon it, as a dead Man, or Beaſt, will never go down. And further note, that what Filth ſoever is brought into it, by the River *Jordan*, or any other Subſtance, it fleeteth continually upon the Water, and being toſſed thereon, by the Force of the Weather, in Time it becometh a congealed Froth, which, being caſt upon the Banks, and there dried by the extreme Heat of the Sun, becometh black, like Pitch, which, in that Country, is called *Bitumen*; whereof, I have brought ſome with me from thence. This Lake is about eight or nine Miles broad, and about eighty, or a hundred Miles long; the Length ſtretching from the North, where the River *Jordan* falleth into it, to the Southward, and hath no farther Iſſue.

The Fields where the Angels brought Tidings unto the *Shepherds*, lie from *Jeruſalem*, as *Greenwich* * doth from *London*.

Mount *Olivet* lieth from *Jeruſalem*, as *Bow* † from *London*.

Bethania is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Black-wall* ‡ is from *London*.

Bethphage is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Mile-end* ‖ is from *London*.

The Valley *Gethſemane* is from *Jeruſalem*, as *Ratcliff-Fields* § lie from *London*.

Brook *Cedron* is from *Jeruſalem*, as the Ditch without ** *Aldgate* is from *London*.

Mount *Sion* is near adjoining to *Jeruſalem*, as *Southwark* joineth †† to *London*.

Thus have I deſcribed the City of *Jeruſalem*, as it is *now* built, with all the notable Places therein, and near unto the ſame, and the Country about it: By which Compariſons, you may well underſtand the Situation of moſt Parts of the Places near unto it: And thereby you may perceive, that it was but a ſmall Country, and a very little Plot of Ground, which the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed in the Land of *Canaan*, which, as now, is a very barren Country: For that, within fifteen Miles from *Jeruſalem*, the Country is wholly barren, and full of Rocks, and ſtony: And, unleſs it be about the Plain of *Jericho*, I know not any Part of the Country, at this Preſent, that is fruitful: What hath been in Times paſt, I refer you to the Declaration thereof, made in the Holy Scriptures. My Opinion is, that when it was fruitful, and a Land that flowed with Milk and Honey, in thoſe Days God bleſſed it, and that as then they followed his Commandments; but now, being inhabited by *Infidels* (that prophane the Name of *Chriſt*, and live in all filthy and beaſtly Manner) God curſeth it, and ſo it is made barren; for, it is ſo barren, that I could get no Bread when I came near unto it; for, that one Night, as I lodged ſhort of *Jeruſalem*, at a Place called, in the *Arabian* Tongue, *Cuda Chenaleb*, I ſent my *Moor* to a Houſe (not far from the Place where we had pitched our Tents) to get ſome Bread, and he brought me Word, that there was no Bread there to be had; and that the Man of that Houſe did never eat Bread, in all his Life, but only dried Dates, nor any of his Houſhold. Whereby you may partly perceive the Barrenneſs of the Country at this Day; only, as I ſuppoſe, by the Curſe that God layeth upon the ſame; for that they uſe the Sin of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, very much in that Country; whereby the poor *Chriſtians*, who inhabit therein, are glad to marry their Daughters at twelve Years of Age, unto *Chriſtians*, leſt the *Turks* ſhould raviſh them. And, to conclude, there is not that Sin in the World, but it is uſed there amongſt thoſe *Infidels* that now inhabit therein; and yet it is called *Terra Sancta*, and in the *Arabian* Tongue, *Cuthea*, which is, the *Holy Land*, bearing the Name only, and no more, for all Holineſs is clean baniſhed from thence, by thoſe Thieves, filthy *Turks* and *Infidels*, that inhabit the ſame: And having my Certificate ſealed by the *Guardian*, and a Letter delivered unto me, to ſhew that I had waſhed myſelf in the River *Jordan*, I departed from *Jeruſalem*, in Company of the *Moor*, that helped to get me out of Priſon, leaving Mr. *Edward Abbot*, *Jeffry Kerby*, Mr. *John Elkins*, *Jaſper Tymme*, and Mr. *Beadle*, the Preacher (whom I met there by Chance, not knowing of their Coming) behind me in *Jeruſalem*; and, which grieved me moſt, the Gentleman of *Middleborough*, called, Mr. *John Burrel*, that I met withal at *Grand Cairo*, that had borne me Company from thence to *Jeruſalem*, forſook me there, and ſtaid alſo in *Jeruſalem*, with the

* In *Kent*, five Miles. † *Bow* or *Stratford*, in *Middleſex*, two Miles. ‡ In *Middleſex*, two Miles and a Half. ‖ In *Middleſex*, one Mile. § In *Middleſex*, half a Mile. ** *Houndſditch*, about ſixty Yards. †† By *London Bridge*.

other

other five *Engliſhmen*, and ſo was I left alone to the Mercy of my *Moor* that kept me Company, and never left me till I came to *Grand Cairo*. Now what happened unto me in my Travelling from *Jeruſalem* to *Cairo*, and from thence to *Alexandria*, where my Ship lay, I will hereafter declare.

Departing from *Jeruſalem*, we got ſafely to *Rama*, and from thence went to *Aſcalon*, and ſo to *Gaza*, that lieth upon the Borders of the Deſarts of *Arabia*; at one of thoſe two Places I hoped to have ſome Paſſage by Water, either to *Alexandria*, or to *Damietta*; but, failing thereof, I was in Amaze, and knew not what to do, whether I were beſt to go back again to *Jeruſalem*, or to put myſelf deſperately into the Hands of the wild *Arabians*, to be by them conducted to *Grand Cairo*; one of thoſe two Courſes I muſt of Force take, ſo there was no Hope of Paſſage; and yet I had another Hope, but to no End, which was, that I ſhould find Paſſage at *Joppa*; and for that Cauſe I ſtaid at *Gaza*, and ſent my *Moor* to *Joppa* to ſeek for Paſſage, but there was none to be had. At laſt, conſidering with myſelf, that my Haſte into *Egypt* was great; for I had left my Man *Waldred* in *Cairo*, with my Stock, of One-thouſand two-hundred Pounds, and my Ship lay in the Road of *Alexandria*, with ſixty Men in her, and whether they would depart without me, or no, I knew not; for that, when I went from them to go up to the River of *Nilus* to *Cairo*, I had no Intent to go for *Jeruſalem*. My Buſineſs ſtanding at that Point, I was forced to this Extremity, to make away all the Money I had about me, and to put myſelf into the Hands of two wild *Arabians*, that undertook to carry me and my *Moor* (without whom I durſt not go) to the City of *Cairo*, in four Days, if I would pay them twenty-four *Sultans of Gold*, when I came to the *Materia*, near to *Cairo*; and, upon that Condition, they would deliver me ſafely there, otherwiſe, they ſaid, that they would carry me Priſoner with them, or elſe cut my Throat: And ſo agreeing with them, by my *Moor* that ſpake for me, and withal warranted me to go ſafely, ſwearing that he would not leave me by any Means; the two wild *Arabians* provided two good Dromedaries for us to ride on, *I*, and the *Moor*, riding before, and the *Arabians* behind us, two upon each Dromedary, and ſo departed from *Gaza*, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, and rode a hard Pace; thoſe Kind of Beaſts going ſo hard, that within four Hours I was ſo weary, that I deſired them to ſuffer me to alight down to reſt me, which we did about Six of the Clock in the Evening; and, being alighted, the *Arabians* tied the Dromedaries two Fore-feet together, as their Manner is, making them kneel down; which done, we ſat down to eat a few Raiſins and Biſket, ſuch as we carried in our *Alforges* *; but, in the mean Time, one of our Dromedaries broke his Strings, being but a ſmall Piece of a Haſel, and ran back again towards *Gaza*, whereupon one of the Thieves took the other Dromedary, and made after him, until both he and the other, that had broke looſe and ran away, were both out of our Sight; then the other *Arabian*, that ſtaid behind with us, ran after them, and we were left alone in the wild Deſarts of *Arabia*: At laſt, Night approaching, and both our Guides and Dromedaries being gone, we were both in no ſmall Fear, what would become of us; in which Caſe, leaving my *Moor* with my *Alforges* (wherein we carried our Victuals) I went up to the Top of a ſandy Hill, not far from thence, to ſee if I could eſpy our two Thieves; but I was no ſooner upon the Top of the Hill, but I ſaw four wild *Arabians* come running towards me, from the other Side of the ſandy Hill; which I perceiving, ran in great Haſte to my *Moor*, yet I could not run ſo faſt, but one of the Thieves was at my Heels, and, drawing out his Sword, bade my *Moor* deliver me unto him; but the *Moor* made him Anſwer, and bade him ſearch me (for he knew well that I had nothing about me worth any Thing, only my Hair-cloth Coat) and ſaid further unto him, this *Guaire* (which is as much as to ſay an *Unbeliever*) is to be conducted to *Cairo* in four Days, by two of your Companions, and therewith named them unto him; whereunto they all made Anſwer, and ſaid, that if it were true, they would do me no Hurt, but if their Companions come not again, with their Dromedaries, then they would carry us away with them; but, within two Hours after in the Night Time, my two *Arabians* came again with their Dromedaries, and then they were all fellow Thieves. And we gave them a few Raiſins and a little Water, and ſo departed; and the fourth Day at Night, we came to a Place where the *Arabians* had Tents, and there they gave me ſome Camels-Milk, and beheld me ſo

* Knapſack, or Bags.

earneſtly,

earneſtly, as if they had never ſeen a white Man before: From thence we departed, and the next Night we came to *Salhia*, where, being ſore ſhaken in my Body (notwithſtanding I was rolled with Rollers) I was conſtrained to give over my Dromedaries, and to get Horſes, which they procured there of ſome of their Acquaintance. This Dromedary is a Kind of Beaſt like unto a Camel, but it has a leſſer Head, and a very ſmall Neck, but his Legs are as long; and there is no more Difference between a Camel and a Dromedary, than there is between a Maſty-dog and a Greyhound; thoſe Beaſts eat but little, and drink leſs, for they drank not as long as I was with them; and it is ſaid, that they will not drink in eight or ten Days together, but cannot abſtain ſo long from Meat. And by this you may ſee that I was as far in four Days, as I was going in twelve Days before: I think a good Horſe will run as faſt, but not continue it; their Pace is a reaching Trot, but very hard and quick. From the Edge of *Salhia*, which is upon the Eaſt Side of *Goſhen*, I took Horſe: But the Reaſon, why the *Arabians* did grant to get me Horſes, was not, becauſe they pitied me for my Wearineſs, but for that they durſt not go any nearer to the inhabited Country with their Dromedaries; and there one of them ſtaid, and the other went with me to *Materia*, from whence I ſent my *Moor* to *Cairo*, to fetch me their Hire; and there I paid them, that let me the Horſes, ſix Pieces of Gold, and gave the two wild *Arabians* twenty-four Pieces of Gold, and therewith they delivered me in Safety into the Cuſtody of my *Moor*, within three Miles of the City *Cairo*, where I was welcomed by the Conſul and others there reſident; and there I paid my honeſt *Moor* ſix Pieces of Gold, and bought divers Proviſions for him to furniſh him in his Journey to *Mecha*, in which Journey, as he returned again, he died.

In *Cairo* I ſtaid two Days, and the ſeventh Night after I came to *Bullac*, and there took Boat, and in three Days I got down the River of *Nilus*, to *Roſſetta*; and there taking Horſe, with a *Janiſary*, I fell into greater Danger than any I had during my Journey; for, between that Town and *Alexandria*, there were diverſe great *Janiſaries*, that came from *Conſtantinople*, that were newly landed at *Alexandria*, who, having tired their Horſes, would have taken our two Mules from us, which my *Janiſary* refuſed them, and therewith drew out his Sword; and they, to be revenged, came running to take me, and, having laid Hands upon me, four of them beat me cruelly, and drove me to the Paſſage that was hard-by, and there would have killed me; which my *Janiſary* perceiving, and ſeeing that nothing could appeaſe them but our two Mules, after he had been ſore wounded, he delivered them unto the other *Janiſaries*, or elſe I had there been ſlain, after my long and weary Journey, being within five Miles of my Ship, that lay in the Road at *Alexandria*; and ſo he being ſore wounded, and I well beaten, at laſt we got to the Gates of *Alexandria*; but it was ſo late that we could not get in, but were forced to ſtay all that Night (till the Morning) upon the hard Stones, and in the Morning I got a-board of my Ship, when I had been from it *fifty Days:* And ſo I ended my Pilgrimage.

A Letter

A Letter written by an unknown Hand, whereof many Copies were diſperſed among the Commanders of the *Engliſh* Fleet.

This Letter was printed in the Year 1673, *4to. But it may be thought as proper to be ſent into the* Mediterranean *in the Year* 1744.

Dear Couſin,

GOING Yeſterday to your Father's Houſe, partly to ſee him, but chiefly to learn when he heard from you and what News was lately from the Fleet, he told me, you were in Health, the Fleet near ready to ſail, and then ſhewed me a Letter, he was juſt ready to ſend you, wherein (among other Things) I found theſe Words:

Have a Care of yourſelf, be not fool-hardy, by venturing too far into the Fight; there are Ships enough to beat the Dutch, *without yours; and* Captains enough *in the Fleet, who will prudently ſhew you the Way to keep* fartheſt off, *when Danger is nigheſt; and then you need not fear the Aſperſion of a* Coward, *as long as you have* good Company: *Therefore I ſay again, be wiſely cautious, for your Death would certainly break the Heart of my Daughter, and bring my grey Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave.*

I had ſcarce Patience to read out ſo much, without tearing the Letter, in a thouſand Pieces, and I could not forbear ſuch Language, as did but ill agree with the Friendſhip between us: If you are (ſaid I) ſo mighty fond of your Son, ſend for him Home preſently, and let him run no other Danger, than what he may meet in a *London* Tavern, or Bawdy-houſe; when he has a Mind to fight, let *Bowls* be his *Bullets*, and broad *Oaths* and *Curſes* his *Gun-powder*; at other Times, let him have nothing elſe to do, but treat his Wife, or, as the Faſhion is, his *Wench*, at the *Play-houſe*, *Hyde-park*, or *Spring-Garden*. As ſoon as I had vented my Paſſion, and grew calm, I ſo far convinced your Father of his Fault, that himſelf burnt his Letter; and deſired me to write one, more ſuitable to my own Inclination.

According to that little Notice I have taken of Sea-matters, *I think our Captains in general (and you among the reſt) rather need a* Spur *than a* Curb, *when you are* going *to fight; and therefore, quite contrary to the former Advice, I will ſet before your Eyes the* Juſtice, *and the* Danger, *that attends a* Cowardly *Commander.*

1. He *robs* the King and Kingdom, not only of the Money himſelf receives, but likewiſe of ſo much as the whole Charge of the Ship, with Proviſions and Wages, amounts to, by rendering the ſame of no Uſe, juſt when it ſhould do the King Service; he *murders* all thoſe gallant Men, which are ſlain by the Enemy, and *loſes* thoſe Ships, which fall into their Hands, for want of being well ſeconded; he *betrays* his own Party, to the Enemy, by keeping back the expected Aſſiſtance; and the Weakening of us, and the Helping of them, is all one; nay, *as if he had received a Bribe*, to do Miſchief, he fires both over, and into the Ships of his Friends; ſo helping both Ways, to bring them to Ruin, he compleats in himſelf the Character of a *Traytor*. By theſe Means it is, our *Battles* are *loſt*, or at beſt ſo *balanced*, when they *might have been won*, that *after a Fight*, the *Enemy*, *ſooner than we*, *are in a Condition of diſputing the Victory*. No common *High-way Robber is half ſo great a Rogue, as that Officer, who takes Wages, and dares not, or does not fight bravely, when there is an Occaſion.*

2. As he largely contributes to the Loſs of the Battle, ſo he *hazards* doubly *his own Loſs*: For it is obſervable (I am ſure in *Land Fights*) that where one is killed ſtanding ſtifly his Ground, five are deſtroyed in the Running away; and I am told, in your *Sea-fights* too, you loſe moſt Men, when you fight at greateſt Diſtance from the

the Enemy: But then, beſides the Danger of the Enemy, the *Coward* has more Reaſon to be afraid of his Friends, *they being likely to hate him the moſt, who before had the beſt Eſteem of him*; and *a Gallows may eaſily catch him at Home, whom a Bullet Abroad could not reach.* So that to him may be well applied our *Saviour*'s Saying, *He that will ſave his Life, ſhall loſe it.*

3. His *Fear* impeaches the *Divine Providence*, which chiefly glories to exerciſe itſelf in Times and Places of moſt eminent Hazard; I know ſome valiant Men, who have come off unwounded from the Heat of at leaſt twenty Battles; God oftentimes makes thoſe Places ſafeſt, where we apprehend the moſt Danger, and thoſe moſt dangerous we think moſt ſecure. Thus, my dear Couſin! You ſee, *a Coward, with a Commiſſion*, is neither a *good Subject*, a *good Chriſtian*, nor a *good* or *wiſe Man*, in any Senſe; but muſt be, of Neceſſity, *a Traytor to the King*, a *Thief* to his Country, a *Murderer* of his own Party, and conſequently *deteſted of God and Man.* Conſult therefore your own Heart, and if Fear dwell at Bottom, do not cozen any longer the King's Expectation; leſt, by ſtaying another Battle, you let all the World be Witneſs of that Shame, which yet may be eaſily hid. You may find fair Excuſes, enough to lay down your Commiſſion, and the Prince can find Men enough to take it up, *who better deſerve it.* But if you will ſtay and fight, reſolve to fight bravely, ſo as you may do Service to the King, and gain yourſelf laſting Reputation.

If there have happened any *Diſguſt, between you, and any other Commander in the Fleet*, either for Wrongs really received, or ſuppoſed, or becauſe he being a Man of leſs Deſert, is preferred, and advanced before you: Conſider that a Fraction of the Parts tends fairly to the Ruin of the Whole; and that *your Safety, and Succeſs, does chiefly depend on your Unity, and a right Underſtanding.* If therefore you would be thought *faithful to the King*, if you would *not be found falſe to your Country*, let all *private Quarrels* die; or at leaſt go to ſleep, till the *publick ones* are decided.

In the mean Time, aſſiſt one another, by all manner of kind Offices, as often as it lies in your Power; *let the Enemy only feel the Effects of your Indignation*, and make it appear, by the Greatneſs of your Actions, that you are the *Man of moſt Merit.*

Where *Duty* bids go, *never ſtay*, for the Example of any others; but rather ſtrive, all you can, to make yourſelf their Example. In a good Cauſe, God proſpers beſt the bold Adventurer; let gallant Reſolution lead the Van, and glorious Victory ſhall bring up the Rear.

Sheerneſs, July 16,
1673.

HONOUR'S

HONOUR'S INVITATION, or a Call to the Camp. Wherein the Triumphant Genius of *Great-Britain*, by a Poetical Alarm, awakens the Youth of the three Nations, to generous Attempts, for the Glory of their Country. Written by a young Gentleman of Quality now in the Service.

Dignos Laude Viros Muſa vetabit Mori.

[From a *Folio* Edition, Printed at *London*, by *H. B.* 1673.]

BRED by fond Mother's too indulgent Care,
My vainer Life ſpun out its thirtieth Year:
Charm'd with the poiſ'nous Sweets of barren Eaſe,
And all the Luxuries of wanton Peace;
To duel rampant *Miſs* on a ſoft Bed,
Hector the Watch, or break a Drawer's Head,
To drown a younger Brother in a Look,
Kick a poor Lacquey, or berogue a Cook,
Top a ſmall Crew of Tenants that dare ſtir
In no Language, but, *pleaſe your Worſhip, Sir*,
To chace the Stag, and now and then purſue
The tim'rous Hare, were all the Wars I knew;
When drunk o'er Night with gen'rous *Burgundy*,
I thought (as Gallants uſe) to ſleep all *Sunday:*
But ſcarce could *Morpheus'* leaden Plummets cloſe
My Eye, and lock my Senſes in Repoſe,
When, lo! a rev'rend Spectrum did appear,
Surpriſing me with equal Joy and Fear;
It ſeem'd a Perſonage of nobleſt Race,
A manly Preſence and majeſtick Face,
An azure Mantle flowing round his Waiſt,
And his ſtrong Hands with *Neptune*'s Trident grac'd;
Three Crowns he * bore, and under them his Brow
Circled with Laurels freſh, pluck'd from the Bough.
I gaz'd a While, till it approach'd more near,
And thus (with Voice like Thunder) pierc'd my Ear:
" Wilt thou, degen'rous Youth! ignobly blot
" The Trophies, which thy Anceſtors have got?
" Prove them the Sires of a ſpurious Race?
" O'erturn their Statues, and their Tombs deface?
" Forfeit thoſe Honours, which they left to thee,
" By ſleeping in a ſenſeleſs Lethargy?

* The King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

" Now,

" Now, when each noble Soul, greedy of Fame,
" Feels his Breaſt glowing with a gen'rous Flame;
" When Scenes of Blood on neighb'ring Shores appear,
" And furious *Mars* ſways all our Hemiſphere;
" Wilt thou alone, ſtupidly drown'd, prefer
" Sordid Delights to th'Glory of the War?
" Decline that Road of Honour which diſplays
" To ev'ry daring Hand a Wreath of Bays,
" And in a wretched Sloth conſume thy Days?
" Can the poor Yelpings of a deep-mouth'd Hound
" Vie Muſick with the warlike Trumpet's Sound?
" Or faint Applauſes of a Horſe-race won
" (When ſprightly *Sorrel* out-flew nimble *Dun*)
" Equal thoſe Acclamations that are ſent
" In Vollies to the ecchoing Firmament?
" Which ev'ry Victor juſtly calls his own?
" For Kingdoms conquer'd, and proud States o'er-thrown?
" Shall Troops of *Heroes* from all Parts reſort,
" That quit the ſofter Pleaſures of the Court?
" Charge Death in th'Face, and forward ſtill aſpire
" Through Midſt of Dangers ſwift as Heaven's Fire?
" Shall the Drum's rattling Summons nimbly bring
" Crouds of the Vulgar in, to ſerve their King?
" That laugh at Hardſhips, and dare bravely die,
" If Fate require't, to purchaſe Victory?
" And their Example never move thy Spirit,
" Nor Emulat'on of the others Merit?
" What drowſy *Opium* has poſſeſs'd thy Brain,
" Dull Soul! that all theſe Joggings are in vain?
" For Shame, at laſt awake, leſt it be ſaid,
" Your Courage does not ſlumber, but is dead;
" From before paltry *Beauties* raiſe your Siege,
" Who think by faint Reſiſtance to oblige:
" Nor let the kinder Ladies tempting Charms
" Confine you ſtill to their enfeebling Arms:
" When Fate, turn'd prodigal, freely affords
" The Deſtinies of Nations to your Swords;
" Let mighty Cities be your Miſtreſſes,
" Whoſe Dowry brings the Spoils of Provinces.
" Level their prouder Walls, and let it be
" A Doubt hereafter to Poſterity,
" When only ſhatter'd Monuments they view,
" Whether *Jove*'s Thunder hath been there, or you;

" Theſe are Atchievements fitting to be done,
" By each dares call himſelf ſtout *England*'s Son.
" As a brave Courſer, ſtanding on the Sand
" Of ſome ſwelling Sea-Channel, views a Land
" Smiling with Sweets upon the diſtant Side,
" Garniſh'd in, Nature's beſt embroider'd Pride,
" Larded with Springs, and fring'd with curled Woods,
" Impatient bounces into th' cap'ring Floods;
" Big with a nobler Fury than that Stream
" Of ſhallow Violence he meets in them;

" Thence,

" Thence, arm'd with Scorn and Courage, plows a Way
" Through the impoſthum'd Billows of the Sea;
" And makes the grumbling Surges Slaves to Oar,
" And waft him ſafely to the further Shore,
" Where landed in the ſovereign Diſdain,
" He turning back ſurveys the foaming Main;
" Whilſt the ſubjected Waters, flowing, reel,
" Ambitious yet to kiſs their Conqu'ror's Heel.
" At ſuch a gen'rous Rate ſhou'dſt thou engage,
" In the grand Expedition of our Age;
" *Thy active Soul in gallant Fury hurl'd*
" *To club with all the* Worthies *of the World.*
" Then rouze at laſt from this lethargick Dream,
" And let heroick Actions be thy Theme.
" No more to baſe effeminate Follies yield,
" Thy Country's GENIUS calls thee to the Field!

No ſooner theſe laſt Accents had I heard,
But ſtraight the glor'ous Viſion diſappear'd;
And round about, methoughts, a glitt'ring Ray
Was ſpread, creating in my Soul new Day.
As *Cæſar* once on Banks of *Rubicon*
Stood ſhivering and ſcarce durſt venture on,
Till lucky Dæmon by a ſignal Chance
Beckon'd him o'er, and made his Troops advance;
So I, confirm'd by this good Omen, found
Thoſe Miſts exhal'd which had my Courage drown'd.
Ah! glor'ous Art of War, I cry'd! from whence
All Honour and all Pow'r did firſt commence,
By which the Grandeur of each State doth grow,
And unto which Nations their Safety owe,
Henceforth my *Miſtreſs* thou alone ſhalt be
And all my Strength I conſecrate to thee.
Hence then, you gay Diverſions of the Town,
Your bubbling Vanities I muſt diſown.
Morning-long-ſleeps adieu! Let ſordid Eaſe
Silken Buffoons and painted Peacocks pleaſe;
Whoſe lab'ring Souls, being ſtifled with Exceſs,
Scarce keep from Stench their rotten Carcaſes;
Whilſt I, 'midſt Blood, and Sweat, and Toils of War,
Through Storms, Cold, Hunger, and many a Scar,
Purſue my Fate, reſolved thus to have
An honour'd Life, or elſe a noble Grave.

June 21, 1673. *With Allowance.*

Europe a Slave, when the Empire is in Chains: Shewing the deplorable State of *Germany*, from the Invaſion of the *French*, and the fatal Conſequence of it to us and all *Europe*.

This is Part of a Pamphlet, that was publiſhed in the Year 1713, *in* 8*vo. ſoon after the Concluſion of the Peace with* France, *intended to expoſe the Danger the* Engliſh *Nation ran by making a Peace ſo hazardous to ourſelves and advantageous to an Enemy, whom we had reduced to the laſt Extremity; and pointing out the only Means to maintain the Balance of Power in* Europe; *very neceſſary to be peruſed at this Time.*

I cannot with any Certainty give you the Name of the Author, who, in my Opinion, has written more like a Prophet than a bare Politician: But I heartily recommend his ſtrong Reaſoning, and the Neceſſity of ſupporting the Houſe of Auſtria, *againſt the Power of* France, *which he ſupports from Facts, confirmed by long Experience, both before and ſince his Time. In a Word, our Author foretold that* the Elector of *Bavaria*, under the Protection of *France*, would ſucceed *Charles the Sixth*, in the *Imperial* Throne.

WHAT is it an *Engliſhman* can ſay, that will not now-a-days give Offence? If we write againſt the *French*, we write againſt our new Allies; if for our late Confederates, we are Enemies to Peace, we delight in War, and, when the *Examiner* has the Power, muſt be knocked on the Head, as he threatens us in ſeveral of his late Papers. What ſhall we do? Shall we ſee the *French* Maſters of *Germany?* Shall we be alarmed with a new War in the Bowels of the Empire and not have a Word to ſay in Favour of a Prince, whom, ten Years ago, we declared King of *Spain* and the *Indies*; whom we took from the Arms of a fond Father, and ſent in the Midſt of Winter Storms to fight for a Monarchy that was in Effect the Gift of *England* and *Holland?* It is not now for *Spain* that this unfortunate Prince fights, it is for *Germany*, for his Patrimony, for Liberty and not for Empire. It is not amazing to meet with *Britons* and Proteſtants ſo ſtupid as to rejoice at the Emperor's Diſtreſs, whoſe Ruin muſt inevitably be followed by the Loſs of the Liberties of *Europe?* When *France* has ſuppreſſed the Houſe of *Auſtria*, what will become of all other Powers? Can the *Dutch* maintain their Barrier, or *England* defend herſelf ſingly againſt *France* and *Spain* united? Whoſe Turn will be next? The beſt we can hope for ourſelves is to be laſt deſtroyed, and, if the *French* have no Enemy on the Continent, who will dare to be an Enemy to a King who is Maſter of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*. What ſhould we not fear from ſuch a Neighbour? I will not ſay the *Pretender*. A King of our own would be too good Fortune for us, let him be ever ſo bad a one; we ſhould ſoon be a Province of *France*, and have the Honour to be governed by a *Lieutenant General*, a *Lieutenant Civil*, and a gracious diſintereſted *Intendant*. Our Parliament would be far from being ſo honourable an Aſſembly as that of *Paris*; our Church, our Conſtitution would have no more a Name; we muſt be of what Religion the *French* pleaſe, and inſtead of a Treaty of Commerce have no Trade at all; which would quickly reduce us to the Condition of the firſt *Britons*, and make us ſo wretched that even Slavery will be the leaſt Part of our Miſery.

It is in vain now to aſk how the *French* came again ſo near the *Danube*, how the Elector of *Bavaria* once more approaches the Plains of *Blenheim*;

Blenheim; and where is the General that drove him from thence out of the Empire? It is to no Purpoſe to enquire into the Cauſes of the Progreſs of the *French* Arms in *Germany*; the Marſhal *de Villays* is there and at the Head of a Hundred-thouſand *Frenchmen*, and what is it not that he may do there, if the reſt of *Europe* is paſſive? Where is that Empire whoſe Power was repreſented ſo formidable? Where are the Kingdoms that were to raviſh the Balance from the Houſe of *Bourbon*? Have we not ſeen that, in two or three Months, *France* has driven all before her? Is ſhe not ready to reſtore the *Bavarian* to the Condition he was in, ten Years ago, when the Emperor ſcarce thought himſelf ſafe in his Palace, and the *Imperial* Scepter was, the Hope and Promiſe of the Conqueror? Will *France* be content with *Straſburgh*, when ſhe can be Miſtreſs of *Vienna*? Will *Bavaria* be ſatisfied with a new Electorate, when he can as eaſily have the Empire, and can he ſupport himſelf, without the *French* King, to whom he muſt always be a Creature and Subordinate? Let us imagine then, that *the Emperor* Charles *is forced to ſubmit*; *that the Elector of* Bavaria *is his Succeſſor, intirely depending on his Protector the moſt* Chriſtian *King*? Will *Germany* be then able to ſend Armies to the Relief of the *Dutch*? Will the *Dutch* be able to give Aſſiſtance to *Britain*, and where then will be our Defence, will not all our Hopes lie in that King's Goodneſs and Moderation? Whatever Opinion I have of his *Bona Fide*, or his keeping his Word with us, better than with any Body elſe, I ſhall not now declare myſelf. I have lived long enough to have ſeen a Reflexion on his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty's Conduct called *Sedition*, which, one could not have believed, would ever have been, when the Duke of *Marlborough* was where the Marſhal *de Villars* is now. I muſt confeſs however, that, notwithſtanding the *Examiner* brags of our new Alliance with the moſt powerful Monarch in the World, I dread that Power of his as much as when we might freely ſpeak the Truth of him, and every one called him the *Common Enemy*. I know the Reſpect due to Crowned Heads, at leaſt I am not to be taught by a Faction, who in one Libel created five or ſix of thoſe ſacred Heads as a Compapany of Beggars and Scoundrels, though King *William* and her preſent Majeſty had been above twenty Years in the moſt ſtrict and neceſſary Alliance with them, for their mutual Defence, againſt the puiſſant Monarch, our preſent Friend.

I wiſh the Reſpect due to him was preſcribed to us, that we might know what Homage we owe to a King *, that has all his Life-time been endeavouring to deſtroy us. For my Part, I cannot help wiſhing him as ill now as ever I did, knowing that *Europe* cannot be ſafe, while *France* is in Proſperity: To which, though we are at Peace with her, I cannot think it our Duty any more than our Intereſt to contribute. How far thoſe Powers will contribute to it that ſuffer the Houſe of *Auſtria* to be ruined, I ſhall not determine, but leave it to the Reader, who will not want Light in ſo plain a Matter as that is. What *France* would do, were ſhe Miſtreſs of *Germany*, any one may imagine by what ſhe did in the Year 1683, and the following Year, when ſhe expected the Empire would be over-run by the *Turks* and *Hungarians*. A Book was publiſhed at *Paris* by Authority, and dedicated to the King himſelf; intituled, *The juſt Pretences of the King of* France *to the Empire*. In which Treatiſe, this was laid down for a Ground, 'That the Dominions of Sove-'reign Princes have been always the Domini-'ons and Conqueſts of their Eſtates, and that 'the Dominions and Conqueſts of Crowns can 'be neither alienated nor preſcribed.' From whence, the Author draws but theſe two Concluſions:

Firſt, 'That the greateſt Part of *Germany* 'is the Patrimony and ancient Inheritance of 'the *French* Princes.

Secondly, 'That *Charlemain* did poſſeſs *Ger-'many* as King of *France*, and not as Empe-'ror.'

If the *French* Court was pleaſed with *this Aſſertion*, when they had only poſſeſſed themſelves of a few Places on the Frontiers, what will they ſay when their Armies are triumphing in the Heart of *Germany*, and nothing can ſtop their March to the Gates of its Capital? The Earl of *Danby*, when he was Lord Treaſurer, at the ſame Time that he lay under the Suſpicion of taking *French* Money, was ſo well appriſed of the ambitious Deſigns of *France*, eſpecially upon the Empire, that he ſet an Author at Work, to lay them open; which was done with equal

* Of *France*.

Truth

Truth and Boldneſs, in a Book called, *Chriſtianiſſimus Chriſtiandus*, reprinted in 1701, and again in the *State Tracts*, wherein among other Things is ſaid: 'If this is believed in *France*, 'what may not her Scribes perſuade their Maſter? May they not as well prove and perſuade 'him, that he wears the Titles of all other 'Princes in the Pummel of his Sword? If one 'may judge of what is to come by what is 'paſt, all *Europe* will have Cauſe enough to 'ſtand upon their Guard, and take the Alarm 'to prevent the Machinations of the *French* 'Miniſtry, whoſe ſole Buſineſs is to blow up 'the Glory of their Maſter to a mighty Bubble, '&c.' Another Author, who wrote ſome Time after, has this Expreſſion: '*Germany* is a fat 'Morſel which the *French* King has long been 'preparing to devour;' and was he ever in a fairer Way! Where are the *Pruſſians* and other Troops, that uſed to ſtrengthen the Imperial Armies? Are they not diſarmed by the Peace of *Utrecht*? Where are his Imperial Majeſty's Allies? Are not the Electors *Palatine*, of *Mentz* and *Treves*, ſurrounded by the Arms of *France*? Are not the Circles of *Swabia* and *Franconia* expoſed to their Ravages? What can hinder the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Returning to *Munich*; and, ſuppoſing his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty would be content with his *Reſtoration* only, is it for the Intereſt of *Europe* to have Power always ready and able to aſſiſt the *French* within a hundred Miles of *Vienna*? Where nothing elſe is to be feared from the Succeſſes of *France* in the Empire, it would be enough to raiſe in us the moſt terrible Apprehenſions. I ſhall not impoſe my own Sentiments on the Reader, on ſo important a Subject, but communicate thoſe of a Perſon of great Worth and Diſtinction, in a Treatiſe publiſhed on that Elector's Declaring for *France*: 'The Advantage, 'ſays he, accruing to the *French* King, by having the Elector of *Bavaria* in his Intereſt, is 'ſo great, that it is not at firſt Sight to be 'eaſily ſeen or conceived. But this is plain, 'that he is one of the greateſt Princes of the 'Empire; that he is capable of leading an Army, and of raiſing a conſiderable Force of 'his own; that the Situation of his Dominions 'is ſuch, as enables him to invade the paternal 'Inheritance of the Houſe of *Auſtria* on the 'one Side, and to give Diſturbance to the 'Circles of *Franconia*, *Swabia*, and the *Upper-Rhine*, on the other; that he is capable of 'depriving the Emperor of one Suffrage in the 'Diet, and of giving the King of *France* another. And that by the Palatinate of *Bavaria*, 'on the North, and by the Duchy and Electorate of *Bavaria*, on the South, it is in his 'Power to block up the Diet of the Empire at '*Ratiſbon*, or oblige them to remove at his Pleaſure; he gave us very lately a Proof of what 'he is capable to do in this Matter, by entertaining the Deputy of a Circle of *Burgundy* at a 'Houſe of his juſt oppoſite to *Ratiſbon*, when 'that Deputy was ordered to quit the Diet and 'the Dominions of the Empire; and by his 'numerous Army, and great Sums of *French* 'Gold, which he received, not under the diſgraceful Name of a *Bribe*, but under the ſpecious Pretence of being Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, he ſeems capable of opening the *French* King's Paſſage to the *Danube*, 'that he may meet his moſt dear and natural 'Ally, the *Grand Seignior*, before the Walls of '*Vienna*.' This Treatiſe was written before the laſt War broke out, and how the Elector of *Bavaria* made good what the Author ſays of him, in the Courſe of it, is too well known to need Repetition. And this then is the Prince, who, we are told, has taken Poſt to put himſelf at the Head of the *French* Army, now almoſt in the Bowels of *Germany*, and more numerous, and more in Heart, than that which, at the Expence of ſo much Blood, the victorious Duke of *Marlborough* drove from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*, after it had made the Imperial Diadem ſhake on the Head of the Emperor *Leopold*. Do not we all remember how great was our Concern for the Fate of *Germany*, when the Duke of *Marlborough* was marching to its Deliverance? The *French* Army was then in *Bavaria*, and what can hinder its being there again? Where have the *German* Princes two-hundred Batallions and two-hundred and fifty Squadrons to oppoſe them? Have they not done as much as they ever will do already, and to what Purpoſe have been their boaſted Efforts but to ſhew their Impotency? If we ſhould again hear of an Elector of *Bavaria*, and a Marſhal of France, at the Head of an Hundred-thouſand Men, on the Banks of the *Danube*, and that at a Time when the Maritime Powers have tied up their Hands and ſent Home their Soldiers, to whom muſt the diſtreſſed Emperor fly for Refuge? Can the King of *Poland* help him, when he is alarmed with the Approach of an Army of *Infidels*? Can the King of *Pruſſia* aſſiſt him after a Treaty ſo ſolemnly and ſo lately ſigned, *German* Faith

Faith being of quite another Kind than was the *Punick* of old? And what Difference there is between *Fides Punica* and *Fides Gallica*, let the Hiſtory of the laſt Century determine. Will the Elector of *Hanover* and the Houſe of *Luxemburgh* be able to ſend him ſufficient Forces, when the *Swedes* are ſo near at Hand, and ſo willing to fall upon them at the firſt Opportunity? Of what Advantage will the Alliance of the Elector *Palatine* be to his Imperial Majeſty, when he himſelf and what Forces he has in his Territories are ſhut up in Gariſons, too weak to defend themſelves, whenever they ſhall be attacked? Will it not be eaſy for the *French* to involve the Electorate of *Cologne* and Country of *Liege* in new Troubles, by Means of that Elector, their faſt Friend? And what can hinder the *Bavarians* on the other Side returning to the Obedience of their abdicated Sovereign, for whom, it is well known, they have preſerved an inviolable Affection? Is this terrible Scene a diſtant one? Are all theſe Fears viſionary? What have the *Germans* to hope in but God and the Winter? And when their Strength is ruined, the Elector of *Bavaria* returned with a *French* Army, to revenge the Diſgrace of an almoſt ten Year's Baniſhment; what Advantage will it be to *Charles the Sixth*, to have the Name of Emperor, and how long will they permit him to wear it?

About the Year 1705, the *French* Emiſſaries in *Holland* diſperſed a Project of Peace, in one Article of which they inſert, that, 'If *France* 'had obtained the Victory over the Allies at '*Hochſtet*, that would have ſerved for no o-'ther End but to engage her in an Abyſs of 'Deſigns and Enterpriſes one after another, '*&c.*' What would that Abyſs of Deſigns and Enterpriſes have been? Is it not plain? Could it have been any Thing elſe but Setting up the *Bavarian* or a Prince of her own, as Emperor, the Depriving of the *German* Princes and others of their Rights and Liberties, and Eſtabliſhing an arbitrary Power over all *Europe* under the new reſtored Title of the *Weſtern Empire?* Will *France* be in a worſe Condition to undertake ſuch an Abyſs of Deſigns, when ſhe has only the Emperor *Charles* to cope with, than when ſhe had a moſt powerful Alliance formed againſt her, of the moſt puiſſant Monarchies and States in *Chriſtendom?* For my Part, this melancholy Proſpect fills me with both Pity and Terror: Pity for the unfortunate State of a late Ally, and Terror for our own perilous one afterwards. Whether we can, or whether we ought to ſtir a Step in his Favour, is no Buſineſs of mine; I only eaſe my own Mind by communicating my Apprehenſions, and ſhall be glad to find them imaginary and chimerical. However, we ſeem to have forgot what was the general Opinion ten or twelve Years ago, that, next to the *Dutch*, the Emperor's and our Intereſts were moſt inſeparable, and that, as a conſtant Maxim of *Engliſh* Politicks, was depended upon by all our Neighbours.

Theſe Things are not new, we have heard them over and over, they are as certain and fixed as Truth; and yet, how dexterous have ſome Men been, to make us as indifferent to every Thing Abroad, as if we were not at all concerned in what happened there? That wiſe and warlike King, *Henry the Eighth*, had quite other Notions, and held it as an unalterable Maxim of Government to hold the Balance even between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Valois*. I have ſeen an Anſwer to the before-mentioned Project of Peace, written by a *German*, wherein is a Paragraph, which ſhews what Foreigners think of our Intereſt and Policy in this Particular, it is as follows: 'As to the particular In-'tereſt of the Crown of *England*, all *Europe* 'knows well enough, that it conſiſts in the Re-'ſtoring of a Balance, which is the only Thing 'that can make her happy Abroad. King *Hen-'ry the Eighth* made this Balance his Maxim, 'and maintained it, as has been already ſaid, a-'gainſt *France*, at a Time when ſhe was not near 'ſo formidable as ſhe is now become ſince the 'Treaties of *Munſter* and the *Pyrenees*, and that 'too in Favour of *Charles the Fifth*, the only 'Emperor of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who could 'give Umbrage to his Neighbours. Now, if the 'Power of *France* was capable of giving Um-'brage to *England*, at a Time when ſhe was con-'fined within her natural Bounds, how much 'more ought ſhe to give them Umbrage at this 'Time, conſidering the great Increaſe of her 'Power ſince, and yet ſtill more, if ſhe be left in 'Poſſeſſion of *half* the *Spaniſh* Monarchy? To 'this, if we add the infinite Advantages ſhe has 'over all her neighbouring Powers, as has been 'obſerved already, it is certain that there is 'Cauſe enough, not only to alarm the *Engliſh* 'Nation, but the remoteſt People of *Europe*. 'Matters being thus, it is very probable, that 'the Crown of *England* will *never agree to any* '*other Treaty*, except *the Reſtitution of the Ba-*'*lance*, as above-mentioned, be the preliminary

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'Conditions, &c.' It is ſometimes very dangerous for Authors to pretend to tell what Princes and States will do, their Intereſt changing with Events. But here this Writer is not out in his Foreſight, for, by the late Treaty, the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* are ſo effectually divided, that the Houſe of *Bourbon* is not to be the better for the Acquiſition of ſuch Part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, as has been yielded to a Branch of it. But, not to enter into that Debate, *France*, as we find by woeful Experience, is of herſelf more than a Match for the Emperor and Empire, which now lies ſo much at his Mercy; and where ſhall we find the Balance ſo neceſſary for their Liberty of *Europe*, when it ceaſes to be in the Houſe of *Auſtria*? If there muſt be a Power to counter-balance that of *France*, it can be *no where elſe*, but in that Imperial Houſe, for three Reaſons:

The *Firſt* is, That to counter-balance the Power of *France* an *Hereditary* and *Monarchical Power* is neceſſary, that it may be always in a Condition to act, becauſe, as all the World have ſeen, it is eaſy for *France* to embroil Republicks, Elective Dominions, or any other where the Royal Authority is more limited.

The *Second* is, That the ſame Power ought to *extend* to *all the Places* where *France* can attack her, and to have an eſſential Intereſt every where to expoſe the Growth of her Power.

The *Third* is, that this Faculty to act, and the Power, which directs it, require a *temperate Government*, mixed with Uprightneſs and Honeſty to aſcertain by that Means the Peace and Confidence of its Neighbours.

Now thoſe Conditions are not to be found altogether any where elſe but in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and with this Advantage more, that ſhe can never give any Umbrage to her Neighbours, both becauſe of the known Conſtitution of her Government, and becauſe, being expoſed to many Attacks, her Dominions being ſo diſperſed, ſhe is not able to maintain herſelf, but by the Aſſiſtance of others, and eſpecially that of the Maritime Powers. Without this Balance well eſtabliſhed, it is a meer Illuſion that the united Provinces, as *France* has more than once inſinuated, can always be the moſt *firm Bulwark of the Liberty and Independency of the Sovereigns of* Chriſtendom; even tho' we ſuppoſe them in a conſtant Alliance with *England*; but who can promiſe that ſuch an Alliance and good Underſtanding will always laſt? *For*, as the abovementioned Author expreſſes himſelf, *if* France *engaged them in War together* *, *and to weaken one another, when they ſhould have maintained the Balance between her and the Houſe of* Auſtria; *How many Ways may ſhe find to divide them, if once the Peace were concluded? Nay, ſuppoſe a good Union ſhould be preſerved, is it likely that the Balance ſhould be maintained by them? We know well enough, that according to the Conſtitution of their Government, they can neither continue ſtanding Armies, nor flatter themſelves always to prevail with their People to undertake a War* †, *when* France *thinks fit to renew one.* Which is very right, and our Neighbours know as much of us, as we do of ourſelves. If, as it has been proved, the Balance of Power can only be maintained by preſerving an *Equality*, between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, Where, for God's Sake is that Equality now? Throwing the *Spaniſh* Monarchy out of the Scales, and allowing that King *Philip* is no more to be looked upon as a *Frenchman*, but as a *Caſtilian*, which I will always allow, was it for no other Reaſon but that the late general Peace makes him ſo ‡.

That it is a *General* one, I do not diſpute, there being a Difference between *General* and *Univerſal*, as was made appear, in a Speech in the laſt Parliament. But it is certain, that the Emperor is at War, that the Empire is invaded by the moſt powerful Army, it ever ſaw; that one of her chief Bulwarks has been raviſhed from her; that her Lines of Defence are demoliſhed; and that ſhe is threatened to be a Prey to a cruel and inſolent Invader. This is certain, and that inſtead of being the better, for the grand Alliance, ſhe *is* expoſed to the Revenge of the once *common Enemy*, for all the Loſſes, Routs, and Diſgraces he met with from

* In the Reign of King *Charles the Second.*

† Which has been the Caſe for many Years paſt; while *France* has been ſtriving, with all its Power and Policy, to deſtroy the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

‡ But their preſent Union againſt *England* and the Houſe of *Auſtria* proves the Contrary.

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the united Allies. What, ſays the Author of the Fable, *of the Lion's Share*: 'If the *French* 'ſcatter their Treaſures in all the Courts of *Eu-* 'rope; if they amuſe one Part, and draw the 'other into their Intereſt; if they *imbroil* Peo- 'ple on all Sides, only for the Sake of *Imbroil-* 'ing; if they maintain great Armies, which 'exhauſt their Country: In a Word, if they 'move Heaven and Hell, to make as many 'Enemies to the Emperor as they can, and to 'ſeduce his Allies, no Man ought to wonder: 'For this is a Maſter-game; and, if they ſuc- 'ceed, they will be reimburſed with Intereſt, 'and become abſolute Arbitrators of *Europe*. 'The greateſt Buſineſs of *France* is to triumph 'over her Rival, which cannot fail, if ſhe be per- 'mitted to tear up the Foundations of her Power, 'by diſmembering the Dominions of the *Spaniſh* 'Monarchy; for, ſo ſoon as the Houſe of *Au-* 'ſtria ſhall ceaſe to be the Balance of her 'Power, no other Bank will be able to put a 'Stop to her Rapidity and Violence.' Theſe are the Sentiments of all *Europe*, that only the Empire *, ſupported by her Confederates, can prevent the common Slavery; for when her Liberty is loſt, what Nation will dare boaſt of Independency? What Sovereign dare aſſert the Rights of his Crown? There will never be wanting Pretences to quarrel, when Succeſs has animated thoſe diſpirited Armies, that inſtead of ſkulking behind Lines and Trenches, are now defying the Conqueror. What ſhall I ſay of Pretences, are there not Thouſands living in *Holland*, that ſaw her Cities in Flames, and her Citizens maſſacred, for the *ill Satisfaction* of *France*, as may be ſeen in her Manifeſto of 1672? Has it not been given for a Reaſon of War, that ſuch or ſuch Territories lay *convenient*; and were not the *Swedes* themſelves once told, that *ſhe did not think fit* to ſtand to a Treaty, ſhe had made with them? As for us, while the *Pretender* to the Crown of our rightful Sovereign lives, *never will ſhe want Pretences*, whatever Want we may be in of Alliances. When I reflect on her Majeſty's wonderful Moderation in giving Peace to an Enemy her Arms had reduced to the Neceſſity of imploring her Mercy, notwithſtanding the preſumptuous Attempt of ſending her Competitor † to inſult her Dominions; when I conſider that nothing but that Moderation, ſo worthy all her Majeſty's other Royal Virtues, could, I will not ſay, have given *Spain* to a Prince of the *Bourbon* Race, but have preſerved *France* herſelf; How can one, without a Sort of Indignation, hear her demanding of *Genoa*, how ſhe dares buy *Final*, and of *Holland*, how ſhe dares keep *Traerback*? All which, however, is little in Compariſon to the Devaſtation her Arms have committed in a Country, where, a few Years ſince, the *Britiſh* Name was in ſuch Eſteem and Glory. It is not for us, who, by two happy Treaties of Peace and Commerce, have diſarmed ourſelves, and thrown off the Burthen of an expenſive, though a victorious War, to take Arms again, when any of our Neighbours may deſire us. Peace is too valuable a Bleſſing to be abandoned, on the firſt Alarm that is given us. But whether it is for us, by all other Offices, to endeavour to ſave that Country, which we once ſaved by the Sword, is a Subject for the Conſideration of others; and that our Offices, when they are employed in Earneſt, will be effectual, one may be aſſured, by the great Deference his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty owes to our Sovereign's Councils, or by the Power ſhe ſtill has, to oblige him to it. When the Armies of *France* have poſſeſſed themſelves of *Friburgh*, and got Footing on the other Side of the *Rhine*; when they no longer ſubſiſt at her own Expence, but are maintained by their Pillages and Contributions in *Germany*, what can we expect will be the Iſſue of another Campaign? What the Defence of a divided, plundered, and an impoveriſhed Empire? It will be as eaſy for the *French* to give her a new Maſter ‡ as to threaten it; and who then will be able to ſet Bounds to their Ambition, or avoid Subjection to an *Univerſal Monarchy*? We are often put in Mind of the Danger *Europe* was in, of having one Maſter in the Reign of *Charles the Fifth*, who was King of *Spain*, and Emperor of *Germany*. But conſidering how powerful the Princes of *Germany* then were, what ſeparate Intereſts they had, and how diſjointed were that Prince's Dominions; what was that Danger to the Hazard *Europe* muſt be in, when the vaſt Empire of *Spain* and the *Indies*, the mighty Kingdom of *France*, are in one Houſe, and *Germany* depending on it like a

* Or rather the Emperor, who was then *Charles the Sixth*, and Head of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

† The Pretender. ‡ As they have done in the Election of the Duke of *Bavaria* to the Empire by Force of Arms.

Province, as it muſt do, whenever the Houſe of *Auſtria* loſes that Power, which alone can preſerve the Independency of all other Powers in *Chriſtendom?*

I am far from ſounding a Charge, or weakening the ſtrong Ties of the late *Peace*; I know not either what will, or what ſhould be done, I only ſee what is done, and make thoſe Reflexions that are naturally born of the Subject. It is for other Heads, than mine, to deliberate effectually of theſe Matters, ſo as to prevent the miſchievous Conſequences by proper Methods. However, this I may ſay without Vanity, and this every Man may without Preſumption pretend to: That I know, if the *Swabians*, *Franconians*, and *Auſtrians* are depreſſed, the *Saxons*, *Pruſſians*, and *Hanoverians* will quickly have the ſame Fate; *Germany* will have but one Maſter; that Maſter be intirely *French*, and what will follow then, one may venture to foreſee without much Penetration. One may perceive how exactly the *Faction, that ever was in the* French *Intereſt in* England, correſpond in their Affections with their good Friends of *France*. In the *Poſt-boy* of the Twenty-ninth of *September*, are we entertained with this hopeful Proſpect of Affairs from all Quarters.

From *Madrid* we are told, 'That the Duke 'de *Popoli* had ordered a Detachment to *To*'*rellas*, to mortify the Inhabitants for harbour'ing the *Miquelets*.'

From *Warſaw*, 'That the *Poles* had receiv'ed the diſagreeable News, that Forty-thouſand '*Turks*, and a good Number of *Tartars*, were 'arrived at *Chockſin*, with One-hundred and 'forty Pieces of Cannon; the *Tartars*, having 'ſounded the *Dienſter*, have found three Places 'fordable in it, ſo that it was feared they 'would yet lay Siege to *Caminiec* this Harveſt.

From *Rotweil*, 'That the *French* advance 'a-pace towards *Hornberg* and St. *George*, to 'which laſt Place their Army is extended; 'ſome ſay that the Elector of *Bavaria* is with 'them.'

From *Straſburgh*, 'That the Marſhal *de* '*Villars* had forced the Enemies Lines near '*Friburgh*; and killed and taken above One-'Thouſand *Germans*; that the Marſhal *de* '*Bezons* had paſſed the *Rhine* with Twenty-'five Thouſand Men near *Fort Lewis*, and was 'marching towards *Offenburgh*, to join the 'Troops that are paſſed near that Place; that '*Friburgh* was inveſted, and Abundance of 'Ammunition carrying to the Army from our 'Magazines.'

From *Schafhauſen*, 'That the *Germans* have 'been much alarmed for ſome Days paſt by 'the *French* paſſing the *Rhine*, and advancing 'towards *Friburgh*, in Order to beſiege that 'Place; that a great many Men from thoſe 'Parts fled thither with their Effects, and that 'it was the general Opinion that the *French* 'had a Deſign alſo againſt *Villengen*.'

From *Frankfort*, 'That, in all Probability, 'the *French* deſign to beſiege *Friburgh*, to at'tack the *Germans* middle Line and *Villengen* 'at the ſame Time, and afterwards to make 'an Irruption into *Swabia*, in Order to take 'Winter Quarters there.' This News-monger adds, 'We have not yet the Particulars of the 'Loſs of the *Germans*, and, perhaps, never ſhall.

Is not this one of the moſt happy Poſtures of Affairs, that the Enemies of our Conſtitution have been bleſſed with ſince the Campaign of the *Dauphin*, when the Palatinate was turned into a Heap of Ruins, and a Sea of Blood? On one Hand, the *Turks* are invading *Poland*, on another the *French* wintering in *Swabia*, while the *Spaniards* are chaſtiſing the Rebels of *Catalonia*. What Joy does it give this Wretch, and his Abettors? You ſee I have not put my Invention to the Rack, the Fact is before you; and you will eaſily know what Judgment to make of thoſe Men, who, out of Complacency to a new Friend, ſo merrily give up an old one to Deſtruction.

I am apt to think that it is for an old Grudge againſt the *Germans*, that theſe Men rejoice ſo at their preſent Diſaſters. It is well known the *German* Princes were in the Secret of the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition to relieve us; that the Emperor *Leopold* not only refuſed to aſſiſt King *James*, when he was in *France*, but told him plainly, that he deſerved no Aſſiſtance from him, or any other Prince in *Chriſtendom*, in a Letter * he wrote him of the Ninth of *April*, 1689, which that King's Friends, and the Friends to *France*, could never forgive either in him, or his Poſterity. His *Imperial* Majeſty upbraids King *James* with his Hearkening to *French* Councils, with ſuffering the Infractions of the Treaty of *Nimeguen* of which he was Guarantee, and many other ſuch Offences, which are too hard for the Ears of thoſe,

* See a Copy of this Letter on Page 18 of this Collection.

who look upon King *James* and King *Lewis*, as the only *given of God*. I ſhall give the Reader a Paſſage or two of that Letter, that we may ſee what an Enemy the *Germans* have all along had to do with. His *Imperial* Majeſty having repreſented to King *James*, how his Ambaſſador Count *Caunitz* had often ſhewn him what would be the ill Effects of his Affection to *France*, and the like, proceeds thus: *We alſo cauſed it to be laid before you, that our Religion has not ſuffered more by any one, than by the* French *themſelves, becauſe they not only think it lawful for them to join their treacherous Arms with the ſworn Enemies of the Holy Croſs, to the intire Ruin of us, and the whole* Chriſtian *World; to deſtroy the Deſigns we had formed for the Glory of God, and to hinder the Progreſs it pleaſed his Almighty Arms to bleſs us with, but alſo to add, in the Empire itſelf, Perjury to Perjury, and Perfidy to Perfidy; to exhauſt, by unheard of Exactions, the Cities that ſurrendered to them by Compoſition againſt Articles agreed to, and ſigned by the* Dauphin; *after which, they have ruined, raſed, and burnt the Palaces of Princes, that had all along been ſpared in the moſt bloody Wars; plundered Churches, carried into Slavery, after the Faſhion of Barbarians, thoſe that voluntarily yielded to them; and acted as out of Wantonneſs, even in Catholick Countries, other dreadful Examples of Cruelty and Inhumanity, which ſurpaſs even the Tyranny of the* Turks. Such are the Emperor's Expreſſions as faithful as I could tranſlate them; ſuch the Enemies that, as the *Poſt-Boy* promiſes his Friends, are to have their Winter Quarters in the Heart of *Germany*; ſuch and perhaps worſe may be the Terrors they will ſpread, and the Deſtruction they will make, with the Hopes of which the *Faction*, he flatters, are ſo delighted. And to what Purpoſe, may the Readers ſay, is your Putting us in Mind of all this Miſery? Can we prevent it? We are as well informed of the Neceſſity of Saving the Empire from the Domination of *France*. Tell us which Way, is it to be done, but by the Emperor's Accepting of the Terms the *French* will condeſcend to grant him; that is, the leaving *Straſburgh* in their Cuſtody, and *Germany* expoſed to the continual Inſults of her irreconcileable Enemy. I do not believe there is a Man in *England*, that, aſk him cooly, What he thinks would become of us, were the *Germans* ſubdued by the *French*? could anſwer the Queſtion, without Trembling. But then the Well-wiſhers to our Conſtitution, and to Peace, put that Time afar off, and flatter themſelves ſome lucky or unlucky Hit, on this Side, or that, may interfere and ſave the Empire. Alas! Does her Safety depend on her Luck? Has ſhe been warring above twenty Years, and won ſo many Victories, to have her Liberty depend on her Fortune? Or indeed is it in Fortune's Power to do that for her alone, which was with ſo much Difficulty and Danger done for her by her Confederates?

The Clemency of our Sovereign gave Peace to *France*; and there is no Doubt but her Generoſity can again give a Deliverance to *Germany*. *France* is not already in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, that ſhe dares be ungrateful to a Prince, who has ſo ſenſibly obliged her; and her Majeſty's Interpoſition cannot but be effectual, when her Royal Wiſdom thinks fit. In the mean While, it is with the utmoſt Abhorrence that one ſee *Britons* eſpouſing the Quarrel of the *French*, and abandoning a Barrier to them, which is in ſome Meaſure their own: For there is not one of the Allies, whoſe Intereſt it is not to maintain the preſent Settlements in *Great-Britain*, and conſequently, the ſtronger any one of them is, the ſtronger are we; and, the weaker, the more does it add to our Weakneſs.

Since the foregoing Pages were written, we hear that the Marſhals *de Villars* and *de Bezons* are paſſed the *Rhine* with One-hundred and Sixty-thouſand Men, and have at once laid Siege to *Friburgh* and *Villengen*, which they doubt not to be Maſters of, in a few Days; that they raiſe Contributions for thirty Miles about, and, coming after a plentiful Harveſt into *Germany*, have ſuch Abundance of Proviſions, in their Camp, that, if their Armies were in the moſt fruitful Province of *France*, they could not fare better; that thoſe two Conqueſts will open them a Way to *Ulm*, a Town conſiſting of Timber Buildings, which two or three Bombs will reduce either to Aſhes or Obedience; that Prince *Eugene* is forced to give Way to this ſuperior Power, and is not ſtrong enough to hinder the *French* from advancing to *Bavaria*; and that the Court of *France* are ſo far from thinking of Peace, that they have reſolved to raiſe Fifty-thouſand Men more this Winter, ſo that, by the next Campaign, they may have, with the Forces that are to take up their Quarters in *Germany*, with the Army that may join them from *Catalonia* and *Rouſſillon*, and with the Reinforcement of their new Levies,

Two-hundred Thouſand Men on the Frontiers of *Bavaria* to take Poſſeſſion of *Vienna*, the Capital of the Empire, to keep it themſelves, or to give it to whom they pleaſe. Nor are theſe Views viſionary, if nothing is done on this Side in Favour of the Emperor. I would aſk the moſt ſanguine Friend to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, What can ſtop the *French* in their Career? What Town take them a Month's Time to conquer? And what Power deliver the *Germans* from a *French* Yoke?

After which, the *Pretender* will have no Need to turn Proteſtant, he may keep his Religion; and his Chaplain *Leſley* may change his too; we may not ſtand upon Niceties. If *Dunkirk* ſhould happen not to be intirely demoliſhed, who ſhall demand its Demolition? If King *Philip* has a Mind to *Port-Mahon* and *Gibralter*, who ſhall detain them? If *Portugal* has a Word to ſay for herſelf, will ſhe not be told of the Uſurpation of the Houſe of *Braganza?* If *Holland* ſhould pretend to meddle with other Folks Matters, ſhe will be remembered of the Prince of *Orange*'s Rebellion; and that the ſeven Provinces themſelves are Part of the Succeſſion of *Burgundy*. We know what is the Moderation of *France*, when ſhe is at Liberty to act as ſhe pleaſes; and when we have no Friend to help us Abroad; and what Friend can we have when the Empire is in Chains? What will it avail us to have Treaties of Peace and Commerce? To have acquired ſo much Glory, in the late War; to have many good Laws to ſecure our Religion and Liberties? What will it avail the *Dutch* to have ſo extended a Barrier, to have Gariſons in ſo many ſtrong Towns?

It is in the Memory of many of them, that, in the Campaign of 1667, the *French* King over-ran *Flanders*, and, in two or three Months, took as many, and as ſtrong Towns, as have been yielded to them by their laſt Treaty; yet the *French* were ſo far from being Maſters of *Germany*, that they were not in Poſſeſſion of *Alſace: Strasburgh* was between them and the Empire, and the *Germans* could, at any Time, come to the Relief of *Flanders*, then under the Dominion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. If it be objected that we ſhould not fright ourſelves with theſe Fears, that they are remote, and that the *French* do not intend to conquer *Germany*, but only to oblige the Emperor to come into the Peace: All that I muſt ſay is, that it does not ſeem to be prudent and politick, to rely wholly on the good Diſpoſition of a Nation, whom we have been beating for ten Years together; which certainly muſt put them out of Humour with us, and we may depend upon it, we ſhall pay for it, whenever they can make us; and they will never be able to make us, as long as there is any Power in *Europe* beſides us, of which they ſtand in Fear.

The Character of a diſbanded Courtier.

Ingenium Galbæ male habitat.

[From a *Folio* Edition, Printed at *London*, *Anno Dom.* 1681.]

HE was born with an aſpiring Mind, by much too high flown, for his Quality and his Eſtate. His Dexterity, in doing Ill, made him thought capable of performing admirably well, if ever he came to be employed and entruſted. He was preferred, for Ability, to high Degrees of Honour and Office, admitted into the Cabinet Councils, made acquainted with all the ſecret Wheels (and could tell how many Cogs there were in each Wheel) upon which the great Engine of State was turned, and kept in Motion: By the Favour of his Prince, he acquired ſufficient Riches to ſupport the Splendor of a new-raiſed Family.

His Glory was ſo eminently conſpicuous, that there were but few Perſons below the Crown ſeemed above him: And nothing was wanting to,

to render his Felicity as laſting as Nature intended his Life, but a Heart that knew how to be grateful to a moſt *munificent Benefactor*. He thought all the Favours and Honours he enjoyed were leſs than the Reward of his Merit: That Thought puffed him with Pride; ſuch a Sort of Pride, as is commonly attended with an irrecoverable Fall, (which was his Fortune:) And, at his Fall (like that of his Predeceſſor) might very well have been proclaimed: *Woe to you, the Inhabitants of the Earth, for the Devil is come down among you.*

Open Revenge againſt his Sovereign, being too dangerous to attempt, he preſently reſolves upon ſecret: He expoſes all the Weakneſſes and Infirmities of the Court (from which no Court is free) and where he can find no real Faults, he feigns imaginary ones, and paſſes them off for current. By this new and falſe Optick, he repreſents every Mole-hill of Miſtake, in the publick Adminiſtration, for a Mountain as tall as *Teneriff*, and as dangerous as the Top of *Ætna*. Nay, he multiplies and magnifies the very Miſcarriages, which were the Effect of his own evil Counſel. He amuſes the freeſt Nation in the *Univerſe*, with wild Rumours, and extravagant Apprehenſions of *Slavery*; under the Government of a *Prince*, who, in Acts of Favour, Mercy, and Clemency, has exceeded all his *Predeceſſors*. He fills the Heads of the People full with whimſical Fears of fantaſtick Devils (*Chimera*'s which only his Malice had raiſed) on Purpoſe to frighten them out of their Loyalty and their Wits, and prepare and ripen them for *Bedlam*, or for *Rebellion*. He makes the Pretences of * *Liberty*, the Stirrup to get up, and † *Religion* the Steed he rides, in Purſuit of his monſtrous Deſigns. With theſe Pretences, he cheats the Innocent; and promiſing to open their Eyes, ſerves them, as the apoſtate Angel did our Parents in *Paradiſe*, only blows into them the Duſt of Diſobedience, and robs them of thoſe Jewels he pretends to beſtow, *viz.* *Liberty* and *Religion*; which are both ſo much talked of, and both ſo little underſtood.

Being a Gentleman of little or no *Religion* himſelf, he ſeems, for all that, to eſpouſe every Diviſion and Subdiviſion of it; every Faction and Perſon, who are bold enough to ſtand ſtiff in Oppoſition againſt the well ſettled Government. What avails it, that he is, in his own Nature, a frugal Man? He keeps open Houſe for Entertainment of all *State Male-Contents*, without Conſideration either of Qualities or Qualifications. And what is he the better for being temperate himſelf, ſo long as he accompanies and carouſes, and contracts Intimacy and Amity, with the lewdeſt Debauchees, that he thinks will help to forward his private Intrigues? He becomes all Things to all Men, in the very worſt of Senſes; perverting the Deſign of St. *Paul*, that he may, at leaſt, delude ſome, to be as bad as himſelf.

Having loſt his Honour with his Prince, and Reputation with the beſt of Men, he cringes, and creeps, and ſneaks, to the loweſt and baſeſt of the People, to procure himſelf, among them, an empty, vain-glorious, and undeſerved Name, the *Patriot* of his Country.

And, laſtly, hoping to be made the *Little Head* of the *Great Rabble*, he perſuades them to believe, that they are all betrayed: Encourages them to ſtrike Home againſt the Enemies of King and Kingdom (pointing at the faithfulleſt and moſt affectionate Servants to both) well knowing that the *mighty Fabrick* can never be ſhaken, till its main Pillars and Supporters be, by Cunning and ſly Stratagem, either deſtroyed, or undermined.

By this, may appear the Weakneſs of that modern Piece of State Policy ‡, *Oblige your Enemies, your Friends you are ſure of already:* And the tranſcendent Wiſdom of *Solomon*'s Advice: *Let thy own Friend, and thy Father's Friend, never be forſaken.*

* *Liberty* is not a Freedom for every Man to do what he pleaſes; an Exemption from juſt Laws: Theſe Laws were made for the Puniſhment of Tranſgreſſors; and are the true Liberty of every honeſt Man. The Deſtroying of which Laws is Throwing down the Fence, whereby virtuous and good Men are ſecured and protected.

† *Religion* does not conſiſt in the ſtubborn Adhering to this or that Party, or in Crying up one Faction as infallible, and Cenſuring all others as damnable: But in *doing Juſtice, and loving Mercy, and walking humbly with God* (ſays *Micah* the Prophet). *And is firſt pure, and then peaceable*, ſays St. *James* the Apoſtle.

‡ Of King *Charles the Second.*

A Letter

A Letter from his Holineſs the Pope of *Rome*, to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*: Containing ſeveral Propoſals, and Overtures of Agreement, betwixt the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*. Tranſlated out of *Latin*, for the Benefit of all true *Proteſtants*.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, Reprinted at *Edinburgh*, *Anno* 1689.]

The Reſentment of the People of this Nation, who, a little before, had like to become a Prey to Popery *and* Arbitrary *Power, never appeared greater againſt* France *and* Rome, *than at the Time, when the Prince of* Orange, *being ſettled on the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, delivered them from all Fear of their* Tyranny *and* Superſtition: *Then every true* Proteſtant *ſtrove to ſignify his Abhorrence of the Dangers, from which both their* Church *and* State *were ſo lately and wonderfully extricated: So that the Preſs was never more employed, than* now, *with learned, ingenious, and ſatyrical Pamphlets, amongſt which, the following well deſerves to be recorded to Poſterity. For, though it muſt be allowed to be no more than a* pretended *Letter from the* Pope *to King* William, *yet the Matter it contains is* real, *the Subject is* ſerious, *and the Conſequences of the* higheſt Importance; *and therefore can never be unſeaſonable, eſpecially at a Time, when, in Defiance of Treaties, Religion, and the Laws of our Land, we are threatened with an Invaſion from a* Popiſh *Power; becauſe it briefly ſums up both the Tyranny and Superſtition of* Popery.

If any Thing herein be thought any ways partial; *I have this to advance in my own Favour, that I only* collect *what I believe to be genuine; that I have examined the Hiſtorical Facts here mentioned, and find them in good and approved Authors; that I will never publiſh any Thing through Partiality; that every Religion, Party, Condition, and State of Men muſt expect the Invectives of their Adverſaries, in the Courſe of this Collection: And therefore, that the Pamphlets or Tracts, here publiſhed, are by me looked upon, as the beſt of their Kind; and, I hope, will be generouſly accepted by the Reader, only as the* Collection, *and not as the* Compoſition *of the* Editor.

Great Prince,

ALthough the *Semicircle* of your *Highneſs* be (at preſent) elevated above the full *Orb* of my *Holineſs*, I conjure you by *Bell*, *Book*, and *Candle*, ſeriouſly to conſider your Proceedings againſt me, and my Catholick Church; which (as a Lilly among Thorns) I lately * planted in *England* and *Scotland*; and you (to the great Grief of all the Members of my ſacred Conclave, and zealous Favourites of my ſpiritual Court) have almoſt rooted up. Call to Mind, and tremble at my great Power, Prudence, and Supremacy; and that I am *God upon Earth*, ſeventy-ſeven Times greater than the greateſt Emperor in the World. Remember

* By his Nuncio, in King *James the Second*'s Reign.

what

what I have done to mighty Monarchs, Kings, and puiſſant Princes, whoſe Glory and high Looks I have laid in the Duſt, till they have willingly ſubmitted their ſtubborn Necks to my iron Yoke, and humbly bowed their Heads to ſalute my holy Feet. Did not my Predeceſſor Pope *Gregory the Seventh* (who poiſoned nine Popes in thirteen Years Space, to make Way for himſelf to the Popedom) for Want of due Worſhip and Honour, excommunicate and depoſe the Emperor *Henry*, both from his Crown and Empire; diſcharge all his Subjects of their Allegiance, and give his Crown to *Rodolphus* Duke of *Swevia*, till he, with his Empreſs, and young Son, cloathed in Sack-cloath, came barefoot, in the Cold of Winter, and begged Pardon three Days, without Acceſs, at his ſumptuous Gates? Did not Pope *Paſchal the Second* ſtir up *Henry the Fifth*, to rebel againſt his old Father the Emperor? Who by the Aſſiſtance of his *Holineſs* beat him from his Empire; ſo that he lived and died miſerable, and lay five Years above Ground, without burying, at the Pope's Command. Did not Pope *Alexander the Third* put his Foot upon the Emperor *Frederick*'s Neck, and tread upon him as he had been a Dog? Did not Pope *Celeſtine the Third* crown the Emperor *Henry the Sixth*, and his Empreſs *Conſtantina*, with his Feet; and (throwing off the *Crowns* with his Toe) ſay, *I have Power to make and unmake Kings and Emperors?* Did not *Adrian the Fourth* fall out with the Emperor *Frederick*, for holding his wrong Stirrup, and would not crown him for three Days, till he begged *his Holineſs* Pardon? Did not *Clement the Fifth* cauſe his Hangman to take *Francis Dandalus*, a *Venetian* Duke, bind him with Chains, and throw him under his Table, to gnaw Bones with his Dogs? Did not *Innocent the Fourth* call *Henry the Third*, King of *England*, his Vaſſal, Slave, and Page; whom (at Pleaſure) he might impriſon, and put to open Shame? Did not Pope *Benedict the Ninth* ſend to *France* the two Sons of *Charlemain*, with their Mother *Birtha*, the Widow Queen? Who humbly brought them to *his Holineſs* to be crowned; where (with the poor King of *Lombardy*, and his Wife and Children) they were kept in Priſon, till the Day of their Death; for diſobliging their Uncle, the Emperor *Charles*, the Pope's ſpecial Friend, and great Favourite. The Cries of poor Widows and Orphans I value no more than the Cackling of Hens. Blood and Wounds are my daily Delight. Murthers, Battles, Treaſons, Conſpiracies, and the Turning of Kingdoms upſide down, are to me but ordinary Recreations, and *May*-Games. With my Tail or *Cynoſure*, I drew the Stars of Heaven backwards, and threw them to the Earth. I bewitch the World with Signs and lying Wonders, and perſuade People out of their Senſes; to believe that I can make, worſhip, and eat, an immortal Deity, of ordinary Bread? How many Princes have I poiſoned in my Sacrament; which my Emiſſaries have tranſubſtantiated into a Devil, rather than a God? How many Kingdoms have I ruined? How many Common-wealths have I overturned? How many Cities have I raſed? And how many Millions of *Chriſtians* have I ſacrificed to my vindictive Power and Greatneſs? And dare you cope with me? Remember what I did to *John* King of *England*, whom my Holy Monk *Stephen* poiſoned in *Lincolnſhire*. Come then to me in a humble Manner, as to God's *Deputy*, Chriſt's *Vicar*, and St. *Peter*'s *Succeſſor*, and reſtore all my Church Lands, which my Anceſtors have (for ſeveral Generations) purloined from Kings and Princes, for the ſanctified Uſe of the Holy Chair; and ſwear Fealty to me, as to your *Supreme Head*, and *Holy Father*; and I will be reconciled to you and all *Engliſhmen*. Yea (though *Peter*, King of *Arragon*, willingly bought his Salvation from *Pope Innocent the Third*, at the Rate of his Crown and Kingdom) I will freely pardon you all your Sins, paſt, preſent, and to come. And for your unruly Rabble (that indigeſted Lump of Ignorance and Precipitancy) I will have Compaſſion on them, and ſend them as many old uſeleſs *Merits*, and *Works of Supererogation*, as would loaden a *Spaniſh Armado*; which will ſend them (in a perpendicular Line) to Heaven, without touching at *Purgatory*. And (to ingratiate myſelf further in the Kingdom of *England*'s Favour) I will licentiate your Ladies of Pleaſure in *London*, and all Females in general there, to whore, pick Pockets, for a *Julio*, or *Six-pence* a Week; which is no more than my own Order of *Harlots* pay at *Rome*, and all *Italy* over. And to all Men within the Walls of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, I will freely give Liberty to be as intimate with their Neighbours Wives, as ever Pope *Hildebrand* was with *Matilda*, the Marquis of *Eaſt*'s Lady: Or Pope *Alexander the Sixth* was with his own Daughter *Lucretia*. And (in one Word) I will let the Inhabitants of the whole Iſle of *Britain* fulfil their Heart's Deſire, in all Kind of Villainies and Abomi-

Abominations, without ſinning. For, as *Bellarmine* tells you, I can make that which is Sin, no Sin; and that which is no Sin, Sin. But if you will not ſubmit yourſelf, nor humble your *Highneſs* to my *Holineſs*; then will I cloath myſelf with Curſing, and take the Thunderbolt of Excommunication in my Mouth; with the Sword of *Supremacy*, I will cut aſunder the Cords of Unity, and with the Breath of my Mouth will I diſſipate the Peace of all Nations. I will incenſe my *rebellious Firſt-born*, his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* of *France*, to invade your Territories, burn your Cities, put your Males to the Edge of the Sword, and rip up your Women with Child, without Pity or Compaſſion; as he lately ſerved your *Tribe** in his own Kingdom: And, as I † once ſerved the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*. I will privately contrive your Overthrow, by my deſperate *Jeſuits*, *Monks*, and *Friars*; whom I will, after Death, canoniſe, for Murder, Miſchief, and Conſpiracy ‡. I will found an *Order* of *Iriſh Cut-Throats* (Men mighty for Miſchief) who will divide the Windpipes of all Proteſtants, and ſubtract Breath from their whole Bodies. They ſhall dig as deep as *Purgatory*, for the Contrivance of a new *Gunpowder* Treaſon; and make a Covenant with Hell, for your Deſtruction. And (if I can bring my Projects to a Period) I will hold a ſpiritual Court in *Smithfield*, and decide all Controverſies with Fire and Faggot; till I level the Nation with the Duſt, and make the Iſle of *Great-Britain* acknowledge me for their Superior. *Finally*, I cannot but reſent your Deportment towards my *Niece*, your glorious Queen, who left *England* without bidding Farewel to her Favourites; only taking along with her the Prince of *Wales*, whom you term *her ſuppoſed Son*. But it is an *Hyperbole*, beyond the Conception of Humanity, that a *King*, pretending to ſo much Reaſon, Religion, and Piety, ſhould praiſe (or rather mock) God for a Child, whilſt his Queen had only conceived a Pillow, and was brought to Bed of a Cuſhion, to cheat his Subjects of their ancient and royal Line, and his own Poſterity of their Crowns and Kingdoms. This was the old Contrivance of another *Mary*-Queen; but *Philip* was more a Man than to own the Brat of Sophiſtry, and father the Impudence of ſo villainous a Fact. But let the Production be what it will, real or imaginary, my Singing of *Te Deum*, in St. *Mary*'s Church at *Rome*, is enough both to naturaliſe and legitimate it lawful Prince of *Wales*, and apparent Heir to the Crowns of three Kingdoms. I have ſent you this Letter by *Guido Faux*, the Younger; whoſe Brains are big of a *Gun-powder Plot*; therefore (as you love your Life and Well-being) honour him, with all and as much Reſpects as it were *I myſelf*. Father *Peter* ſaluteth you with my whole *Conſiſtory* of *Cardinals*, and *Clergymen* of my ſacred *Conclave*. I deſire to be remembered to *Titus Oats*, and *Samuel Johnſon*. If the Tide turn, I will talk with them, and reward them, according to their Fidelity. Thus, expecting a ſpeedy Anſwer, before I proceed any further in my great Deſigns, I continue

Written from my Court at Rome, Prid. Calend. Jan. 1689.

Your hurtful

INNOCENT ‖.

* The *Proteſtants* of the Principality of *Orange*. † The Pope. ‡ Alluding to Father *Garnet*, and other Jeſuits and Prieſts, that have been executed for Treaſon. ‖ The Name of the Pope at that Time.

The Church of England's *Anſwer to the preceding Letter.*

Grand Impoſtor,

WHether you, with your Clergy, be poſſeſſed with the Spirit of Error and Deluſion, and caſt in a Bed of Senſuality, to wallow in your own Filthineſs, with your Eyes darkened, and your Ears deafened, we know not; but certainly there muſt be a great Myſtery in your Obſtinacy: For you ſhut your Senſes (which are the Gates of your Underſtanding) againſt the cleareſt Evidences of Truth, Scripture, and Reaſon. Our learned Divines have, theſe ſeveral Years, confuted your Opinions of ridiculous Nonſenſe, by ſound Arguments, and undeniable Demonſtrations; till (being wearied with your Contradictions) Grooms, Pages, and Porters began to diſcover your Nakedneſs, in your Ignorance and Superſtition; and by writing againſt you, to convince you of your Fooleries, Fopperies, and chimerical Fancies. Yet, for all this, are you not aſhamed

ſhamed of your Abominations and Filthineſs. Thus (ſince you ſhut your Ears againſt the Word of manifeſt Truth, and the *Kingdom of Heaven*, againſt the whole World, denying the Principles of ſure and unqueſtionable Faith) we deſire none of your Converſe; for there can be no Fellowſhip betwixt Light and Darkneſs, nor between *God* and *Belial*; for they, that are wilfully filthy, will be filthy ſtill; neither can we ſend you any Anſwer fitter than that the *Grecian* Church ſent to Pope *John the Twenty-third*, when he wrote to them to bow and ſubmit to him as to their *terreſtrial God* and *infallible Supreme*: *We do aſſuredly* (ſaid they) *acknowledge your high Power over your Subjects, but we cannot abide your high Pride, we cannot quench your greedy Covetouſneſs: The Devil is with you, but God is with us.* Thus (with the Eaſtern Churches) we muſt leave you, and let you alone: Yet, with the Prophet will we wail over you, and cry out, *We would have healed* Babylon, *but ſhe is not healed.* Remember what the Lord ſaith, *Iſaiah* l. 11. *Behold all ye that kindle a Fire, that compaſs yourſelves about with Sparks: Walk in the Light of your Fire, and in the Sparks that ye have kindled. This ſhall ye have of mine Hand, ye ſhall lie down in Sorrow.* Thus not fearing your Power, Curſes, nor Thunder-bolts of Excommunication, nor all the Train of your infernal Court, whilſt God is with us) we continue ſtill ſtedfaſt in that Faith, whereof *Chriſt Jeſus* is both the Foundation and chief Corner-ſtone; who is able to preſerve and and preſent us ſpotleſs before the Throne of his Grace, with exceeding great Joy. To whom, with the *Father* and *Holy Ghoſt*, be aſcribed Glory, Honour, and Praiſe; with Dominion, Majeſty, and Power; World without End, *Amen.*

London, Jan. 6th, 1689.

The Caſe of clandeſtine Marriages ſtated, wherein are ſhewn the Cauſes from whence this Corruption ariſeth, and the true Methods, whereby it may be remedied. In a Letter to a Perſon of Honour.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, printed at *London*, in the Year 1691.]

BY the ſixty-ſecond Canon of King *James the Firſt*, as well as by the Conſtitutions of *John Stratford*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of King *Edward the Third*, it is ordained, That *no Perſons ſhall be married, but in the Pariſhes where one of the Parties dwells.* And in the hundred and ſecond Canon, it is further provided, That *when a Licenſe is granted, the Perſon, that grants it, ſhall take good Caution and Security*: As for other Things in the Canon mentioned, ſo laſtly for this, That *they ſhall celebrate the Marriage publickly, in the Pariſh-Church, or Chapel, where one of them dwelleth, and in no other Place; and that between the Hours of Eight and Twelve in the Morning.*

Moſt clandeſtine Marriages that have happened, have proceeded from the Breach of theſe Canons: For, were they punctually obſerved, and all Marriages ſolemniſed *only* in the Pariſh-Church, or Chapel, *where one of the Parties dwells*, and no where elſe, no clandeſtine Deſign, this Way, could be carried ſo cloſely, but that the Friends muſt know of it: At leaſt, a Stop muſt be put thereto, when it comes to the Miniſter. For, when a Miniſter celebrates a Marriage that is clandeſtine, he doth it either out of Ignorance, or ill Deſign. As to the Ignorance of the Miniſter, in this Particular (and many clandeſtine Marriages proceed only from their being impoſed on this Way) the Method, preſcribed by the Canon, muſt be a very effectual Way; becauſe, when all are married in their own Pariſhes, the Miniſters cannot be ſuppoſed to be ignorant, whether they have Conſent of Friends, or no, (unleſs, perchance, in ſome of the larger Pariſhes in *London*, where

other Care may be taken, by requiring the Friends of both Parties to be actually preſent) and, therefore, though a Licenſe ſhould be fraudulently obtained, yet, if directed to him, it can be of no Effect; becauſe all Licenſes go with a *Proviſo* of Nullity, in Caſe of Fraud; and, therefore, to him that knows the Fraud (as it is ſcarce poſſible but every Miniſter muſt in his own Pariſh) it can be no Licenſe at all, but he will be as much liable to the Penalty of the Law, if he marries with a Licenſe in this Caſe, as if he had no Licenſe at all. And as to a Miniſter's being Party to the ill Deſign of a clandeſtine Marriage, you ſhall ſcarce ever find this to happen, when People are married by their own Miniſter. For, the Penalty being Suſpenſion *per Triennium*, none that have Benefices which are worth any Thing, and are ſenſible of the Fraud (as all Miniſters muſt be in the Pariſhes where they live) will expoſe themſelves to be deprived of them ſo long, for the Sake of a Marriage-Fee. But, moſt an End, they are not Miniſters of Pariſhes, but indigent Curates, or unpreferred Chaplains, that wilfully engage themſelves in this Matter; who, having nothing to loſe, on this Account, are out of the Reach of the Penalty; and, therefore, if there are but one or two ſuch in a County, uſually the whole Trade of clandeſtine Marriages goes to them; and, therefore, the beſt Way to prevent ſuch Marriages, will be, to confine all, according to the Canon, to be married at Home in their own Pariſhes, by the Miniſter of the Place that hath an Intereſt there, wherein to ſuffer, if he doth amiſs: Becauſe, if this be done, the Miniſter can neither be impoſed on by a fraudulent Licenſe, where the Perſons are ſo well known unto him (as thoſe of his own Pariſh muſt be) nor will he dare to marry without one. It may, I confeſs, be poſſible, that a Miniſter, to gratify ſome Gentleman of his Pariſh, who, he thinks, is able to protect him from the Penalty, or elſe make him Amends for what he ſuffers by it, may be prevailed with to celebrate a clandeſtine Marriage for his Sake, and thereby put an Obligation upon him, and all his Family and Friends, on Account of the Advantage uſually gotten to the Man by ſuch ſtolen Matches. But, in the Pariſh where the Woman lives, it will be quite otherwiſe: For, it being, for the moſt Part, the Man that ſteals the Woman, and not the Woman the Man, there, inſtead of obliging, he will injure, and that in ſo high a Degree, that the Family which ſuffers, with all their Friends and Relations (who, perchance, may make the major Part of the Pariſh) will be ſure to fall upon him with their utmoſt Reſentments; and, in this Caſe, a Miniſter will have but little Comfort of his Life among them afterwards, though he ſhould eſcape the Penalty of the Law; and ſcarce any being ſo weak as not to foreſee it muſt be ſo, where ſo juſt a Provocation is given: This alone will be a ſufficient Tie, were there no other to keep any Miniſter from betraying any of his own Pariſh. And, therefore, were one ſmall Alteration made in the Canon, and inſtead of the Pariſh-Church or Chapel where one of the Parties dwells, it were ordered, That all Marriages ſhould be celebrated in the Pariſh-Church or Chapel only where the Woman dwells (as, indeed, common Cuſtom hath already ordered it, in moſt Marriages that are not clandeſtine) I apprehend it would be a thorough Remedy to the whole Abuſe: However, were the Canons, as they now ſtand, punctually obſerved, this alone would go ſo far towards it, that there would not be ſo frequent Inſtances of this injurious Practice, as to alarm the Nation againſt us, as now we find they do, and provoke them to bring ſanguinary Laws upon us to prevent it.

But the Miſchief is, that, when the Church makes good Laws, our Courts, when they find them againſt their Intereſt, will not put them in Execution. For, were all obliged to be married in their own Pariſhes, it would cut off above half the Trade of granting Licenſes, which would very conſiderably diminiſh from the Profit which Chancellors, Commiſſaries, and Regiſters make of their Places. And, therefore, inſtead of executing the Canons above-mentioned (as is their Duty) they make it their whole Endeavour to baffle them, and make them of no Effect, by all the Tricks they are able. For,

1. They never take any ſuch Caution or Security, as the hundred and ſecond Canon enjoins in their Licenſes; but, on the Contrary, ſcarce ever direct any that they grant to the Pariſhes where the Parties dwell, but put in any other Pariſhes which the Parties to be married ſhall deſire, at what Diſtance ſoever they may be from the Places of their uſual Habitation, without any Regard at all had to the Canon which enjoins the contrary. Whereby Occaſion is given to abundance of Frauds in this Particular, which otherwiſe might be prevented.

2. Where-

2. Whereas the hundred and firſt Canon enjoins, That none ſhall grant any Licenſes, but ſuch as have epiſcopal Authority, or the Commiſſary of the Faculties, Vicars-general of the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, *ſede plenâ*, or the Guardian of the Spiritualties, *ſede vacante*, or Ordinaries exerciſing Right of epiſcopal Juriſdiction in their ſeveral Juriſdictions: And whereas the Law is, That thoſe Grants are only to be made before themſelves, and not before any Subſtitute whom they ſhall appoint, that all the Matters, requiſite to the Granting of a Licenſe, may be firſt well enquired into, as Whether there be any Precontract; Whether there be Conſent of Friends; Whether the Parties to be married are within the prohibited Degrees of Relation, or no, *&c.* which often require the Skill of the Judge himſelf to determine in them. The good Orders of the Church have been ſo far neglected in all theſe Particulars, and the Corruption of Officers in our Eccleſiaſtical Courts, for the Sake of Gain, hath run ſo high, that every Thing is done contrary to them in this Matter. For inſtead of Chancellors and Commiſſaries taking any Pains in the Particulars above-mentioned, or making any previous Examinations requiſite to prevent either Fraud, or illegal Copulations, they leave the whole Matter to their Regiſters, who, regarding nothing elſe, but to make the moſt of this Trade, by diſperſing and vending as many of thoſe Licenſes as they can, as often as they have Occaſion for them, ſeal them by Heaps, with Blanks reſerved to inſert the Names of any ſuch as ſhall afterwards come for them; and, as Cuſtomers come in, fill them up, without any other Enquiry of the Perſons concerned, than for their Money to pay for them. And when this Stock is ſpent, then they go to Sealing again; and, for the better Advancing of this unlawful Gain, they are not content to break all the good Orders of the Church concerning this Matter, themſelves, but alſo involve a great many of the Clergy, with them, in the Guilt and Scandal of this Corruption, by making ſome of them their Factors in every Deanry, for the Diſperſing of thoſe Licenſes; who, under the Name of *Surrogates*, are drawn in to be their Under-agents in ſo ſcandalous a Work, which is to the great Damage of the Church, as well as againſt all Right and Law. For,

1. No Chancellor or Commiſſary hath Power to make any ſuch Surrogates to act out of their reſpective Courts. For, although they now take upon them thus to do, it is only founded on a Clauſe in their Patents, which give them the Office to be executed, *aut per ſe, aut per ſufficientes Deputatos*. The Meaning of which only is, that, in Caſe of Sickneſs, Abſence on juſt Occaſions, or any other lawful Impediment, they may appoint others to hold their Courts for them, and expedite all other Acts uſually done out of Court; but not that they ſhould erect inferior Courts under them, as they do now by their Surrogates in every Deanry, to draw the more Griſt to their Mills; which is directly contrary to Law, and of infinite Prejudice to the Church, in corrupting and depraving all the good Orders and Diſcipline of it, and drawing thereby the *Odium* of the People upon the Governors thereof, by the frequent Acts of Injuſtice, which by clandeſtine Marriages are done unto them.

2. It is a very great Snare to Clergymen, in being thus made the Tools of thoſe Men's Knaveries, and may expoſe them to one of the moſt diſgraceful Puniſhments of the Law, that is, the Pillory. For to fill up a blank Inſtrument, after the Seal is put to it, is Forgery by the Law of the Land; and I had once the Curioſity to adviſe with one of the ableſt Lawyers in *England* about it, who aſſured me it was ſo; and although I urged the conſtant Practice of every Dioceſe in *England*, againſt it, he anſwered, *That would not alter the Law, but whoſoever ſhall inſert any Thing into an Inſtrument, after the Seal is put to it, will certainly be found guilty of Forgery in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *whenever proſecuted there for it. And, if a Clergyman once undergoes the diſgraceful Puniſhment due to that Crime, the Blot may be ſufficient to make his Miniſtry ineffectual all his Life after.*

3. It is making Clergymen Parties to Knavery and Fraud, and putting the Blame of the unjuſt Practices of Chancellors, Commiſſaries, and Regiſters, upon thoſe, who for the Reputation of the Church, as well as of themſelves, are moſt concerned to prevent them. And thereby a great Deal of Clamour is drawn upon us, which we can never prevent, as long as any of the Clergy are thus permitted in ſo mean and baſe a Manner to be ſubſervient to the Knavery and unjuſtifiable Practices of theſe Men. For they, regarding Nothing elſe but their Gain in the Choice of theſe, whom they appoint to be their Surrogates, chuſe only ſuch as are propereſt for their Purpoſe this Way, who, being of the poorer and meaner Sort, make their Ad-

vantage of the Employment, by marrying themſelves all thoſe that come to them for Licenſes, and, thereby advancing their own Gain as well as that of their Maſters, become the more diligent Agents for them. And I am told of ſome that keep Markets weekly for this Purpoſe, there expoſing their blank Licenſes to Sale, as Tradeſmen do their Wares, which they fill up for any that will pay for them, without any other Reſerve, but that of the Marriage to themſelves, by putting in only thoſe Churches for the Solemniſing of it, where they themſelves are Miniſters. But at beſt, though all Surrogates do not thus carry their blank Licenſes to Market, yet all keep Shops of them, at Home, and ſeldom or never refuſe any Cuſtomer that comes on how unjuſtifiable an Account ſoever. And therefore, when a Wedding comes to them, and a Marriage-Fee is to be gotten, without any further Enquiry, the blank Licenſe is brought forth, the Names of the Perſons to be married are inſerted into it, and then the Surrogate thinks himſelf ſafe, and away he goes to the Church with them, and there marries them by Vertue of a Licenſe from himſelf, without regarding how they come together, ſo he hath a Fee to his Maſters for the Licenſe, and another to himſelf for the Marrying of them. And, if it happens that any ſuch are afterwards queſtioned for theſe Marriages, the Licenſe is produced for their Juſtification, which being under the Seal of the Office, and in the Name of the Chancellor or Commiſſary that grants it, the Matter is uſually ſhuffled off, and no Juſtice at all done to any that complain of the Injuries, that they ſuffer in this Kind. For the Truth is, was the Thing brought to an Examination, the Law would excuſe the Miniſter, who produceth the Licenſe (unleſs his being Party to the Fraud were proved upon him, which he uſually takes Care to provide againſt in the Manner of tranſacting it) and lay the whole Blame upon the Chancellor or Commiſſary, in whoſe Name it is granted, who uſually know Ways enough to baffle all Proſecution, that ſhall be made againſt them on this Account, and therefore, no Examples being made of thoſe that offend in this Kind, they are the more bold ſtill to go on in the ſame illegal Practices, and the Church infinitely ſuffers in its Reputation thereby; and in Truth, no Excuſe can be made in this Particular, while our Governors, who have Officers under them for the putting the Laws of the Church in Execution, permit them thus in ſo ſcandalous a Manner to corrupt them all for their own Advantage.

Of which ſcandalous Corruption, being abundantly ſenſible, by what I found of it, where concerned, about two Years ſince, I ſet myſelf to reform it, and drew up a Monitory to be ſent to all the Clergy of my Juriſdiction, wherein I inhibited them to marry any either by Licenſe, or otherwiſe, unleſs one of the Parties lived in their Pariſh, according as it is enjoined in the Canon above mentioned. But hereon the Commiſſary and Regiſter came to me with open Mouths, complaining, *that this would totally ſpoil their Places.* To which I anſwered, that my Buſineſs was not to take Care of their Places, but that the Canons be kept; and if they would make Gain, by what was inconſiſtent herewith, they were not to be tolerated in it. Whereon the Commiſſary told me, that, *although the Canon was as I ſaid, yet he could aſſure me, that the Practice was quite the contrary, through the whole Kingdom; and that ſince the Archbiſhops, and all their Suffragans thought fit to tolerate it, he thought it would not become me to contradict it.* And on Inquiry, finding it really to be ſo, as he told me, I was forced to let the Matter fall, becauſe I thought it would appear a ridiculous Singularity in me, to attempt a Reformation in that which the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of our Church thought fit, in all Parts of the Nation beſides, to allow. And beſides, I had an Account given me, that the late Biſhop of *Norwich* miſcarried in the ſame Attempt. For, on his firſt Coming to his Dioceſe, finding great Clamour about clandeſtine Marriages, he made his Chancellor and Commiſſaries call in all their Surrogations, and ſuppreſs all blank Licenſes, and ordered, that no Miniſter ſhould marry any, but whereof one of the Parties dwell in his Pariſh: And by this Means, for a While, Things were kept in good Order, but they had not been *long ſo*, but the Maſter of the Faculties, and the Vicar-General to the Archbiſhop, took the Advantage to ſend their Licenſes into the Dioceſe; which the Biſhop perceiving, and having no Authority to controul them herein, he thought it better, ſince he ſaw there was no Remedy, to ſuffer the Corruption to be ſtill continued by his own Officers, over whom he had ſome Awe, than by thoſe Interlopers, with whom he had nothing to do; and therefore relaxed all his former Orders, and left his Officers to proceed in the ſame Courſe as they did before; and the Miſchiefs,

Miſchiefs, which have ſince followed hereon, are too many to relate; but two very ſignal ones, in my Neighbourhood, I cannot paſs over; the one of a Man that hath married his Father's Wife, and the other of one that married a Woman, whoſe Huſband was alive in the next Pariſh, by Vertue of thoſe Licenſes. And this Courſe can never be remedied, unleſs the two Archbiſhops will be pleaſed to undertake it, and ſend their Orders to all their Suffragans, that the Canons be punctually obſerved in theſe following Particulars.

1. That all Surrogates, with blank Licenſes, be ſuppreſſed, and no Licenſe for Marriage at all granted, but by the Perſon himſelf, that hath Authority in this Particular, or the Deputy only who keeps his Seals, and preſides in his Court in his Abſence.

2. That all previous Examinations be made, and all Cautions and Securities carefully taken, which are by Law required, before any Licenſe be granted.

3. That no Pariſh Church or Chapel be put into the Licenſe for the Place of celebrating the Marriage, but thoſe only where one of the Parties, that are to be married, dwells. And if the Archbiſhops have Authority ſo to do (which I think they have, all Licenſes in this Kind being only *ex Gratiâ*) that they limit it to the Pariſh-Church or Chapel where the Woman dwells.

4. That a ſevere Proſecution be enjoined againſt all thoſe that tranſgreſs in any of the Premiſſes.

If the Bill paſs againſt clandeſtine Marriages, which I hear is now before the Parliament, I confeſs it will be too late for the Church to meddle with this Matter; but in caſe the Bill be caſt out (as perhaps it may) I think it will then be very proper for the Church to undertake the Buſineſs, and employ all the Authority it hath to reform ſo great an Abuſe. And if the Archbiſhops and Biſhops would be pleaſed ſo to do, to whom the Cogniſance of this Matter doth moſt properly belong, I know no Way can be more effectual for it, than the putting the Canons in Execution in the Particulars I have mentioned. And if this be done as ſoon as the Bill is caſt out, by a publick Order from the two Archbiſhops, to their reſpective Provinces, and the Biſhops be hearty and zealous in the Executing of it, I doubt not there will be theſe following good Effects thereof.

1. A ſpeedy Remedy will thereby be put to this great Abuſe, which hath raiſed the Clamour of the Nation ſo loud againſt us, and made ſo many diſaffected to the Church, by reaſon of the Injuries that ſome of their Families have ſuffered by our tolerating ſo unjuſtifiable a Practice among us.

2. Full Satisfaction will be given to thoſe who ſo earneſtly call for a Reformation in this Particular; which will be the moſt effectual Method of preventing the ill Deſigns of thoſe who endeavour the bringing of ſanguinary Laws upon us for this Purpoſe; which, if effected, will be a great Severity, and may prove a conſtant Snare to their Lives, whenever the People have Malice enough to raiſe a Proſecution againſt them.

3. It will ſtop the Mouths of thoſe who are too often heard to reproach the Biſhops with this whole Abuſe, as if the whole Reaſon of it were from this, That they ſold their Chancellors, Commiſſaries, and Regiſters Places, and therefore were bound to tolerate thoſe Officers under them in all their illegal Practices, that they may thereby the better raiſe the Money that they exacted from them, for their Admiſſion to thoſe Employments.

And thus far having ſtated to your Lordſhip this whole Caſe, and ſhewn you therein from whence the great Abuſe of clandeſtine Marriages ariſeth, the Manner how the Practice of it is grown ſo frequent, and the Means whereby it may be prevented, I earneſtly beſeech your Lordſhip to make Uſe of that Opportunity which God hath given you, in putting to your helping Hand for the Reformation of this Corruption, that the Reputation of our Church, and the Intereſt of ſo many Families that are Members of it, may not thus continually be ſacrificed to the illegal Gain, which Chancellors, Commiſſaries, and Regiſters reap to themſelves, from the Practice of it. In order whereto, I wiſh your Lordſhip would be pleaſed to lay the State of this whole Matter before my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that if the Parliament puts not that ſevere Act upon us for the Reformation of this Abuſe (as I hope they will not) his Grace may do herein, what in his great Wiſdom he ſhall ſee may be moſt conducing to the Good of the Church.

Tam,

Decemb. 11, 1691. *My* LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant.

A private

A private Letter ſent from one *Quaker* to another.

The following Letter *(which was really ſent from a Country* Quaker, *to his Friend in* London) *I here publiſh, not with Deſign to reflect on the* Quakers, *but that the Reader may ſee I am ſo impartial, that I will inſert every Thing wrote either by* Churchman, Preſbyterian, *or* Quaker, *&c. that I think deſerves it.*

Friend *John*,

'I Deſire thee to be ſo kind as to go to one of thoſe *Sinful* 'Men *in the Fleſh*, called an *Attorney*, and let him take 'out an *Inſtrument with a Seal fixed thereunto*, by means 'whereof we may ſeize the *Outward Tabernacle* of *George* 'Green, and bring him before the *Lamb-ſkin Men* at *Weſtmin-*'*ſter*, and teach him *to do, as he would be done by*: And ſo I 'reſt thy *Friend in the Light*.

R. G.

The *Golden Speech* of Queen *Eliſabeth*, to her laſt Parliament, *November* 30, *Anno Dom.* 1601. [From a *4to* Edition.]

Within theſe three-hundred Years laſt paſt, almoſt all Europe (*except* Muſcovy) *lived under the happy Form of a* mixt Monarchical *Government*; *having this Maxim of the Ancients, That* the King and the People's Intereſt are one and the ſame. *The King had his Dues, and the People had theirs*; *as it was then in* France, Spain, Germany, Poland, *&c. But the* Pope, *envying the Happineſs of Princes, and People, under this mild Monarchy*; *and to ſecure his new* Trentine *Antichriſtian Supremacy, having gotten his* Jeſuits *to be King's Confeſſors, flattered and wheedled Princes, that, as in the Text,* This ſhall be the Manner of your Kings; *God was giving the People the* Jus Divinum *of Government, when, in Truth, He was threatening them with the Plague of Tyrants! And this took ſuch Effect, as to turn the former eaſy Monarchies into* abſolute illegal Tyrannies; *which firſt began by* Lewis the Eleventh, *in* France, *and followed by that horrid Inquiſition in* Spain, *&c. So that* Europe, *and the* West-Indies,

Indies, *have been the Shambles of* Papal *Barbarities in the Maſſacres of Millions of* Chriſtians, *and other human Souls, ever ſince.*

Our wiſe Queen Eliſabeth, *therefore, having a right Regard to the general Good and Weal of the People, accommodated her Government to the true* Genius *of the* Monarchical *Inſtitution, as it then ſtood: For ſhe conſtantly courted the People, expreſſing her Monarchy was founded in the People's Affections: And by that Expedient kept up herſelf and Monarchy to that Height and Glory, as it firſt ſtood in its natural Foundation; and this againſt all Foreign Powers. And ſhe thus anſwered all the Ends of Government; for Factions and Parties were thus ſunk, the Intereſt of* Court *and* Country *were made* one, *and Virtue, Honeſty, and Piety were reſtored and encouraged.*

This Speech *ought to be ſet in Letters of* Gold, *that as well the Majeſty, Prudence, and Virtue of her gracious Majeſty, Queen* Eliſabeth, *might in* general *moſt exquiſitely appear; as alſo that her Religious Love, and tender Reſpect, which ſhe particularly, and conſtantly, did bear to her* Parliament, *in unfeigned Sincerity, might be nobly and truly vindicated, and proclaimed, with all grateful Recognition to God for ſo great a Bleſſing to his People of* England, *in vouchſafing them heretofore ſuch a gracious Princeſs, and magnanimous* Defender *of the* Reformed Religion, *and heroick* Patroneſs *of the* Liberty *of her Subjects, in the* Freedom *and* Honour *of their* Parliaments; *which have been, under God, the continual Conſervators of the Splendor, and Wealth of this Kingdom, againſt Tyranny and Oppreſſion.*

Her Majeſty being ſet under State in the Council-Chamber at White-Hall, *the Speaker, accompanied with Privy-Counſellors, beſides Knights and Burgeſſes of the Lower Houſe, to the Number of Eight-ſcore, preſenting themſelves at her Majeſty's Feet, for that ſo graciouſly and ſpeedily ſhe had heard and yielded to her Subjects Deſires, and proclaimed the ſame in their Hearing, as followeth:*

Mr. *Speaker*,

WE perceive your Coming is to preſent *Thanks* unto *Us*: Know, I accept them with no leſs Joy, than your Loves can have Deſire to offer ſuch a Preſent, and do more eſteem it, than any Treaſure of Riches; for thoſe *We* know how to prize, but *Loyalty*, *Love*, and *Thanks*, I account them invaluable: And though God hath raiſed Me high, yet this I account the Glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your Loves. This makes that I do not ſo much rejoice, that God hath made Me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over ſo thankful a People, and to be the Mean, under God, to conſerve you in Safety, and to preſerve you from Danger; yea, to be the Inſtrument to deliver you from Diſhonour, Shame, and Infamy; to keep you from Servitude, and from Slavery under our Enemies *, and cruel Tyranny, and vile Oppreſſion, intended againſt Us: For the better Withſtanding whereof, We take very acceptably your intended Helps, and chiefly in that it manifeſteth your Loves, and Largeneſs of Heart to your Sovereign. Of myſelf I muſt ſay this, I never was any greedy ſcraping Graſper, nor a ſtrict faſt-holding Prince, nor yet a Waſter; my Heart was never ſet upon any wordly Goods, but *only* for my Subjects Good. What you do beſtow on Me, I will not hoard up, but receive it to beſtow on you again; yea, my own Properties I account yours, to be expended for your Good, and your Eyes ſhall ſee the Beſtowing of it for your Welfare.

Mr. *Speaker*, I would wiſh you, and the reſt to ſtand up, for, I fear, I ſhall yet trouble you with longer Speech. Mr. *Speaker*, you give Me Thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you, thank them of the *Lower Houſe* from Me, for, had I not received Knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the Lapſe of an Error, only for Want of true Information. Since I was Queen, yet did I never put My Pen to any Grant, but upon Pretext and Semblance † made Me, that it was for the *Good* and *Avail* of My Subjects *generally*, though a private Profit to ſome of My antient Servants, who have deſerved well; but that My Grants ſhall be made Grievances to My People, and

* The *Pope* and *Popiſh* Princes, eſpecially the King of *Spain*. † Repreſentation.

Oppreſ-

Oppreſſions, to be privileged under Colour of Our *Patents*, Our Princely Dignity ſhall not ſuffer it. When I heard it, I could give no Reſt unto my Thoughts until I had reformed it, and thoſe Varlets, lewd Perſons, Abuſers of My Bounty, ſhall know that I will not ſuffer it. And, Mr. *Speaker*, tell the Houſe from Me, I take it exceeding grateful that the Knowledge of theſe Things are come unto Me from them. And though, amongſt them the principal Members are ſuch as are not touched in private, and therefore need not ſpeak from any Feeling of the Grief, yet We have heard that other Gentlemen alſo of the Houſe, who ſtand as free, have ſpoken as freely in it; which gives Us to know, that no Reſpects or Intereſts have moved them, other than the Minds they bear to ſuffer no Diminution of Our Honour, and our Subjects Love unto Us. The Zeal of which Affection tending to eaſe my People, and knit their Hearts unto Us, I embrace with a Princely Care, far above all earthly Treaſures. I eſteem my People's Love, more than which I deſire not to merit; and, God, that gave Me here to ſit, and placed me over you, knows that I never reſpected Myſelf, but as your Good was concerned in Me; yet what Dangers, what Practices, and what Perils I have paſſed, ſome, if not all of you know, but none of theſe Things do move Me, or ever made Me fear, but it is God that hath delivered Me. And, in My governing this Land, I have ever ſet the laſt Judgment-Day before My Eyes, and ſo to rule, as I ſhall be judged and anſwer before a higher Judge, to whoſe Judgment-Seat I do appeal, in that never Thought was cheriſhed in My Heart that tended not to My People's Good. And if My Princely Bounty have been abuſed, and My Grants turned to the Hurt of My People, contrary to my Will and Meaning, or if any in Authority under Me have neglected, or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their Culps * to my Charge. To be a King, and wear a Crown, is a Thing more glorious to them that ſee it, than it is pleaſant to them that bear it; for Myſelf, I never was ſo much enticed with the glorious Name of a King, or the Royal Authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made Me his Inſtrument to maintain his Truth and Glory, and to defend this Kingdom from Diſhonour, Damage, Tyranny, and Oppreſſion. But ſhould I aſcribe any of theſe Things unto Myſelf, or My Sexly Weakneſs, I were not worthy to live, and of all moſt unworthy of the Mercies I have received at God's Hands; but to God only and wholly all is given and aſcribed. The Cares and Trouble of a Crown I cannot more fitly reſemble, than to the Drugs of a learned Phyſician, perfumed with ſome aromatical Savour, or to bitter Pills gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable, or leſs offenſive, which indeed are bitter and unpleaſant to take; and for My own Part, were it not for Conſcience-Sake, to diſcharge the Duty that God hath laid upon Me, and to maintain his Glory, and keep you in Safety, in My own Diſpoſition I ſhould be willing to reſign the Place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the Glory with the Labours; for *it is not My Deſire to live or reign longer, than My Life and Reign ſhall be for your Good.* And, though you have had, and may have, many *mightier* and *wiſer* Princes ſitting in this Seat, yet you *never* had, nor ſhall have any, *that will love you better.*

Thus, Mr. *Speaker*, I commend Me to your loyal Loves, and yours to My beſt Care, and your further Counſels; I pray you Mr. *Comptroller*, and Mr. *Secretary*, and you of My Council, that, before theſe Gentlemen depart into their Countries, you bring them all to kiſs My Hand.

* Faults.

A Nar-

A Narrative of the Proceedings of a great Council of *Jews*, aſſembled in the Plain of *Ageda* in *Hungary*, about thirty Leagues diſtant from *Buda*, to examine the Scriptures concerning *Chriſt*, on the Twelfth of *October*, 1650. By *Samuel Brett*, there preſent.

Alſo, A Relation of ſome other Obſervations in his Travels beyond the Seas; and particularly in *Egypt*, *Macedonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Calabria*, *Apuleia*, *Sicily*, *Aſſyria*, *Sclavonia*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; the Iſlands of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Patmos*, and *Delphos*; the Cities of *Carthage*, *Corinth*, *Troy*, *Conſtantinople*, *Venice*, *Naples*, *Leghorn*, *Florence*, *Milan*, *Rome*, *Bottonia*, *Mantua*, *Genoa*, *Paris*, &c.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, printed at *London*, for *Richard Moon*, at the *Seven Stars* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, near the great North-Door, 1655.]

The Contents of this Pamphlet are very extraordinary; ſome of them of the laſt Importance to the Chriſtian *Commonweal, and all of them Matter of great Curioſity, and ſcarce to be met with in any other* Engliſh *Hiſtorian. As for the Author, take his own Account of himſelf as follows:*

There was nothing I more deſired, than to travel beyond the Seas, and to know the various Manners of the Nations of the World; for which, through God's Providence, I had an Opportunity offered me, to my great Satisfaction, being Chirurgeon of an *Engliſh* Ship in the Streights, where, for a Cure that I did for *Orlando de Spina* of *Gallipoli*, an eminent Man in thoſe Parts, I was by him preferred to be Captain of a Ship of *Malta*, which was ſet out by the ſaid *Orlando*, and committed to my Command againſt the *Turks* in the Arches, in Aſſiſtance to the *Venetians*; in the which Service I ſpent about nine Months, till the tempeſtuous Seaſon of the Year forced me to return into Harbour again. And, in this Time of Employment, I made five Fights at Sea, and two at Land; being choſen, by Lot, to invade the *Turk*'s Country, with a certain Company of Soldiers collected out of our Fleet, to do ſome Execution upon the Borders of the Enemy, and to get ſome Proviſion for our Relief; in all which Fights, tho' very perilous,

God gave me the Victory. The whole Time I ſpent beyond the Seas, before and after this Employment, was almoſt four Years, not ſtaying long in any one Place. But firſt I travelled to all the Sea-Towns of Note for Merchandiſing, to know the Trade of the Places, and the Conveniency of their Harbours, that I might be able to do ſome profitable Service in Merchant Affairs. Alſo I travelled into ſeveral Countries, and the moſt eminent Cities and Towns therein, *viz. Egypt*, *Macedonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Calabria*, *Apuleia*, *Sicily*, *Aſſyria*, *Sclavonia*, and ſome Parts of *Spain* and *Portugal*; to the Iſlands of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Patmos*, and *Delphos*; to *Carthage*, *Corinth*, *Troy*, and *Conſtantinople*; beſides many other Towns and Places; but my longeſt Abode was in *Italy*, and therein at *Venice*, *Naples*, *Leghorn*, *Florence*, *Milan*, *Rome*, *Bottonia*, *Mantua*, *Genoa*, &c. And at laſt, looking Homeward, I came into *France*, taking a brief View of many eminent Places in that Kingdom. And at *Paris* I found many of my Countrymen, of which, though ſome be Perſons of great Quality, yet, God knoweth, they are in a low Condition. And, now, I ſhall give a brief Account of ſome of my Obſervations, during the Time of my Abode beyond the Seas.

AT *Paris*, our Countrymen live peaceably, and enjoy our Religion without Diſturbance. There is a Place allowed them, with neceſſary Accommodations for the Exerciſe of Religion. Dr. *Steward* did often preach to them; and, for their Form of Worſhip, it is the ſame that was formerly in *England*, with the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Rites therein uſed; and alſo they continue the Innovations that were practiſed by many of our Clergy; as, Bowing at the Name of *Jeſus* towards the Altar, *&c.* which, I know, giveth Offence to the good *French Proteſtants*, who, to me, did often condemn thoſe Innovations for *Romiſh* Superſtitions; doubtleſs, they would do our Church and our Religion more Credit there, if they did uſe leſs Ceremony. As for the *French Papiſts*, truly they are more civil to them than was expected; for the Opinion of the World, where I have been, is but mean of that Nation. And, I believe, the *Italians* may be their Couſin-Germans, for both of them are falſe and faithleſs enough. And this Conſideration (God having taken away *Orlando*, my noble Friend, who did always much countenance me) did leſſen my Affection to continue in that Service; for my Soldiers were all *Italians*, except a few *Greeks*; and I never ſaw much Cauſe to be confident in their Fidelity; but it was chiefly for Fear of him, that they were ſo tractable to me.

As for Religion, in moſt Parts where I have been, it is generally the ſame with the Church of *Rome*; but for the *Grecians*, for amongſt them I was, they are neither pure *Proteſtants* nor pure *Papiſts*; I mean, neither only *Proteſtants*, nor only *Papiſts*, but their Religion is a Mixture of both; for, though they hold ſome Fundamentals with us, yet they follow many of the *Romiſh* Superſtitions; and, according to my Obſervation, they follow more the Religion of *Rome*, than the *Proteſtant* Church, and they are much poiſoned with Hereſies.

But of all Nations, according to my Obſervation, none are more zealous for the Religion of *Rome* than the *Spaniards*; who, I think, for this, are more *Romaniſts* than the *Romans* themſelves; for, with them, there is an Inquiſition, and in *Rome* I never heard of the ſame dangerous Snare *; there I had as much Freedom, as I could deſire; and more Courteſy than I could expect, without any Temptation to apoſtatiſe from my Religion.

As for the Occurrences that I met with, they were many, but theſe four were the moſt conſiderable:

Firſt, The Strangling of the *great Turk*, by the Janizaries, at which Time there was great Fear and Trouble in *Conſtantinople*; but they inthroned his Son, and this brought about a peaceable Settlement; and with him there were cut off divers *Baſha*'s Heads; all whoſe Heads, excepting the *great Turk*'s, lay three Days in Chargers before the Palace-Gate for the publick View of the People, which, they ſay, is the Cuſtom for the Noblemen that are beheaded.

* There is an Inquiſition at *Rome*, but not ſo rigorous.

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The *next* Thing is, The Flowing of the River *Nile* in *Egypt*, the Manner whereof is this: It beginneth to flow about the Fifteenth of *June*, every Year; the People know the Time thereof, and expect it accordingly; and this is after their Harveſt, which is uſually ended about the Beginning of *May*. As for Rain, there ſeldom falleth any in *Egypt*. During the Time the River is up, all the Country appeareth like Iſlands. Their Towns are ſeated upon Hills, and their lower Grounds are all covered with Waters; and the Inhabitants uſe ſmall Boats to paſs from Place to Place about their Affairs; and, becauſe they know the yearly Flowing of the *Nile*, they provide for the Safety of their Cattle till the Waters are waſted away again. There are alſo certain Pillars of Stone ſet up, with divers Marks upon them, by which they know the Degrees of the Riſing, and the uſual Heighth that the Waters do aſcend unto; and, if the Waters do aſcend above the higheſt Mark, they do expect ſome ſtrange Conſequence thereof. But the greateſt Wonder is the preſent Ceſſation of the Plague upon the Flowing of this River. There died ſome Thouſands of the Plague, the Day before the Flowing of the *Nile*, in *Grand Cairo*, as they certified me; and, a Day or two after, not one Perſon died of the Infection. This I obſerved, that the Land is full of unhealthy Fogs, Miſts, and Vapours, which cauſe the Diſeaſe; and it ſeems the Waters of the *Nile* do purify it again.

In the Kingdom of *Grand Cairo*, alias, *Pharaoh*'s Town, is the City, and it is greater than any elſewhere I did behold; but *Memphis* is the nearer City; and being there, I went to ſee the Land of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* did inhabit: This is a very pleaſant and fruitful Land for Paſture, ſuch as I have no where ſeen the like. At this Time alſo, I had an Opportunity to ſee the *Red-Sea*, and the Place where (as they informed me) the *Iſraelites* did enter their Journey through the ſame; there alſo they ſhewed me the great Mountains that incloſed them, when *Pharaoh* purſued them with his great Army; and the Hills where the two Armies lay in Sight of one another; and there I found the true Reaſon why it is called the *Red-Sea*; not becauſe the *Water* is red naturally, but becauſe the *Sand* is red; and this was clear to me, by plain Demonſtration; for I put ſome of the Water into a clean Veſſel, and there I did ſee it had the ſame Colour of other Water; but the Sand is reddiſh, and giveth the ſame Colour to the Water.

I ſhall omit many other Things concerning *Egypt*; only this, it is under the *Turk*'s Dominion, and the Natives are his miſerable Slaves.

Thirdly, you may expect ſome News from *Rome*, where alſo I was, and did behold their great Solemnity, it being then the *Anno Sancto*, as they there call it) that is, the *Year of Jubilee*.

There I beheld the Pope in his Glory, and how in great State he was carried about the City; the Streets were thronged with the People; and, as he paſſed by, they made them even to ring with Acclamations and Rejoicings; he was carried by ſome eminent Men, having a rich Canopy over him. He made his Croſſes in the Air with his Fingers, and threw his Bleſſings amongſt them. And truly theſe Deluſions were ſo prevailing with the People, that (poor Souls) they ſeemed to me to rejoice, as if *Chriſt* himſelf had been come to *Rome*, and brought them down the Felicities of Heaven.

At one Time I beheld, in *Naples* (perhaps it will ſeem ſtrange, but it is true) about Eight-thouſand Pilgrims going to *Rome*, for their Abſolution; all which the Vice-Roy of *Naples* maintained three Days at his own Charge; and, on the fourth Day, they did preſent themſelves before him at his Palace in Pilgrim Weeds, *viz.* with leaden Pictures of Saints in their Hats, and leather Collars about their Necks, which fell down half Way over their Arms, and their Staves in their Hands; and thus they marched away from *Naples*, in the Poſture of an Army towards *Rome*, and ſo farewel *Rome*: *Vidi, ſatis eſt vidiſſe*; i. e. *I have ſeen it, and that is enough.*

I omit to recite many other Occurrences, which by Conference I ſhall willingly communicate to my Friends; they being too many to commit to Writing: Only now

The *fourth* remarkable Thing remaineth to preſent you withal; and that is,

The Proceedings of a great Council of *Jews* aſſembled in the Plain of *Ageda* in *Hungary*, about thirty Leagues diſtant from *Buda*, to examine the Scriptures concerning *Chriſt*, on the Twelfth of *October*, 1650.

It hath been much deſired by many honeſt *Chriſtians*, that this Narrative of the *Jews*

Council ſhould be publiſhed, which I did intend only to communicate to private Friends; the chief Argument, by which they have perſuaded me to do it, is, becauſe they do conceive it to be a Preparative, and hopeful Sign of the *Jews* Converſion; and, that it will be glad Tidings to the Church of *Chriſt*; and therefore I have yielded to ſatisfy their Deſires therein. And thus it was:

At the Place above-named, there aſſembled about *three-hundred* Rabbies, called together from ſeveral Parts of the World, to examine the Scriptures concerning *Chriſt*; and, it ſeems, this Place was thought more convenient for this Council, in Regard that Part of the Country was not much inhabited, becauſe of the continual Wars between the *Turk* and the King of *Hungary*; where (as I was informed) they had fought two bloody Battles; yet both Princes, notwithſtanding their own Differences, did give Leave to the *Jews* to hold their Council there. And, for their Accommodation there, the *Jews* did make divers Tents for their Repoſe, and had Plenty of Proviſions brought them from other Parts of the Country, during the Time of their ſitting there. There was alſo one large Tent, built only for the Council to ſit in, made almoſt four-ſquare; the North and the South Parts of it being not altogether ſo large as the Eaſt and Weſt Parts thereof. It had but one Door, and that opened to the Eaſt; and, in the Middle thereof, ſtood a little Table and a Stool for the Propounder to ſit on, with his Face towards the Door of the Tent. The ſaid Propounder was of the Tribe of *Levi*, and was named *Zacharias*; and within this Tent round about were placed divers Forms for the Conſulters to ſit on. It was alſo incloſed with a Rail, that ſtood a Diſtance from it, to prevent Entrance to all Strangers, and to all ſuch *Jews* as could not prove themſelves to be *Jews* by Record, or could not diſpute in the *Hebrew* Tongue, which many had forgotten, who lived in ſuch Countries, where they are not allowed their Synagogues, as in *France*, *Spain*, and thoſe Parts of *Italy* that do belong to the King of *Spain*, *viz.* the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Province of *Calabria*, and *Apuleia*; the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*; in which Places, if a *Jew* be found, and he deny the *Popiſh* Religion, he is in Danger to be condemned, and executed for it; and yet Profit and Benefit allureth them to dwell in thoſe Countries, notwithſtanding their Fears and Dangers; and themſelves are willing to forget and ſo neglect to teach their Children their native * Language, rather than they will loſe their Opportunity of Profit; and ſome have burnt the ancient Records of their Tribe and Family, that they might not be diſcovered by Searching, or otherwiſe. And for this Defect, that they could not prove their Tribe or Family, they were not permitted to come within the Rail, but were commanded to remain without with the Strangers that remained there, to ſee the Iſſue of their Proceeding, which were above Three-thouſand Perſons; and they were for the moſt Part of them *Germans*, *Almains*, *Dalmatians*, and *Hungarians*, with ſome *Greeks*, but few *Italians*, and not one *Engliſhman* that I could hear of beſides myſelf.

I was informed, that the King of *Hungary*, not favouring the *Reformed* Religion, did give no Encouragement to any *Proteſtant* Churches, to ſend any Divines thither; but he did allow, that ſome Aſſiſtants ſhould be ſent from *Rome*; and their Coming thither did prove a great Unhappineſs to this hopeful Council.

When the Aſſembly did firſt meet, they ſpent ſome Time in their mutual Salutations; and, as their Manner is, they kiſſed one the other's Cheek, expreſſing much Joy for their happy Meeting; and all Things being provided for their Accommodation, they conſidered of the *Jews* that were to be admitted Members of this Council; and they were only allowed to be Members, which could by Record prove themſelves to be native *Jews* †; and, for Defect herein, I obſerved above three-hundred refuſed; though, doubtleſs, they were true-born *Jews*, yet they could not by Record prove themſelves ſo to be; and for this they were not admitted to be Members of the Council; but they did abide without the Rail with the Strangers that were there; and the Number of them, that were accepted to be Members, was about three-hundred *Jews*. And this was all that was done the firſt Day.

On the ſecond Day, the Aſſembly being full, the Propounder ſtood up, and made his Speech concerning the End of their Meeting: And, *This*, ſaid he, *is to examine the Scriptures, concerning* Chriſt ‡, *whether he be already come, or whether we*

* Original. † *Jews* by original Record or Genealogy. ‡ The *Meſſiah*.

are

are yet to expect his Coming. In examining this Queſtion, they ſearched the *Old Teſtament* with great Care and Labour, to be reſolved of the Truth thereof, having many Bibles with them there for this End. And about this Point there were great Diſputes amongſt them. The *major* Part were of Opinion, *That he was not come*; and *ſome* inclined to think, *that he was come*; being moved thereunto by their great Judgment *, that hath continued now this 1600 Years upon them.

I remember very well, one of the Council, in his Conference with me, ſeemed to be very apprehenſive of the great and long Deſolation of their Nation, ever ſince their Deſtruction by the *Roman* Emperors; and he imputed this their Affliction to their Impenitency, and comparing their preſent Judgment with their other Judgments they had ſuffered before. The ſame he ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he did conceive it was for ſome great Wickedneſs; and that their Nation was guilty of the Blood of the Prophets ſent from God to their Nation, and the many Maſſacres that have been committed by the ſeveral Sects and Factions amongſt them. *For*, ſaid he, *we are no Idolaters, neither do I think we were guilty of Idolatry ſince our Captivity in* Babylon; *and therefore*, ſaid he, *I do impute this our Calamity and preſent Judgment to the forenamed Cauſes*. And this is the Sum of that which was diſputed amongſt them, the ſecond Day of their Meeting; and ſo they adjourned till the next Morning, which was the third Day of their Meeting.

When, being aſſembled together again, the Point that was chiefly agitated was concerning the *Manner of* Chriſt's *Coming*. And, This, ſome ſaid, ſhall be like a *mighty Prince*, in the full Power and Authority of a King, yea, in greater Power than ever any King had; and that he will deliver their Nation out of the Power of their Enemies, and their Temple ſhall be rebuilt again; and that the Nations ſhall be of their Religion, and worſhip God after their Manner. For they hold, That the *Meſſiah* will not alter their Religion, whenſoever he cometh. And further, concerning his Parentage, they did agree in this, that he ſhould be *born of a Virgin*, according to the Prediction of the Prophets; and they agreed alſo, that he may be born of *ſuch* a Virgin, which might be of *mean* Note amongſt their Nation, as was the Virgin *Mary*. And here ſome of them ſeemed to me to incline to think, that *Chriſt* was come. Therefore when they came together again, the next Day, the Propounder demanded of them, if *Chriſt* was already come? And who they thought he was? And to this Demand they gave this Anſwer, That they thought *Elijah* was he, if he was come, becauſe he came with great Power, which he declared by ſlaying the Prieſts of *Baal*; and, for the Fulfilling of the Scripture, he was oppreſſed by *Ahab* and *Jezabel*; yet they eſteemed him to be more than a mortal Man, becauſe he ſo ſtrangely aſcended up into Heaven. And, becauſe this Opinion was contradicted by others, the Day following, they took into Examination the ſame Queſtion, to anſwer them that ſaid *Elijah* was not the *Meſſiah*. They of the contrary Opinion did urge the Care and Love of *Elijah*, for the Good of their Nation, in that he left them *Eliſha*, his Diſciple, to teach and inſtruct the People; which they expect to be the Care of their *Meſſiah*. Theſe were the chief Arguments they had to defend their Opinion; and, the ſame Day towards Night, it came into Queſtion amongſt them, *What he then was that ſaid he was the Son of God, and was crucified by their Anceſtors*. And, becauſe this was the great Queſtion amongſt them, they deferred the further Conſideration thereof, until the next Day.

When, meeting again, the *Phariſees* (for ſome of this Sect were amongſt them, that were always the Enemies of *Chriſt*) they firſt began to anſwer this laſt Night's Queſtion; and theſe by no Means would yield that he was the *Chriſt*; and theſe Reaſons they gave for their Opinion.

Firſt, becauſe (ſaid they) he came into the World like an ordinary and inferior Man, not with his Scepter, nor Royal Power; wherewith they affirmed the Coming of *Chriſt* ſhould be glorious. 2. They pleaded againſt him the *Meanneſs* of his Birth, in that his Father was a *Carpenter*; and this they ſaid was a Diſhonour, that *Chriſt* ſhould not be capable of. 3. They accuſed him to be an *Enemy* to *Moſes*'s Law, in ſuffering his Diſciples, and in doing Works himſelf, that were prohibited on the *Sabbath-day*; for they believe that the *Meſſiah*

* Of having neither Church nor Nation, and their being a Vagabond-People ever ſince the Deſtruction of their City and Temple.

will

will punctually and exactly keep the Law of *Moſes*; and where the Goſpel doth teſtify of *Chriſt*, that he did fulfil the Law, they reject the Teſtimony thereof, becauſe they do not own the Goſpel. But I obſerved, theſe Reaſons of the *Phariſees* did not ſatisfy all that heard them, but there ſtill remained ſome Doubt in ſome of them concerning *Chriſt*; for there ſtood up one *Rabbi* called *Abraham*, and objected againſt the *Phariſees* the Miracles that *Chriſt* wrought, whilſt he was upon Earth, as his Raiſing of the *Dead* to Life again, his making the *Lame* to walk, the *Blind* to ſee, and the *Dumb* to ſpeak. And the ſame *Abraham* demanded of the *Phariſees*, by what Power he did thoſe Miracles? The Anſwer, the *Phariſees* returned to him, was to this Purpoſe: They ſaid he was an *Impoſtor*, and a *Magician*; and blaſphemouſly traduced him of doing all his Miracles by Magick: Thus, ſaid they, he firſt cauſed them to be blind, to be dumb, to be lame; and then, by taking away his magical Charm, they were reſtored to their former Condition. Nevertheleſs, this Anſwer gave little Satisfaction to the ſaid *Abraham*; but thus he replied, that he could not charm thoſe that were born in that Condition, as blind, *&c.* and born alſo before *Chriſt* himſelf was born; as it appeareth ſome of them were: This ſeemed to him an abſurd Paradox; and truly the Preſſing of this Argument did almoſt put them to a Nonplus, till at laſt they had this Evaſion (though weak and vile) they were, ſaid they, by other Magicians convinced to be ſo in their Mothers Wombs; and that, although himſelf was not then born when they were born with theſe Evils, yet he being a great Diſſembler, and more cunning than any Magician before him, Power was given him, by the Devil, to remove thoſe Charms, which others had placed; and there was one *Phariſee* named *Zebedee*, that of the *Phariſees* there did moſt opprobriouſly revile him, and vehemently urge theſe Things againſt him; but I conceive he did it not to the Well-liking of many there that heard him, even Members of the Council. And as the *Phariſees* that Day played their Parts againſt him; ſo did the *Sadduces* alſo endeavour (for ſome of that Sect were alſo of the Council) to render *Chriſt* vile and odious to the reſt of the *Jews* that were aſſembled there. I obſerved it was with them as it was once with *Herod* and *Pilate*; though they two could not agree betwixt themſelves at other Times, yet they could agree together to crucify *Chriſt*; for the *Phariſees* and *Sadduces*, though they be much divided in Opinion among themſelves, yet did they at this Time too much agree to diſgrace and diſhonour *Chriſt* with their Lyes, Calumnies, and Blaſphemies; for the *Sadduces*, as well as *Phariſees*, did in other Things accuſe him for a grand Impoſtor, and for a Broacher of corrupt Doctrine; in that in his Goſpel he teacheth the Reſurrection from the Dead, which they there united to be true Doctrine; but it is no new Thing to ſee Factions diſſenting, to agree in ſome evil Deſign againſt others, as I found it by Experience; being at *Rome* in the Year 1650, which was the Year of their *Jubilee*, there was a great Strife between the *Jeſuits* and the *Friars* of the Order of St. *Dominick*, both which were againſt the *Proteſtants*; and although their Differences have been, by the Care and Vigilance of the *Pope*, ſo ſmothered, that the World hath not taken much Notice thereof, yet this Fire broke out into a Flame greater than ever it was before (as they certified me there) both by publick Diſputings, and by bitter Writings one againſt another, opening the Vices and Errors of one another's Faction, thus ſeeking to diſgrace one the other; which cauſed the *Pope* to threaten to excommunicate the Authors of all ſuch black and libellous Books, that did tend to the Diſhonour of his Clergy and Religion, to make them infamous to the World. But this by the Way.

We are now come to the ſeventh and laſt Day of their Council; and, on this Day, this was the main Quere amongſt them: If *Chriſt* be come, then *what Rules and Orders hath he left his Church to walk by?* This was a great Queſtion among them; and becauſe they did not believe the new Teſtament, nor would be guided by it, they demanded ſome other Inſtruction to direct and guide them, in this Point; thereupon ſix of the *Roman* Clergy (who of Purpoſe were ſent from *Rome* by the *Pope*, to aſſiſt in this Council) were called in, *viz.* two *Jeſuits*, two *Friars* of the Order of St. *Auguſtine*, and two of the Order of St. *Francis*; and theſe, being admitted into the Council, began to open unto them the Rules and Doctrine of the holy Church of *Rome* (as they call it) which Church they magnified to them, for the *Holy Catholick* Church of *Chriſt*, and their Doctrine to be the *infallible* Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and their Rules to be the Rules, which the Apoſtles left to the Church for ever to be obſerved, and that the *Pope* is the holy *Vicar* of Chriſt, and the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*;

Peter; and for Inſtance, in ſome Particulars, they affirmed the *real Preſence* of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, the *Religious* Obſervation of their *Holy Days*, the *Invocation of Saints*, *Praying* to the Virgin *Mary*, and her *commanding Power* in Heaven over her Son; the holy Uſe of the *Croſs* and *Images*, with the reſt of their idolatrous and ſuperſtitious Worſhip; all which they commended to the Aſſembly of the *Jews*, for the Doctrine and Rules of the Apoſtles. But, as ſoon as the Aſſembly had heard theſe Things from them, they were generally and exceedingly troubled thereat, and fell into high Clamours againſt them, and their Religion, crying out, *No* Chriſt, *no Woman-God*, *no Interceſſion of Saints*, *no Worſhiping of Images*, *no Praying to* the Virgin *Mary*, &c. Truly their Trouble hereat was ſo great, that it troubled me to ſee their Impatience; they rent their Cloaths, and caſt Duſt upon their Heads, and cried out aloud, Blaſphemy, Blaſphemy! and, upon this, the Council broke up: Yet they aſſembled again, the eighth Day; and all that was done then, was to agree upon another Meeting of their Nation three Years after, which was concluded upon before their final Diſſolution.

I do believe there were many *Jews* there, that would have been perſuaded to own the Lord *Jeſus*; and this I aſſure you for a Truth, and it is for the Honour of our Religion, and the Encouragement of our Divines, one eminent *Rabbi* there did deliver his Opinion, in Conference with me, that he at firſt feared that thoſe, which were ſent from *Rome*, would cauſe an unhappy Period to their Council; and profeſſed to me, that he much deſired the Preſence of ſome *Proteſtant* Divines, and eſpecially of our *Engliſh* Divines, of whom he had a better Opinion, than of any other Divines in the World; for he did believe that we have a great Love to their Nation; and this Reaſon he gave me for their good Opinion of our Divines, becauſe he underſtood that they did ordinarily pray for the Converſion of their Nation; which he did acknowledge to be a great Token of our Love towards them; and, eſpecially, he commended the Miniſters of *London*, for excellent Preachers, and for their Charity towards their Nation; of whom he had heard a great Fame. As for the Church of *Rome*, they account it an idolatrous Church, and therefore will not own their Religion; and by converſing with the *Jews*, I found that they generally think, that there is no other *Chriſtian* Religion in the World, but that of the Church of *Rome*; and for *Rome*'s Idolatry, they take Offence at all *Chriſtian* Religion; by which it appeared that *Rome* is the greateſt Enemy of the *Jews* Converſion.

For the Place of the *Jews* next Meeting, it is probable it will be in *Syria*, in which Country I alſo was, and did there converſe with the Sect of the *Rechabites*, living in *Syria*; they ſtill obſerve their old Cuſtoms and Rules; they neither ſow nor plant, nor build Houſes; but live in Tents, and often remove from one Place to another, with their whole Family, Bag and Baggage. And ſeeing I find that, by the *Italian* Tongue, I can converſe with the *Jews*, or any other Nation, in all the Parts of the World, where I have been; if God give me an Opportunity, I ſhall willingly attend their next Council. *The good Lord proſper it.* Amen.

The

The Art of good Huſbandry, or the Improvement of Time: Being a ſure Way to get and keep Money. In a Letter to Mr. *R. A.* by *R. T.* With Permiſſion, *Auguſt* 7, 1675. *Roger L'Eſtrange.*

[From a *Quarto* Edition, printed at *London*, for *J. G.* in the Year MDCLXXV.]

In this Tract are preſcribed ſeveral Rules, for Merchants, Shop-keepers, *and* mechanical Tradeſmen *(as well Servants as Maſters) how they may huſband their Time, to the beſt Advantage; the Loſs whereof is the ſole Cauſe of Poverty in this City and Nation. Likewiſe, the Loſs of a Man's Time ſpent in a* Tavern, Coffee-houſe, *or* Alehouſe, *computed. Alſo Inſtructions to all Sorts of People, how to order their Buſineſs for the Future, both to the Inriching of themſelves and their Families.*

SIR,

IN Compliance to your late Requeſts, obliging me to write to you, as ſoon as I came to *London*, I have ſent you the Reſult of a few ſerious Minutes concerning the great *Decay of Trade, and Want of Money*; which is now the general Cry of all People both in City and Country; the Grounds and Reaſons of which many have attempted to find out, by curious Inquiries into the ſeveral *Laws* and *Statutes* made for the Promoting of Trade, ſuppoſing the Non-execution of thoſe Laws to be the Occaſion of it. To this End large Diſcourſes have been made concerning the Decay of the *Fiſhing Trade*; ſeveral Propoſals offered by ingenious Perſons for the Reſtoration of it; and the great Advantages that would enſue thereupon; with the many Damages deſtructive to Trade in general, that ariſe from the Inquiries into the *Wool-Trade*, alledging the Exportation of Wool, the Importation of foreign Manufactures, and the Permiſſion of Foreigners to work here, to be the chief Cauſe of that *Decay of Trade*, and *Want of Money*, which every Perſon complains of.

Now though the Grounds and Reaſons before-mentioned are guarded with ſo many Probabilities, and ſeeming rational Demonſtrations, that every underſtanding Perſon will be ready, at the firſt View, to hold up his Finger and give his Aſſent to them; yet upon critical Inſpection, or more curious Survey, we ſhall find them to be only circumſtantial.

There is ſomething more material which is near us, that we overlook by looking ſo far off; that is, The little Value or Price we ſet upon that ineſtimable Jewel, *Time*, which moſt People ſlight, like the *Cock* in the *Fable*, if they cannot make uſe of it, to ſatisfy their laſcivious Appetites. *It is the induſtrious Hand, that inricheth the Land, and not the contriving Pate.* The Waſps and Hornets, by their Rapine, bring to their Neſts more Honey at once, than the induſtrious Bees can at many Times; and yet, for all this, they uſually die for Want in the Winter; whilſt the induſtrious Bees, by continual Labour and Improvement of *Time*, gather ſufficient to ſerve themſelves in the Winter, and can afford their Maſters a liberal Share out of their plentiful Stock.

I ſhall firſt begin with the *inferior Rank* of *People*, for thoſe are the Perſons moſt concerned in this general Complaint, and ſhew them, how they may remedy what they complain of.

Firſt,

First, Let them be *diligent* and *industrious* in their several *Trades* and *Callings*.

Secondly, Let them *avoid* all such *idle* Societies, that squander away a great Deal of *Time*, at a cheap Rate.

I shall Instance in those sober and civil Conventions, as at *Coffee-houses*, and *Clubs*, where little Money is pretended to be spent, but a great Deal of precious *Time* lost, which the Person never thinks of; but measures his Expences, by what goes out of his Pocket; nor considers what he might put in by his Labour, and what he might have saved, being employed in his Shop. As for Example:

A *mechanick Tradesman*, it may be, goes to the *Coffee-house* or *Ale-house* in the Morning, to drink his *Morning's-Draught*, where he spends *Two-pence*, and in Smoaking and Talking, consumes at least an *Hour*: In the Evening, about *Six* o'Clock, he goes to his *Two-penny* Club, and there stays for his *Two-pence* till *Nine* or *Ten*; here is *Four-pence* spent, and *four Hours* at least lost, which, in most mechanick Trades, cannot be reckoned less than a *Shilling*; and, if he keep Servants, they may lose him near as much by Idling, or Spoiling his Goods, which his Presence might have prevented. So that, upon these Considerations, for this his *supposed Groat* (a Day's Expence) he cannot reckon less than *seven Groats*; which comes to *fourteen* Shillings a *Week* (*Sundays* excepted) which is *Thirty six Pounds ten Shillings* a *Year*. A great Deal of Money in a poor Tradesman's Pocket!

Now the same may be applied to the *higher* Trades and Professions, whose Loss of *Time* is according to the Degree, or Spheres they move in; and yet this is the least Thing thought of. We are apt to favour and excuse ourselves, and impute a general Calamity to Things afar off, when we ourselves are the Occasion of it at Home.

It will be necessary, before I proceed, to take Notice of one *Objection*, which seems to be most material, *viz.* That some Men's Business lies Abroad, and cannot be so well managed at Home, and that these Meetings, or Societies, are advantageous to them. As first, Merchants, by these *Clubs* or *Meetings*, have Intelligence of *Ships* going out, and coming in; and also of the Rates and Prices of *Commodities*, and meet with *Customers* by Accident, which possibly might never make Inquiry at their Houses or Warehouses. The like Excuses all Men of Business and Trade pretend.

To this I answer: That Indulging this Custom, hath made it *seemingly* necessary; but yet there is no *absolute* Necessity for it; for the *Exchange* is appointed for the Merchant's Intelligence, and his *Ware-house* is his Shop. And, to other Tradesmen, their *Shops* are their Markets; to which, if they would be reserved, they might better themselves, and improve that *Time*, they spend in *Taverns* and *Coffee-houses*, to a greater Advantage: For, by these *idle Meetings*, they lose not only what they spend, but what might be improved by the Overseeing their Goods, and Examining their Accounts, which they now wholly trust to the Fidelity of a Servant or Servants; who, being led by their Masters Examples, grow idle and extravagant; and, knowing their Masters sure, make sure for themselves; furnishing themselves for their debauched Assignations, they now plot and invent the Means and Ways for their extravagant Meetings, which are the Occasion of the Ruin of many Masters, and hopeful Servants; all which might be prevented by the diligent Eye of the Master; the Want of which is the Occasion of all the Debauchery, Poverty, and Misery, which every Place cries out of. From this Negligence and Loss of *Time*, come many more Inconveniencies, that heap on Poverty, and entail it upon themselves and Generations.

From these *Clubs* and *Societies* (how civil soever they appear to be) it is impossible in any such Meeting, but some of them are given to Vice; and it is probable, the greatest Part: By this Means are introduced *Gaming*, *foolish Wagers*, *Wenching*, *Swearing*, and *other Debaucheries*. And usually at Parting, or Breaking up of these Clubs, they divide themselves according to their several Inclinations or Dispositions; some go to a Tavern, some to a convenient Place for Gaming, others to a Bawdy-house, by which Means, the Family is neglected, and not governed as it ought to be; the Wife (though possibly a very virtuous and careful Housewife) exasperated by the Extravagancies of her Husband, and foreseeing Poverty and Want attending her, and her Children, grows desperate; and, it may be, yields to some Temptations that are too common in these Days; by which Means, oftentimes an Estate, that was gathered by Grains, is scattered abroad by Bushels.

The Servants too, by these Examples, fall into the same Vices, and many Times ruin both themselves and their Friends, who have strained their Estates to the utmost, to get them into those Places, and engaged their Friends for their

Fidelity, hoping that their Induſtry might afterwards make them ſome Retaliation; all which is fruſtrated, and they become Vagrants and Extravagants, by which Means City and Country are filled with ſo many idle Perſons, that live only by Spoil and Rapine; or like Droans, feeding upon others Labours; the greateſt Part of their Buſineſs being to undo what others do, and to deviſe or contrive Ways to cozen, ſupplant, or cheat each other; accounting it as lawful to get twenty Shillings by Cheating or Playing, as by the moſt honeſt and induſtrious Labour; ſo that, by this Means, our Commodities, which might be employed by induſtrious Manufacturers, lie waſte; and no Wonder that we complain for Want of Trade, when the Hands, that ſhould be employed about it, are idle; for, if a ſtrict Inquiry were made into the City and Suburbs, of all the Perſons that are capable of Work, either in the *Wool* or *Fiſhing-Trade*, as Men, Women, and Children from ſeven Years upwards, that are now all together idle, or not employed to any Purpoſe, in Trade, there would not be found leſs than an *Hundred and Fifty-thouſand*, that live like Droans, feeding upon the Stock of others Labours.

Now, it is our own *Negligence* and *Idleneſs* that brings *Poverty* upon us; for, if theſe idle Perſons were employed, we need not cry out of the *Exportation of Wool*, neither would *induſtrious Foreigners* have that Encouragement to work here, if we would mind it ourſelves; but, if we will not improve our Manufactures, we cannot blame others for doing of it.

Now it will be ſuppoſed, that, by thoſe Laws for ſetting idle People to work, puniſhing Vagrants, and rectifying Diſorders in Publick-houſes, all this might be prevented: This commonly is our *laſt Shift*, and thus are we apt to excuſe ourſelves, and lay the Burden of our own Faults upon the Shoulders of our Governors; we may be very ſenſible, that we have in this Kingdom as good Laws as in any Place in the World; we live under ſuch a King, that, for Prudence and Wiſdom, no Empire or Kingdom can make Compariſon with us; nor can Laws be better executed than in this Kingdom: But it is impoſſible that the Eye of Magiſtracy can ſee into every Corner; every ſingle Perſon hath a Corporation within himſelf; every Family is a petty Principality, of which, the Maſter or Miſtreſs is Vicegerent; it lies upon every private Perſon to put in Execution thoſe Laws of Nature within himſelf, that will inform him, what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do. Every Governor or Governeſs of a Family ſhould take Care, by their good Examples, to inſtruct their Families; and ſeverely to puniſh ſuch Diſorders as ſhall be committed in their Houſe or Houſes, as far as their Power doth extend; the Remainder they may leave to the Magiſtrates, who will not be wanting on their Parts.

Now ſince every one is guilty, let us endeavour to mend, and no longer complain of Want, ſince it is in our Power to inrich ourſelves and our Country. *The induſtrious Hand needs not make a Leg to Fortune for Wealth; nor the honeſt Heart bend his Knee to Flattery, to gain him a Reputation.* Theſe are the Heads of what afterwards I ſhall preſent you with, methodically handled in a Treatiſe, which, as this finds Acceptance, will before long, ſee the Light.

In the mean Time, I am

Yours to command,

R. T.

Propoſals

Propoſals for carrying on an effectual War in *America*, againſt the *French* and *Spaniards*.

Bellum juſtum, quibus neceſſarium, & pia Arma, quibus in Armis ſpes eſt. TIT. LIV.

Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Honourable the Houſe of Commons.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, printed at *London*, in the Year MDCCII.]

ALL *Europe* is juſtly alarmed at the Succeſſion of *Spain* ſo unexpectedly falling to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, already too great: The intire Reconciliation, and, as may be ſaid, Union of theſe two formidable Monarchies, cannot but with good Reaſons cauſe the utmoſt Jealouſies in all their Neighbours, who may be in Danger of becoming their Prey. Inſomuch that a general Confederacy, and well-cemented League, is abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport a vigorous and ſudden War.

If you give theſe two Powers Time, they will more firmly unite together, induced to it, by the Apprehenſions they have of other Nations. The *French* will inſpire the *Spaniards* with their active and martial Temper,

——Reſideſq; movebit.
Rurſus ad Arma Viros.

with their Art of Government and Management of their Revenues, with their Methods of advancing and engroſſing Trade; and we muſt expect in a ſhort Time to ſee the Riches of the *Weſt-Indies* fall into the Hands of theſe two Nations, and they exclude all others.

Of all their Neighbours the *Engliſh* have the greateſt Intereſt to hinder this Miſchief, and *England* is the only Power that can, and ought to do it; ſince its Colonies are ſo vaſt and populous, and ſince *America* is the only Place where *England* can well with Honour and Profit enlarge its Dominions, and ſoon become the moſt potent Nation in the World: And it looks as if Providence had pointed out that Way, when we conſider the vaſt Increaſe of the *Engliſh* in the *Weſt-Indies*.

The *Engliſh* may eaſily ruin all the *French* Colonies in *America*, and drive all the *Spaniards* out of their vaſt, but ill-fortified Plantations: They are effeminate, and would ſurrender to a general Enemy, and many of them are willing to be tranſported to *Spain*, where they have Eſtates in Land or Money.

The *Spaniards* have poſſeſſed the Fountains of Gold and Silver long enough; it is high Time, they ſhould paſs into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, who have in the ſame Part of the World ſo many populous Colonies, and out of which young People may be drawn, and tranſported to better Places, as Swarms out of Beehives, to the incredible Advantage of the Nation in general.

If twenty-four Years Experience in thoſe Parts, ſome Employments not very inconſiderable in Peace and War, which the Writer of this Paper has had among the *Engliſh* and the *French*; if having ſeen and been concerned in moſt, if not all the Actions that have been in

thoſe Countries; if all theſe Things can enable him to judge rightly of the Matter, he thinks that he may, upon very good Grounds, affirm, That a War in *America* may be very practicable, and, with God's Aſſiſtance, very ſucceſsful.

The Miſcarriages and ill Succeſs of moſt of the Undertakings there in the late War, and the great Mortality which fell among the Forces ſent thither, is, perhaps, an Objection, but many Things may be replied to it: The Incapacity of moſt of the Commanders, their little Skill in military Affairs, the Diſaffection in ſome, the Want of Diſcipline and Order in general: And you may add to this, the ill Practices about the Plunder; ſuch Diſorders will hinder the beſt Troops from doing any Thing, much more ſuch People as thoſe Forces were compoſed of.

As to the Mortality and the great Loſs of Men, it could not well be otherwiſe with unruly, drunken, and diſſolute People, who, falling ſick, had no Body to aſſiſt and look to them. Good Diſcipline, good Order, good Proviſions, good Phyſick, and ſuch like Neceſſaries, would certainly remedy all theſe Evils.

I do here, with all Submiſſion and Reſpect, propoſe a Method by which I am perſuaded, that a War may be carried on in *America* with very little Charge; I mean, by managing the Plunder, and other Things of that Nature, in ſuch a Manner as the propoſed War ſhould feed and maintain itſelf; and there is no Doubt, but that, making War, in a rich Country, if Affairs are rightly and honeſtly carried, the conquered People may be made to defray the Charges, and ſo conſequently the War will be enabled to ſupport and maintain itſelf.

I likewiſe propoſe to raiſe Forces as ſoon as poſſible in all the Colonies out of the young People, who could be more eaſily tranſported any where; I would order them all into Independent Companies, each of an hundred Centinels, with one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Enſign, and four Serjeants: When they form a Battalion, or go upon Service, the Eldeſt or Senior Officer ſhould command.

Regimenting of Forces is ſubject to a great many Inconveniences, and is of no Uſe when the Regiment is not all together, and ſerves in different Places; beſides that, the State-Major takes up all the Spoil.

All the Standing-Forces the *French* have, in *America*, and all their Militia are Independent Companies. When they draw into a Battalion, the Senior Officer takes the right Hand, and every other according to the Seniority of their Commiſſion; ſo that the Service is performed as well as if they had Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Majors, and it ſaves the King a great Sum of Money.

Perhaps his Majeſty may think it convenient to model after that Manner the Forces raiſed here in *England*, to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, ſince, in a Series of Time, it would ſave a great Sum of Money, pleaſe very much the Militia, and take off all Occaſions of Diſſatisfaction and Murmurings about the Diviſion of Spoil and Plunder, which might then be all equally divided to the ſeveral Companies, without Diſtinction of Standing and Militia Forces. The Militia never repines at the right Hand and Poſt of Honour being taken taken by the Standing-Forces, but cannot willingly ſee thoſe, who are allowed Pay, pretend to a greater Share than they who have no Salary, and endure commonly more Hardſhip, and are uſually put upon more difficult Service.

The Well-ordering of Plunder, and juſtly and impartially Dividing it, is of very great Conſequence; all our Diviſions and Miſunderſtandings proceeded from thence.

At the Taking of St. *Chriſtophers* ſome were very buſy about getting, hiding, ſecuring, and tranſporting of Plunder, whilſt others were intent on Service, and minded their Duty; ſo that the Diviſion of the Spoil and Plunder was not juſtly made.

I would provide good Arms and good Powder; and, as moſt of thoſe Countries have Store of Horſes, I would carry a great Number of ſmall ordinary Saddles and Bridles, to mount the greateſt Part of the Forces, and make them Dragoons, the moſt uſeful Sort of Troops.

People in thoſe Parts uſe, upon Travelling in Woods, or ſuch like Places, to carry along with them each Man his Pavilion to ſleep under and defend him from Gnats, a moſt troubleſome and intolerable Inſect, and of an extraordinary Bigneſs in ſome Places. This Pavilion is made of thin Canvas, in ſuch a Form that, being ſpread and ſupported upon ſome Sticks planted in the Ground, a Man lies under it, the Canvas falling like the Curtains of a Bed, and ſo leaves no Room for Gnats to get in. The Man has his Fuſee between his Legs, and lies upon ſome Graſs or Leaves, and in a March carries his Pavilion like a Shoulder-belt. Tents would never hinder the Gnats. This is the Buccaneers Faſhion, and by theſe Means their Incamp-

campments are ſoon made and ſoon raiſed.

Every Soldier ſhould have a good Fuſee with a Bayonet of that Sort, that he may fire off his Fuſee with the Bayonet fixed; one Piſtol and a good Sword, and one Pavilion; to every four Men I would give a braſs Pot, well tinned within, to dreſs Victuals, and a good Hatchet.

Of Ordnance I would carry eight braſs Guns, of eighteen, or at leaſt twelve Pounds Bullet, ſome hollow Bullets, and three or four Mortar-pieces of the middle Size; a great Number of Shells, ſome Field-pieces, Store of Hand-Granadoes, and all Ingredients for Carcaſes and Fire-works, with a good Quantity of the beſt Gun-powder, together with all Tools neceſſary for Miners and Pioneers.

Among the Shipping I would have two Bomb-Ketches: Out of every Ship may be drawn a ſufficient Number of People to ſerve the Batteries, or any Service a-ſhore for ſome Time. Theſe alſo to be ordered into Independent Companies.

Beſides the Forces to be ſent from *Europe*, his Majeſty may, out of all his Dominions in *America*, without any Danger or Prejudice to them, draw a great Number of briſk and active People, ſending thither before-hand ſome-body that ſhould carry them his Commiſſions, and encourage them to go where the Service ſhould require, and liſt them to that Purpoſe. The Officers would inſtruct and exerciſe them in the mean While, until they ſhould be ordered to march towards the Rendezvous.

What I propoſe of the Number of People, which may be drawn from every Place, may be altered more or leſs, as the Officer ſent, and the Governors of the reſpective Places, ſhall judge for the beſt.

Such an Army well governed, and wanting no Neceſſaries, nor Supplies of Arms and Ammunition, may, under the Command of good Officers, conquer and ſubdue all the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſecure to *England* the greateſt Part of the Riches of the World.

I obſerved before the ill Effects of ſharing the Plunder, and the bad Conſequences of it; the Remedy may be this: If his Majeſty would give Order that ſuch Plunder, as Pieces of Plate from Churches, publick and private Houſes, Sums of Money out of publick Houſes, Pigs of Silver, Ingots of Gold, Slaves, Coppers, Mills for Sugar, Quantities of Indigo, Cotton, Natto, Cocoa, Sugars, Tobacco, Hides, Dying Wood *&c.* be all reſerved for the King's Uſe, and ſuffer nothing to be plundered but Cloaths, Linnen, and looſe Money, which may be alſo conſiderable: And if, out of the Produce of the aforeſaid Goods retained and reſerved, the King would be pleaſed to give ſuch a Gratuity as he may think fit to his Standing-Forces, ſuch perhaps as may amount to half Pay, and whole Pay to his Militia, it would, I conceive, ſatisfy every Body, and prevent Diſorders and Murmurings. I reckon the Number of People each Colony may ſend, after this following Manner:

Places.	Companies.	Men.
Barbadoes,	4	400
Antegoa,	2	200
Mountſerrat,	1	100
Nevis,	2	200
St. Chriſtophers,	1	100
Jamaica,	5	500
Providence,	1	100
Bermudos,	1	100
Carolina,	8	800
Virginia,	40	4000
Penſilvania,	8	800
Mary-Land,	8	800
New-Jerſey,	8	800
New-York,	10	1000
New-England,	40	4000
Buccaneers,	10	1000
	149	14900
Officers to each Company,		596
	In all	15496 Men.

His Majeſty ſending out a general Pardon and Amneſty to all Buccaneer-Pyrates, would ſoon bring in a great Number of them, of all Nations: They agree well together againſt the *Spaniards*, would be fit for any Service, and ſoon be at *Jamaica*.

The *French* may have in *America*, by what I could obſerve myſelf, and learn of others, Men fit for Service.

	Men.
In *Cyenne*,	400
Martinico,	1500
Guardeloupe,	800
Marie Galante,	200
St. Chriſtophers,	500
Granada,	300
Hiſpaniola,	5000
Canada,	5000
In all	13700

The

The *Dutch* may have alſo in all,

In *Surinam*,	900
Eſſecape,	200
Berbiche,	200
Euſtathia,	200
Saba,	100
Curacao,	500
	2100 Men.

The *Spaniards* have not, in all *America*, by the beſt Informations I could get, One-hundred-thouſand Men; and, perhaps, not near ſo many: They are diſperſed into ſeveral Places, very diſtant one from another. It is eaſily to be believed, if we rightly conſider the Diſpoſition of the *Spaniards* in general; the Barrenneſs of their Women, and the Nature of the Country, where they are for the moſt Part ſettled.

New-England and *Virginia* can afford ſome Thouſands of Men more than I mention; *Virginia* eſpecially, which has no troubleſome Neighbours to fear: Two-thirds of the Inhabitants of *New-England*, all the People of *Peſcatway*, *Acadie*, and *Newfoundland*, live and depend upon the Fiſhing-Trade; the beſt Half of their Ships go for *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Streights*; the reſt are employed in Voyages to the Southern Colonies; ſo that moſt of thoſe People, if we have a War, will be at Leiſure, and may be very ſerviceable. In what I propoſe about the Iſlands, an Objection may ariſe, That they muſt keep their People to guard and defend themſelves. But this may be remedied, by tranſporting thither good Numbers of *Scotch* Servants, engaged to ſerve, as uſually, for ſo many Years. The Planters like them very well, and will freely entertain them. They will ſoon learn the Uſe of their Arms, and help to guard and defend the Place.

When I conſider the great Inconveniences which I have obſerved to attend Giving of the Plunder to Soldiers, the Difficulties, or rather, the Impoſſibilities of dividing it to their Content and Satisfaction, I cannot but urge and inſiſt again, on what I had but hinted at before, That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to grant and ſend his Commiſſions to all the Officers to be raiſed, to encourage them the better; and to allow them all, Officers and Soldiers, ſuch a Pay as they may deſerve, and eſteem juſt; conſidering that they ſhall have, whilſt upon Service, all Proviſions and Ammunitions found at the King's Charge.

And the King may eaſily do it, providing in Time good Store of Beef and Pork from *Ireland*; of Beef and Pork, Salt-fiſh, Biſket and Peaſe, from *New-England*; and a Ship or two loaded with Salt, if poſſible, from *France*, being the beſt to preſerve Fleſh and Fiſh.

There is, in moſt Parts of *America*, a vaſt Number of Cattle, wild and tame, of Sheep, Goats, and Hogs, finding Victuals for every Body. Killing and Deſtroying of Cattle and Stock ſhould be ſtrictly forbidden; and you may procure People, as Butchers, and ſuch like, whoſe whole Buſineſs would be to dreſs and ſalt ſuch Meats. There is alſo, in ſome Places, a great Quantity of Manatees, or Sea-Cows, of Turtles, and other Sorts of Fiſh. The Iſlands, likewiſe, will furniſh Abundance of Rum, Lime-juice, and Sugar, to make Drink.

If the King would be pleaſed to ſend ſome few Officers of the *Mint* in his Fleet, with all Things neceſſary for Coining: They may coin the *Spaniſh* Gold and Silver that ſhould fall into our Hands, and the Army might be paid with it. This Way would make a large Addition to the *Engliſh* Coin, to the great and general Benefit of the Nation.

The Taking of *Canada* may be eaſy enough, if we attack it at once, both by Sea and Land; and not as it was done lately, by very unſkilful People. The Keeping of *Canada*, and Setling and Fortifying that large Iſland of *Newfoundland*, will hinder the *French* from Fiſhing upon the great Bank, and conſequently diminiſh greatly, if not totally ruin their maritime Power.

Martinico is the only Place of Strength the *French* have in *America*, its Fort-Royal is impregnable any other Way than by Famine, but it may eaſily be bombarded, whereby you may ruin and burn the Houſes and Buildings in it; and perhaps the very Magazines and Ciſterns, after which they cannot ſubſiſt long, and will be forced to ſurrender.

Granada is of very little Strength, ha[illegible] but few Inhabitants: Its Fort is on the Top of a Hill, and was ſurpriſed and taken by one *Eraſmus*, a ſingle *Dutch* Privateer. Its Harbour is very large, and capable of holding many of the greateſt Ships. This Iſland is not ſubject to Hurricanes, its Situation lying near *Trinity* Iſland, and the *Spaniſh* Coaſt; and thoſe other Places, by which moſt of the *Spaniſh* Ships paſs in going to the *Weſt-India* Plantations, make it very conſiderable.

It

It has many Rivers of excellent Water; the Land is hilly about the Harbour, and the North-ſide; but, towards the South and Weſt, very level; Cocoa-Trees, and the Vanilio, grow there naturally.

In Lieu of ſending two Regiments (as it is diſcourſed of) to *Jamaica*, I would only draw Detachments from all the Regiments here in *England*, and *Ireland*, perhaps, alſo, from *Scotland*; model them all into Independent Companies, and give them Commanders out of the Reformed and Half-pay Officers.

The Regiments, keeping all their Officers, would ſoon recruit, and be filled again, with new Soldiers, who would preſently be diſciplined; and theſe Independent Companies would be as ſerviceable as if they were regimented, and be of leſs Charge to the Nation.

I would alſo propoſe to ſend theſe Companies, as ſoon as poſſible, to the North-continent of *America*: For Example, two to *Newfoundland*, ſix to *New-England*, four to *New-York*, and ſo of all the other Companies; it would make no great Noiſe, and alarm no Body, not being likely to be thought, or preſumed to intend, farther than the Defence of all thoſe Places. The Tranſport from that Northern Continent, to the Southward, is very eaſy, and may be done at any Time, together with the Proviſions, all the Parts of *New-England* having a great Number of Ships of their own.

The Sending of two Regiments to the Iſland of *Jamaica* will cauſe many Inconveniences. *Jamaica* is unhealthy, and many will be ſick and die, before you can bring them to Action. The Northern Parts of *America* are as healthy as *England*. *Jamaica* lies to the Leeward of all the *French* Colonies, ſo that it is very difficult and ſometimes impoſſible, always very tedious, and long, to turn up to the Windward; the Winds are contrary, and the Current is againſt you, very often ſo ſtrong, that a briſk, favourable, Weſterly Wind cannot make you overcome it.

I would gather all the Forces to the Iſlands of *Barbadoes* and the *Caribbees*: They lie to the Weſtward of all the *French* and *Spaniſh* Colonies; the Wind is always favourable to go to them at Pleaſure.

I humbly propoſe the Attacking of the *French* firſt. If a War breaks out towards the Spring, moſt of the Forces being ready in the Continent of *New-England*, I would begin, by attacking *Canada* by Sea and Land in the Beginning of the Summer; the Conqueſt of it may be thoroughly perfected before the fit Time of attempting any conſiderable Action in the Southern Colonies.

The Timing well your Attempt is ſo very neceſſary, that, without it, you cannot, with any Probability, ſucceed; yet it has been hitherto ſo little regarded, that all our Fleets for the *Weſt-Indies*, in the late War, arrived always, and thought of ſome Action, when the Hurricanes began to be feared and expected.

It was very far in *June*, when we attacked St. *Chriſtophers*; it was the Beginning of it, alſo, when we landed at *Martinico*; and it was alſo in *June*, when *Willmot* and *Lillingſton* attacked *Port de Paix* in *Hiſpaniola*.

Had *Ruiter* been at *Martinico* any other Time but *June*, he would have certainly taken it: The *Dutch* committed many Errors in their Attack. But the only Thing, which forced them to withdraw, was, that, it being Hurricane Time, *Ruiter*, ſeeing great Appearance of a Storm, would not venture his Fleet, and cauſed that ſudden Retreat.

The *French*, who were but few, had no other Defence, but a very bad Palliſado, and a narrow Trench, almoſt filled up in many Places, could not poſſibly have reſiſted a briſk Attack with Sword and Piſtol in Hand. But the *Dutch* muſt needs land in Order, though they ſaw No-body to oppoſe their Landing, and would not advance upon the Enemy, until they had formed their Battalions, as if they had been in a pitched Battle; they were all this while expoſed, from Head to Foot, to the Muſquets of the Enemy, and the great and ſmall Guns of a Man of War, which lay in the then Careening-place, commanded by M. *d'Amblimont*, who died lately General for the *French* King in *America*. The ſame Night the *Dutch* retreated, the *French* left and abandoned their Fort, judging it untenable, and expecting the *Dutch* would have ſtormed it the next Morning.

All Things ſhould be ſo ordered, that the Fleet and Forces may arrive where you intend to make your Attack. In the Beginning of *October*, the Hurricane Time is juſt over, and you may venture your Fleet any where, during nine Months, and you have then three Months that the Heat is but moderate, and the Weather, for the moſt Part, very clear and dry; the beſt Time for Action.

I would put the Forces upon Action and Attack, as ſoon as they arrive; and ſo make the beſt Uſe of their Strength and Health, and not ſtay until the Heat of the Weather, or any other

other Cauſe, ſhould pull their Courage down, or they ſhould fall ſick, and be out of Order.

In the *Weſt-Indies*, I would begin with *Martinico*; take that Iſland from the *French*, and you will ruin them in all their Colonies: There they keep all their Stores for Ships and Land-Forces. It is eaſy to block up *Fort-Royal* by Sea and Land; by falling upon the Iſland unexpectedly, and landing near the Fort of a ſudden, you may hinder the People from going and carrying any Proviſions and Water into the Fort; and dry Weather may happen, ſo that there may be but little Water in the Ciſtern. One may encamp round about it very well, and commodiouſly, all along a River of good Water: The Country about it is alſo full of Proviſions.

The Fort being beſieged and blocked up, I would ply them Night and Day with Bombs and Carcaſes, in order to burn and deſtroy their Houſes, Magazines, and Ciſterns. From ſome of the neighbouring Hills, Guns may ſhoot at Random into the Fort, and, raking along, may do much Damage.

Having left People enough to maintain and continue the Siege, ſome conſiderable Body of Forces may be ſent all over the Iſland to ſubdue it; which I am confident would be eaſy enough, eſpecially, if his Majeſty, intending the Conqueſt of all the Colonies, would give out and proclaim, that he intends to keep the Iſland to himſelf, and would receive its Inhabitants into his Protection as Subjects, and ſo forbid Burning and Deſtroying of Plantations and Houſes. Very many, if not all, would ſubmit; and it would be eaſy afterwards to baniſh and force away thoſe, that ſhould be deemed unfit to be kept there as Inhabitants.

I would alſo take, keep, and fortify, the Iſland of *Granada*; it has an excellent large Harbour; it is never troubled with Hurricanes. And the *Spaniſh* Ships, going to their Weſtern Plantations, paſs near and often in Sight of it. That Iſland is better than any of the *Engliſh Caribbees*, *Barbadoes* excepted. It might ſoon be ſettled, and made a profitable Colony.

All the reſt of the *French* Colonies would eaſily be ſubdued. I would ruin them, and tranſport what I would keep of them, to *Martinico*, or *Granada*. There are ſtill, in the *French* Iſlands, many Proteſtants, *French* and *Dutch*, who may be truſted and depended upon.

The Taking of *Martinico* would diſcourage the *French*, and, I am confident, would hinder them from aſſiſting the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*: How could they with Reaſon venture out thither a conſiderable Fleet, after the Loſs of *Martinico*, the only Strong-hold they have, being ſenſible that the *Engliſh* can be always their Superiors in thoſe Parts, whenſoever they pleaſe?

All our *Caribbee* Iſlands being ſecured by the Taking and Keeping *Martinico*, ſome few Frigates might ſuffice to protect and defend them from any Inſult, and they may ſpare ſome of their People to help to attack the *Spaniards*.

The Iſland of *Cuba* is that of the *Spaniſh* I would begin with. The *Havannah*, its chief Town, is very ſtrong on the Harbour and Sea-ſide; but would be eaſily enough taken, if beſieged on the Country and Land-ſide; and, as we commonly ſay, in Form, with thoſe Preparations that are requiſite in Sieges. You may land in many Places, and the March is eaſy from thence to the Town: The Country abounds in Cattle, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs: The Bays are well ſtored with Fiſh, Manatees, and Turtles: The Country Proviſions very plenty every where: The Bay of *Mattancas* would, perhaps, be the fitteſt Place to land in, and to preſerve the Fleet, ſome few Frigates being ſufficient to ſtop and block up the Harbour's Mouth, during the Siege.

The Taking and Keeping the *Havannah* would ſoon ruin the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*: As their Ships, coming, paſs near *Granada*; going Home, they muſt paſs alſo near the *Havannah*, and ſo through the *Bahamas*: So that ſome Frigates at *Granada*, and ſome at *Havannah*, would annoy the *Spaniards* going and coming.

I would, by all Means, keep and ſettle *Cuba*, though forced to abandon ſome other Settlements: It may, perhaps, be done, without deſerting any other Place, with ſome People out of *New-England*, the leaſt profitable of all the Colonies.

Having *Cuba*, we may eaſily ſeize *Porto-Bello*, *Chiagre*, and *Panama*, and ſo command both the North and South Seas in *America*.

The Deſign I propoſe is great, and may, perhaps, appear impoſſible to ſome People; but I am ſincerely perſuaded of the Feaſibleneſs of it to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo very populous, and ſo very ſtrong in the *Weſt-Indies*.

——— *Quod nemo promittere Divum*
Auderet volvenda dies certe afferet ultro.

There

There is nothing wanting for ſo great an Undertaking, but a faithful, honeſt, hearty, and honourable diſintereſted Mind in the commanding Officers. The Succeſs of ſuch an Enterpriſe would inrich the *Engliſh* Nation beyond Meaſure, making her Miſtreſs of moſt of the Mines of Gold and Silver, beſides all the Productions peculiar to that Part of the World, as Sugars, Cocoa's, Cotton, Indigo, Natto, Tobacco, *&c.* What Increaſe would it not bring to its Navigation and Shipping? All Sorts of Merchant-Ships may be built in the Northern *America*, or with Timber brought from thence, whilſt the *Engliſh* Oak, ſo very excellent for Building, may be kept and reſerved only for Building of Men of War.

I am confident, and I dare maintain it, That the Conqueſt of all the *Spaniſh* and *French* Colonies, in *America*, would never coſt *England*, what the Taking of *Namur* did, in Blood and Money. It would, without Doubt, make the *Engliſh* Nation the ſtrongeſt and the richeſt of the World: And, that it may be ſo, is the hearty Wiſh of a faithful and devoted Subject.

An Account of the Arraignments and Tryals of Colonel *Richard Kirkby*, Captain *John Conſtable*, Captain *Cooper Wade*, Captain *Samuel Vincent*, and Captain *Chriſtopher Fogg*, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate on Behalf of her Majeſty, at a Court-Martial, held on Board the Ship, *Bredah*, in *Port-Royal* Harbour, in *Jamaica* in *America*, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth Days of *October*, 1702, for Cowardice, Neglect of Duty, Breach of Orders, and other Crimes, committed by them in a Fight at Sea, commenced the Nineteenth of *Auguſt*, 1702, off of St. *Martha*, in the Latitude of ten Degrees North, near the main Land of *America*, between the Honourable *John Benbow*, Eſq; and Admiral *Du Caſſe*, with four *French* Ships of War; for which Colonel *Kirkby* and Captain *Wade* were ſentenced to be ſhot to Death. Tranſmitted from two eminent Merchants at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, to a Perſon of Quality in the City of *London*.

[From a *Folio* Edition, printed at *London*, 1703.]

AT a Court-Martial held on Board her Majeſty's Ship, the *Bredah*, in *Port-Royal* Harbour in *Jamaica* in *America*, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth Days of *October*, 1702.

Preſent,

The Honourable *William Whiſton*, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of her Majeſty's Ships for the *Weſt-India* Squadron, Preſident.

Samuel Vincent,
John Hartnoll,
Chriſtopher Fogg,
John Smith,
John Redman,
George Walton,
William Ruſſel,
Barrow Harris,
Hercules Mitchell,
Philip Boyce,
Charles Smith.

Arnold Browne, Eſq; Judge-Advocate.

Who being all duly ſworn, purſuant to the Act of Parliament;

Proceeded * to the Tryal of *John Arthur*, Gunner of the *Defiance*, on a Complaint exhibited by *Francis Knighton*, third Lieutenant of the *Defiance*, and *George Foſter*, Gunner of

for Hiding and Concealing Forty-three Barrels of Powder in the Wad-room, and Covering them with Wads and Coins, *&c.* when a Survey of her Majeſty's Stores of Ammunition after an Engagement was ordered; and Denying to the Surveyors that there was any more Powder on Board, than was in the Powder-room and Gun-room, *viz.* One Hundred; which upon a ſecond Survey were diſcovered. It was proved alſo, That he had two Keys to the Powder-room; and that, having loſt or miſlaid his own, he, without making any Application to the commanding Officer then on Board, who kept the other Key, prevailed with *William Baker*, Carpenter of the ſaid Ship, to break open the Door.

In Mitigation of his Offence, he alledged, That, examining into the Powder-room, he found three Barrels that had received Wet, which cauſed his Removal of the Forty-three Barrels; but had little to ſay for his Concealing them from the Surveyors. Whereupon the Court adjudged, That, the ſaid Offence falling under the Thirty-third Article of War, the ſaid *John Arthur* ſhould be carried from Ship to Ship in a Boat, with a Halter about his Neck, the Provoſt-Marſhal declaring his Crimes; and all his Pay, as Gunner, to be mulcted and forfeited to the Cheſt at *Chatham*, and be rendered uncapable of ſerving her Majeſty in any other Employment.

Colonel *Richard Kirkby*, Commander of the *Defiance*, was tried † before the aforeſaid Court (except Captain *Samuel Vincent*, and Captain *Chriſtopher Fogg*, who appeared as Witneſſes for the Queen) on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate, on the Behalf of her Majeſty, of Cowardice, Neglect of Duty, Breach of Orders, and other Crimes committed by him in a Fight at Sea, commenced the Nineteenth of *Auguſt*, 1702, off of St. *Martha*, in the Latitude of ten Degrees North, near the main Land of *America*, between the Honourable *John Benbow*, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the blue Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet, and Admiral and Commander in Chief, *&c.* on Board her Majeſty's Ship *Bredah*, *Chriſtopher Fogg*, Commander, and ſix other of her Majeſty's Ships, *viz.* The *Defiance*, *Richard Kirkby* Commander; the *Falmouth*, *Samuel Vincent* Commander; the *Windſor*, *John Conſtable* Commander; the *Greenwich*, *Cooper Wade* Commander; the *Ruby*, *George Walton* Commander; and the *Pendennis*, *Thomas Hudſon* Commander; and Monſieur *Du Caſſe*, with four *French* Ships of War: Which continued until the Twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, inclusive.

The Witneſſes that were ſworn in Behalf of the Queen, *viz.*

The Honourable *John Benbow*, Eſq; Admiral	1
Captains	2
Lieutenants	8
Maſters	5
Inferior Officers	5
In all	21

Who depoſed, That the ſaid Colonel *Richard Kirkby*, the Van in the Line of Battle, the Nineteenth of *Auguſt*, about Three in the Afternoon, the Signal of Battle being out, the Admiral was forced to ſend his Boat on Board of *Kirkby*, and command his making more Sail, and get a-breaſt of the Enemy's Van, for he was reſolved to fight them. About Four the Fight began; but the ſaid *Kirkby* did not fire above three Broadſides, then luffed up out of the Line, and out of Gunſhot, leaving the Admiral engaged with two *French* Ships till dark, and the ſaid *Kirkby* receiving no Damage; that his Behaviour cauſed great Fear of his Deſertion. At Night, the ſaid *Kirkby* fell aſtern, leaving the Admiral to purſue the Enemy.

That on the Twentieth, at Day-light, the Admiral and *Ruby* were within Shot of all the Enemy's Ships, but Colonel *Kirkby* was near three or four Miles a-ſtern. The Admiral then made a new Line of Battle, and took the Van himſelf, and ſent to each Ship, with a Command to the ſaid *Kirkby* to keep his Line and Station; which he promiſed to do, but did not, keeping two or three Miles a-ſtern, though the Signal for

* *October* 8th.

† *October* 8th and 9th.

Battle

Battle was out all Night; the *French* making a running Fight, the Admiral and *Ruby* plied the Enemy with their Chace Guns till Night. That the Twenty-firſt Day, at Light, the Admiral was on the Quarter of the ſecond Ship of the Enemy's Rear, and the *Ruby* on the Board Side, very near, who plied him warmly, and met the ſame Return, by which he was ſo much diſabled, though the Admiral came in to his Aſſiſtance, that he was forced to be towed off; and this prevented the Admiral's Deſign of cutting off the Enemy's ſternmoſt Ship. This Action laſted two Hours, during which Time the ſaid *Kirkby* lay a Broad-ſide of the ſternmoſt Ship; as did alſo the *Windſor*, *John Conſtable* Commander. The Admiral then commanded the ſaid *Kirkby* to ply his Broad-ſides on him; but, this having no Effect, the ſecond Time he commanded the ſame, but he fired not one Gun; nay, his own Boatſwain and Seamen repeated the Admiral's Command to him, but were ſeverely uſed, and threatened that he would run his Sword through the Boatſwain: And, had the ſaid *Kirkby* done his Duty, and Captain *Conſtable* his, they muſt have taken or deſtroyed the ſaid *French* Ships. The Admiral, though he received much Damage in his Sails, Rigging, Yards, *&c.* yet continued the Race all Night. That the Twenty-ſecond in the Morning, at Day-light, the *Greenwich* was three Leagues a-ſtern, and the *Defiance*, Colonel *Kirkby*, with the reſt of the Ships, three or four Miles, the *Falmouth* excepted, whoſe Station was in the Rear: That the ſaid Captain *Samuel Vincent*, ſeeing the Behaviour of the ſaid *Kirkby* and the reſt, came up with the Admiral, and ſent his Lieutenant on Board, deſiring Leave to aſſiſt him, which was accepted: The ſaid *Kirkby* never coming up, and, by his Example, the reſt did the ſame, as if they had a Deſign to ſacrifice the Admiral and *Falmouth* to the Enemy, or deſert. The Enemy were now about a Mile and a half a-head, ſtanding in to the Shore, with a ſmall Breeſe at Weſt, fetched within *Sambey*, the Admiral firing at the ſternmoſt all Night, and continuing the Purſuit; and a *Flemiſh* Ship that was in Monſieur *Du Caſſe*'s Company, on Board of which were all the *French* and *Spaniſh* new Governors and other Officers, made her Eſcape. That the Twenty-third in the Morning, at Day-light, the Enemy bore North-Weſt, diſtant about four or five Miles, the Admiral and *Falmouth* purſuing; but the ſaid Colonel *Kirkby*, with the reſt of the Ships, being three or four Miles a-ſtern (though there was not a Ship, but, before and after the Battle, ſailed better than the Admiral:) About Seven in the Evening, it having been ſome Time calm, a Gale of Wind ſprung up; the Admiral and *Falmouth* were about two Miles from the Enemy, and at Eight the ſaid *Kirkby* and his ſeparate Squadron were fair up with the Admiral; and this Day the Admiral ſent away the diſabled *Ruby*, *George Walton*, Commander, to *Port-Royal*, and under his Convoy the *Anna* Galley, retaken from the *French*.

That the Twenty-fourth in the Morning, about Two of the Clock, the Admiral came up with the ſternmoſt of the Enemy within Call, and the *Falmouth* pretty near; but the ſaid Colonel *Kirkby*, with the reſt of the Ships, according to Cuſtom, were three or four Miles a-ſtern: The Admiral and *Falmouth* engaged the ſaid Ship, and at Three the Admiral was wounded, his right Leg being broke, but commanded the Fight to be vigorouſly maintained; and at Day-light the Enemy's Ship appeared like a Wreck, her Mizen-maſt ſhot by the Board, her Main-yard in three or four Pieces, her Fore-top Sail-yard the ſame, her Stays and Rigging all ſhot to Pieces. Soon after Day, the ſaid *Kirkby*, with the reſt of the Ships, being to Windward of the ſaid diſabled Ship, he the ſaid *Kirkby*, with the reſt of his ſeparate Squadron, fired about twelve Guns at the ſaid Ship; and, fearing a ſmart Return from her, he lowered his Mizen-yard, his Top-ſails on the Caps, ſet his Sprit-ſail, Sprit-ſail Top-ſail, and Fore-top-ſail Stay-ſail, and, having waired his Ship, ſet his Sail, and run away before the Wind from the poor diſabled Ship, the reſt following his ſaid Example; though they had but eight Men killed on Board them all (except the Admiral.) The other three *French* Men of War were, at this Time of Action, about four Miles diſtant from their maimed Ship; whereupon the Enemy, ſeeing the Cowardice of the ſaid Colonel *Kirkby*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Ships, in a Squall bore down upon the Admiral, who lay cloſe by the diſabled Ship, and, having got in their Sprit-ſail-yard, gave him all their Fire, and, running between him and the diſabled Ship, remanned her, and took her in. The Admiral's Rigging, being very much ſhattered, was obliged to lie and refit till Ten o' Clock, and then continued the Purſuit, and the reſt of the Fleet following in the greateſt Diſorder imaginable; the Admiral commanded Captain *Fogg* to ſtand a-breaſt

of the Enemy's Van, and then to attack him, and having then a fine ſteady Gale, the like not happening during the whole Engagement; and further ordered that he ſhould ſend to all the Captains to keep the Line of Battle, and behave themſelves like *Engliſhmen*; and this Meſſage was ſent by Captain *Wade*, then on Board the *Bredah*. That the ſaid Colonel *Kirkby*, on the Receipt of this Meſſage, and ſeeing the Admiral's Reſolution to engage, came on Board him, who then lay wounded in a Cradle; and, without common Reſpect of enquiring after his Health, he the ſaid *Kirkby* expreſſed theſe Words following: *viz. That he wondered that the Admiral ſhould offer to engage the* French *again, it being not neceſſary, ſafe, nor convenient, having had ſix Days Trial of their Strength*; and then magnified that of the *French*, and leſſened that of the *Engliſh*. But the Admiral, being ſurpriſed at his Speech, ſaid it was but one Man's Opinion, and that he would have the reſt of the Captains; and accordingly ordered the Signal to be made for all the Captains to come on Board; and at this Time the Admiral, and the reſt of the Ships, were to Windward, and within Shot of the Enemy, and had the faireſt Opportunity that in ſix Days preſented to chace, engage, and deſtroy the Enemy.

That the ſaid Colonel *Kirkby* had endeavoured to poiſon the reſt of the Captains, forming a Writing under his own Hand, which was cowardly and erroneous. The Subſtance of which was, Not to engage the Enemy any more; he the ſaid Colonel *Kirkby* brought it to the Admiral, who reproved him for it, ſaying it would be the Ruin of them all. Upon which he the ſaid Colonel *Kirkby* went away, but writ another in the following Words:

At a Conſultation held on Board her Majeſty's Ship, Bredah, *the Twenty-fourth of* Auguſt, 1702, *off of* Carthagena, *on the main Continent of* America.

" IT is the Opinion of Us whoſe Names are " under-written,

" 1. Of the great Want of Men in Num- " ber, Quality, and the Weakneſs of thoſe " they have.

" 2. The general Want of Ammunition of " moſt Sorts.

" 3. Each Ship, Maſts, Yards, Sails, and " Rigging, being all, in a great Meaſure, diſ- " abled.

" 4. The Winds are ſo ſmall and varia- " ble, that the Ships cannot be governed by " any Strength; each Ship,

" 5. Having experienced the Enemy in ſix " Days Battle, following the Squadron con- " ſiſting of five Men of War and a Fire-ſhip, " under the Command of Monſieur *Du Caſſe*; " their Equipage conſiſting in Guns from Sixty " to Eighty, and having a great Number of " Seamen and Soldiers on Board, for the Service " of *Spain*.

" For which Reaſons above-mentioned, we " think it not fit to engage the Enemy at this " Time, but to keep them Company this Night, " and obſerve their Motion; and, if a fair Op- " portunity ſhall happen of Wind and Weather, " once more to try our Strength with them.'

Richard Kirkby, Samuel Vincent, John Conſtable, Chriſtopher Fogg, Cooper Wade, and *Thomas Hudſon.*

That, during the ſix Days Engagement, he never encouraged his Men; but, by his own Example of dodging behind the Mizen-Maſt, and falling down upon the Deck on the Noiſe of Shot, and denying them the Proviſions of the Ship, the ſaid Men were under great Diſcouragement. That he amended the Maſter of the Ship's Journal of the Tranſactions of the Fight, according to his own Inclination.

All which being proved, as aforeſaid:

The ſaid Colonel *Richard Kirkby* denied the Whole, excepting the pretended written Conſultation; which being ſhewn to him, he owned his own Hand and Name too. He brought ſeveral of his Men to give an Account of his Behaviour during the Fight; but their Teſtimonies were inſignificant, and his Behaviour to the Court and Witneſſes moſt unbecoming a Gentleman. And being particularly aſked by the Court, Why he did not fire at the Enemy's ſternmoſt Ship, which lay point-blank with him, the Twenty-firſt of *Auguſt?* He replied, Becauſe they did not fire at him, for that they had a Reſpect for him; which Words upon ſeveral Occaſions, during the Trial, he repeated three ſeveral Times.

Whereupon due Conſideration of the Premiſes, of great Advantages the *Engliſh* had in Num- ber,

ber, being ſeven to four, of Guns One-hundred and Twenty-two more than the other; with his Acts and Behaviour as aforeſaid, and more particularly his ill-timed Paper or Conſultation, as afore-recited, which obliged the Admiral, for the Preſervation of her Majeſty's Fleet, to give over the Chace and Fight, to the irreparable Diſhonour of the Queen, her Crown and Dignity, and come to *Port-Royal, Jamaica:* For which Reaſons the Court was of Opinion, That he fell under the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, and twentieth Articles of War; and adjudged accordingly, That he ſhould be ſhot to Death. But further decreed, That the Execution of Colonel *Kirkby* be deferred, till her Majeſty's Pleaſure be known therein; but be continued a cloſe Priſoner, till that Time.

Captain *John Conſtable*, Commander of the *Windſor*, was tried before the aforeſaid Court, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate on the Behalf of the Queen, for Breach of Orders, Neglect of Duty, and other ill Practices committed during a Fight commenced the Nineteenth of *Auguſt*, 1702, as aforeſaid. *(Refer to Colonel* Kirkby's *Trial.)*

The Witneſſes, ſworn on the Behalf of the Queen, were;

Captains	——	2
Lieutenants	——	7
Maſters	——	5
Other Officers	——	2
The Honourable *John Benbow*, Eſq; Admiral		1
	Witneſſes	17

Who depoſed, that the Captain *John Conſtable* never kept his firſt nor ſecond Line of Battle, but acted in all Things, as Colonel *Kirkby* had done. That the Admiral had fired two Guns to command him into the ſecond Line of Battle. That he did ſet more Sail, in Order to come into the Line and his Station; but, upon Colonel *Kirkby*'s Calling to him, to keep his Line, he accordingly did. That the Admiral ſent his Lieutenant *Landgridge* to command him the ſaid *Conſtable* to keep his Line of Battle, within half a Cable's Length of the Ship before him, which was twice verbally delivered. And that he ſigned the Paper, *Conſultation*; as is in Col. *Kirkby*'s Trial aforeſaid; tending to the Hinderance and Diſſervice of her Majeſty, *&c.* and was drunk during the Fight, *&c.*

All which being fully proved, as aforeſaid; the ſaid Captain *John Conſtable* denied his Breach of Orders, or Neglect of Duty; but owned the Signing the Paper or Conſultation prepared by Colonel *Kirkby*, and did it at his Requeſt, and for that he had received Damage in his Maſts and Rigging; and owned no other Article to be true, but that he had ſigned to: He called ſeveral Witneſſes to his Behaviour during the Fight; who all declared he kept the Quarter-deck during the Engagement, and encouraged his Men to fight; and that ſometimes he gave them Drams of Rum; and that verbal Meſſage, delivered by Lieutenant *Landgridge*, was delivered him in ſome Heat and Paſſion, and was underſtood to be, to keep the Line within half a Cable's Length, and to follow *Kirkby*; which he did. That he ſo underſtood it himſelf, and ſeveral of his Men: He prayed the Mercy of the Court, and ſo concluded, *&c.*

Whereupon due Conſideration of the Premiſes, the Court was of Opinion, that the ſaid *John Conſtable*, Captain, fell under the 12th, 14th, and 20th Articles of War; and adjudged the ſaid Captain *John Conſtable* to be immediately caſhiered, and rendered incapable of ſerving her Majeſty, and be impriſoned during her Majeſty's Pleaſure, and ſent Home to *England* a Priſoner in the firſt Ship, the Admiral ſhall think fit; and be confined a Priſoner, till then.

Captain *Cooper Wade*, Commander of the *Greenwich*, was tried * before the aforeſaid Court, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate, on the Behalf of the Queen, of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, of Cowardice, Breach of Orders, and Neglect of Duty, and other ill Practices; committed during a Fight, commenced the Nineteenth of *Auguſt*, 1702, as aforeſaid. *(Refer to that Part of Colonel* Kirkby's *Tryal.)*

* *October* 10th, and 12th.

The

The Witneſſes ſworn on Behalf of the Queen;

The Honourable *John Benbow*, Eſq; Admiral		1
Lieutenants	—— ——	9
Maſters	—— ——	3
Inferior Officers	—— ——	3
	Witneſſes	16

Who depoſed, that, during the Six Day's Engagement, he never kept the Line of Battle, fired all his Shot in vain, not reaching half Way to the Enemy; that he was often told the ſame by his Lieutenants and other Officers, but notwithſtanding he commanded them to fire, ſaying, they muſt do ſo, or the Admiral would not believe they fought, if they did not continue the Fire. That, during the whole Fight the Admiral was engaged in, the ſaid Captain *Wade* received but one Shot from the Enemy; that he was in Drink the greateſt Part of the Time of Action; and that he ſigned the Paper or Conſultation drawn up by Colonel *Kirkby*, as aforeſaid; and, in the Time of Fight, arraigned the honourable Courage and Conduct of the Admiral.

All which being fully proved, as aforeſaid:

That the ſaid Captain *Cooper Wade* denied the Arraignment of the honourable Courage and Conduct of the Admiral, during the whole ſix Days Engagement, declaring the Bravery and good Management of the Admiral in this Time of Action, and that no Man living could do more or better, for the Honour of the Queen and Nation. He called ſome Perſons to juſtify his Behaviour, who ſaid little in his Favour. He begged the Mercy of the Court, and ſo concluded. Whereupon the Court was of Opinion, that the ſaid *Cooper Wade* fell under the 11th, 12th, 14th, and 20th Articles of War; and accordingly adjudged the ſaid *Cooper Wade* to be ſhot to Death: But it is farther declared by the Court, that the Execution of the ſaid Captain *Cooper Wade* be deferred, till her Majeſty's Pleaſure be known therein; but be continued a cloſe Priſoner till that Time.

Captain *Samuel Vincent*, Commander of the *Falmouth*, and Captain *Chriſtopher Fogg*, Commander of the *Bredah*, were tried * before the aforeſaid Court, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate, for high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and ill Practices in the Time of Admiral *Benbow*'s Fight with Monſieur *Du Caſſe*, as aforeſaid, in ſigning a Paper called a Conſultation and Opinion held on Board the *Bredah*, the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1702. (*Which is* Verbatim *recited in Colonel* Kirkby's *Tryal, to which I refer.*) It tending to the great Hinderance and Diſſervice of her Majeſty's Fleet then in Fight: And the ſaid Paper ſo written, being ſhewed to each of them, they ſeverally owned their Hands to the ſame. But the ſaid Captain *Vincent* and Captain *Fogg*, for Reaſon of ſigning the ſame, alledged, that, being deſerted during each Day's Engagement by Colonel *Richard Kirkby* in the *Defiance*, Captain *John Conſtable* in the *Windſor*, Captain *Cooper Wade* in the *Greenwich*, and Captain *Thomas Hudſon* in the *Pendennis*, and left as a Prey to Monſieur *Du Caſſe*, they had great Reaſon to believe they ſhould be Captives to the Enemy. And the Honourable *John Benbow* Eſq; Admiral, *&c.* coming in Court, declared, That during the Six days Fight the ſaid Captain *Fogg* behaved himſelf with great Courage, Bravery, and Conduct, like a true *Engliſhman*, and Lover of his Queen and Country: And that the ſaid Captain *Samuel Vincent* valiantly and courageouſly behaved himſelf during the ſaid Action, and deſired Leave to come into the ſaid Admiral's Aſſiſtance, then engaged with the Enemy, and deſerted by all the reſt of the aboveſaid Ships, which he did to the Relief of the ſaid Admiral, who otherwiſe had fallen into the Hands of Monſieur *Du Caſſe*.

Whereupon the Court, being of Opinion, That the Signing of the aforeſaid Paper brought them under the Cenſure of the twentieth Article of War, accordingly adjudged Captain *Samuel Vincent*, and Captain *Chriſtopher Fogg*, to be ſuſpended: But the Execution thereof is hereby reſpited, till his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, *&c.* his further Pleaſure be known therein.

Captain *Thomas Hudſon*, Commander of the *Pendennis*, died on Board his ſaid Ship in the Harbour of *Port-Royal*, at *Jamaica*, the

At Five o' Clock the twelfth Day of *October*, 1702, the Preſident, *&c.* having finiſhed all the Buſineſs before the Court, diſſolved the ſame.

* *October* 12th.

The

The Inſtrument, by which Queen *Jane* was proclaimed Queen of *England*, &c. ſetting forth the Reaſons of her Claim, and her Right to the Crown. [From the *firſt* Edition, in three *Folio* Sheets.]

Whoever reads the latter Part of the Life of Henry the Eighth, *will ſoon be convinced, That he left the Succeſſion of the Crown ſo diſputable, that it could only be owing to the Hand of Providence, that the Nation had not, for ever after, been diſtracted with contrary Claims.*

His Divorces from Catharine *of* Arragon *and* Ann Bullen; *the Acts of Parliament confirming thoſe Divorces; other ſubſequent Acts, which ſeemed to repeal what the firſt had ordained; the Power given to the King, to appoint his Succeſſors, and to place them in what Order he pleaſed; and his laſt Will itſelf ſo embroiled the Affair of the Succeſſion, that it was left full of Obſcurity and Contradiction. For, as the Makers of theſe new Laws were not ſwayed with Juſtice and Equity, and calculated, merely to gratify the Ambition and Schemes of a Prince, who would have taken Vengeance on thoſe that ſhould act in Oppoſition to his Directions, it was not poſſible to act in ſuch Emergencies according to the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm.*

He, after Cohabiting with Catharine *of* Arragon, *eighteen Years, and having ſeveral Children by her, obliged the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *to pronounce him divorced from her, and his Marriage with her to be null and void; but not before he had contracted a ſecond Marriage with* Ann Bullen, *of which he alſo grew weary; and, accuſing his ſecond Queen of Adultery, he ordered her to be beheaded, after he had been alſo publickly divorced from her.*

His next Step was to obtain an Act of Parliament (1536) to confirm both theſe Divorces, and to declare Mary *and* Eliſabeth, *the Children of theſe two Marriages, illegitimate, and incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, without his ſpecial Will and Appointment. But in an Act, made in* 1544, Mary *and* Eliſabeth *were declared ſucceſſively to inherit the Crown after* Edward, *ſtill allowing the King to impoſe Conditions on theſe two Princeſſes, without which, they could have no Right to ſucceed. And* Henry *made his laſt Will and Teſtament in the ſame Manner; by which, preferring* Edward *to be his immediate Succeſſor, he left it as his Opinion, that his* Daughters *were* illegitimate.

Thus far the Succeſſion was much diſturbed; but what ſtill conduced to embroil it more, was the not mentioning, in his Will, the Iſſue of Margaret *Queen of* Scotland, Henry's *eldeſt Siſter, and placing the Children of his younger Siſter,* Mary, *Queen Dowager of* France, *and Ducheſs of* Suffolk, *next to his Daughter* Eliſabeth. *And,*

To compleat this Confuſion of Claims to the Crown, Edward the Sixth *confirmed the Act, which declared* Mary *and* Eliſabeth *illegitimate; abrogated, by his own Authority, the Act which gave his Father Power to ſettle the Succeſſion, and, by his own Will, excluded* Mary, Eliſabeth, *and the Queen of* Scotland *from the Throne, and conveighed the Crown to* Jane Grey, *by the Importunity and Ambition of the Duke of* Northumberland, *who was known to hold* Edward's *Council in Subjection; and therefore whatever Methods were taken before, or after the young King's Death, to ſecure and ſettle* Jane *on the Throne, and the Drawing up and Publiſhing the following*

Procla-

Proclamation muſt be looked upon as the Act and Deed of the ſaid Duke, and not to be aſcribed to the Council.

This was the State of Affairs, when Edward the Sixth *was removed by Death, and by this ſhort Recapitulation it may eaſily be perceived, what a Door of Diviſions and Civil Wars was opened by* Henry the Eighth *and his Succeſſor. For, according to their Acts and Wills, and Letters Patents,* Mary, Eliſabeth, *the Queen of* Scotland; *and* Jane Grey, *four Princeſſes, could claim the Crown after* Edward's *Death, and each of theſe Princeſſes could find in theſe very Acts,* &c. *Arguments to oppoſe the Claim of her Competitors. Yet only* Jane, *who, though by far the youngeſt, was not leſs endowed with the Gifts of Nature, and preferable to all her Adverſaries in the Endowments of her Mind, and leaſt tainted with the ambitious Deſire of a Crown, was forced by the Importunity of her Relations to accept of it, and thereby fell a Sacrifice to their Ambition; as it is excellently well related by Dr.* Heylin, *in theſe Words, in* his Hiſtory of the Reformation:

She was eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* Lord *Grey*, Duke of *Suffolk*. Her Mother was the Lady *Frances*, Daughter, and, in fine, one of the Coheirs of *Charles Brandon*, the late Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary* his Wife, Queen *Dowager* to *Lewis the Twelfth* of *France*, and youngeſt Daughter of King *Henry the Seventh*. She ſeemed to have been born with thoſe Attractions, which ſeat a *Sovereignty* in the Face of moſt beautiful Perſons; yet was her *Mind* endued with more excellent Charms, than the Attractions of her *Face*; modeſt and mild of Diſpoſition, courteous of Carriage, and of ſuch affable Deportment, as might intitle her to the Name of *Queen of Hearts*, before ſhe was deſigned for Queen over any Subjects.

Theſe her native and obliging *Graces*, were accompanied with ſome more profitable ones, of her own Acquiring; which ſet an higher Value on them, and much increaſed the fame, both in Worth and Luſtre. Having attained unto that Age, in which other young Ladies uſed to apply themſelves to the Sports and Exerciſes of their Sex, ſhe wholly gave her Mind to good *Arts* and *Sciences*; much furthered in that Purſuit by the loving Care of Mr. *Elmer*, under whoſe Charge ſhe came to ſuch a large Proficiency, that ſhe ſpake the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, with as ſweet a *Fluency*, as if they had been natural and native to her; exactly ſkilled in the liberal Sciences, and perfectly well ſtudied in both Kinds of *Philoſophy*.

Take here a Story out of Mr. Aſcham's Schoolm. *Page* 11. *in his own Words:* One Example, whether Love or Fear doth work more in a Child, for Virtue or Learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with ſome Pleaſure, and followed with more Profit. Before I went into *Germany*, I came to *Broadgate* in *Leiceſterſhire*, to take my Leave of that noble Lady, *Jane Grey*, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her Parents, the Duke and the Ducheſs, with all the Houſhold, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were hunting in the Park; I found her in her Chamber, reading *Phædon Platonis* in *Greek*, and that with as much Delight, as ſome Gentlemen would read a merry Tale in *Boccace*. After Salutation, and Duty done, with ſome other Talk, I aſked her, Why ſhe would loſe ſuch Paſtime in the Park? Smiling, ſhe anſwered me, I know, all their *Sport* in the Park is but a *Shadow* to that I find in *Plato:* Alas! good Folk, they never felt what true Pleaſure meant. And how came you, Madam, quoth I, to this deep Knowledge, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, ſeeing not many Women, but very few Men have attained thereunto? I will tell you, ſaith ſhe, and tell you a Truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greateſt Benefits, that e-

ver

ver God gave me, is, that he ſent me ſo ſharp and ſevere Parents, and ſo gentle a Schoolmaſter. For, when I am in Preſence either of Father or Mother, whether I ſpeak, keep Silence, ſit, ſtand, or go; eat, drink, be merry, or ſad; be ſowing, playing, dancing, or doing any Thing elſe, I muſt do it, as it were, in ſuch Weight, Meaſure, and Number, even ſo perfectly, as God made the World; or elſe I am ſo ſharply taunted, ſo cruelly threatened, yea preſently ſometimes, with Pinches, Nips, and Bobs, and other Ways (which I will not name, for the Honour I bear them) ſo without Meaſure miſordered, that I think myſelf in Hell, till the Time come, that I muſt go to Mr. *Elmer*; who teacheth me ſo gently, ſo pleaſantly, with ſuch fair Allurements to Learning, that I think all the Time nothing, whilſt I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall to Weeping, becauſe whatſoever I do elſe, but *Learning*, is full of Grief, Trouble, Fear, and whole Miſliking unto me. And thus my *Book* hath been ſo much my *Pleaſure*, and bringeth daily to me more Pleaſure and more, that in Reſpect of it, all other Pleaſures, in very Deed, be but Trifles and Troubles unto me. I remember this Talk gladly, both becauſe it is ſo worthy of Memory, and becauſe alſo it was the laſt Talk that ever I had, and the laſt Time that ever I ſaw that noble and worthy Lady. *Thus far Mr.* Aſcham.

By this eminent Proficiency in all Parts of Learning, and an Agreeableneſs in Diſpoſition, ſhe became very dear to the young King Edward; *to whom* Fox *not only makes her equal, but doth acknowledge her alſo to be his Superior, in thoſe noble Studies. And for an Ornament ſuperadded to her other Perfections, ſhe was moſt zealouſly affected to the true* Proteſtant Religion, *then by Law eſtabliſhed; which ſhe embraced, not out of any outward Compliance with the preſent Current of the Times, but becauſe her own moſt excellent Judgment had been fully ſatisfied in the Truth and Purity thereof. All which did ſo endear her to the King, that he took great Delight in her Converſation.*

Thus lived ſhe in theſe ſweet Contentments, till ſhe came unto the Years of Marriage, *when ſhe, that never found in herſelf the leaſt Spark of Ambition, was made the moſt unhappy Inſtrument of another Man's. The proud and aſpiring Duke of* Northumberland *treats with the Duke of* Suffolk, *about a Marriage between the Lord* Guilford Dudley, *his fourth Son, and the Lady* Jane. *The Marriage is concluded, and, by* Northumberland's *Policy, the* Crown *is transferred from King* Edward, *to his Couſin the Lady* Jane, *his two Siſters, the Lady* Mary *and Lady* Eliſabeth, *being paſſed by. Memorable is the Speech ſhe made to the two Dukes, when they owned her for Queen, to this Effect:* That the Laws of the Kingdom, and natural Right, ſtanding for the King's Siſters *, ſhe would beware of burthening her weak Conſcience with a Yoke, which did belong to them: That ſhe underſtood the Infamy of thoſe, who had permitted the Violation of Right, to gain a Scepter: That it was to mock God, and deride Juſtice, to ſcruple at the Stealing of a Shilling, and not at the Uſurpation of a Crown. Beſides (ſaid ſhe) I am not ſo young, nor ſo little read in the Guiles of Fortune, to ſuffer myſelf to be taken by them. If ſhe inrich any, it is but to make them the Subject of her Spoil: If ſhe raiſe others, it is but to pleaſure herſelf with their Ruins. What ſhe adored, but Yeſterday, is To-day her Paſtime. And, if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I muſt To-morrow ſuffer her to cruſh and tear me in Pieces, *&c.* *But the Ambition of the two Dukes was too ſtrong and violent, to be kept down by any ſuch prudent Conſiderations. So that*

* *Mary* and *Eliſabeth.*

being wearied at laſt with their Importunities, *and overcome by the Intreaties of her Huſband, whom ſhe dearly loved, ſhe ſubmitted unto that Neceſſity which ſhe could not vanquiſh, yielding her* Head *with more Unwillingneſs to the raviſhing Glories of a* Crown, *than afterward ſhe did to the Stroke of the* Ax.

Accordingly the Duke of Northumberland *declared, in his Report to the Council, that this good Lady* Jane *was ſo far from aſpiring to the Crown, as to be rather made to accept of it, by Enticement and Force. And,*

The Duke had no ſooner obtained Lady Jane's *Conſent, but it was reſolved that the Council ſhould move with her into the* Tower *of* London, *and that ſhe ſhould be proclaimed in the Manner following: A Proclamation, which, for its Subſtance, Antiquity, Curioſity, and Scarceneſs, well deſerves the Attention of the Reader, and to be preſerved, in this* Miſcellany, *from the Injuries of Time.*

JANE by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland*, under *Chriſt*, in Earth the ſupreme Head. To all our moſt loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, and to every of them Greeting. Whereas our moſt dear Couſin, *Edward the Sixth*, late King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth the ſupreme Head, under *Chriſt*, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, by his Letters Patents, ſigned with his own Hand, and ſealed with his great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the twenty-firſt Day of *June*, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, in the Preſence of the moſt Part of his Nobles, his Counſellors, Judges, and divers others grave and ſage Perſonages, for the Profit and Surety of the whole Realm thereto aſſenting, and ſubſcribing their Names to the ſame, hath by the ſame his Letters Patents recited, that foraſmuch as the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by an Act made in the thirty-fifth Year of the Reign of the late King of worthy Memory, King *Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and great Uncle, was, for Lack of Iſſue of his Body lawfully begotten, and for Lack of Iſſue of the Body of our ſaid late Couſin, King *Edward the Sixth*, by the ſame Act limited, and appointed to remain to the Lady *Mary*, by the Name of the Lady *Mary*, his eldeſt Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, and, for Default of ſuch Iſſue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady *Eliſabeth*, by the Name of the Lady *Eliſabeth*, his ſecond Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with ſuch Conditions, as ſhould be limited and appointed by the ſaid late King of worthy Memory, King *Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and great Uncle, by his Letters Patents, under his great Seal, or by his laſt Will in Writing, ſigned with his Hand. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Limitation of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, being limited (as is aforeſaid) to the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Eliſabeth*, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the Marriage had between the ſaid late King, King *Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and great Uncle, and the Lady *Catharine*, Mother to the ſaid Lady *Mary*, and alſo the Marriage had between the ſaid late King, King *Henry the Eighth*, our Progenitor and great Uncle, and the Lady *Anne*, Mother to the ſaid Lady *Eliſabeth*, were clearly and lawfully undone, by Sentences of Divorces, according to the Word of God, and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws: And which ſaid ſeveral Devorcements have been ſeverally ratified, and confirmed by Authority of Parliament, and eſpecially in the twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, our ſaid Progenitor and great Uncle, remaining in Force, Strength, and Effect, whereby as well the ſaid Lady *Mary*, as alſo the ſaid Lady *Eliſabeth*, to all Intents and Purpoſes, are, and have been clearly diſabled, to aſk, claim, or challenge, the ſaid Imperial Crown, or any other of the Honours, Caſtles, Manors, Lordſhips, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as Heir, or Heirs to our ſaid late Couſin, King *Edward the Sixth*, or as Heir, or Heirs to any other Perſon, or Perſons whoſoever, as well for the Cauſe before rehearſed, as alſo, for that the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Eliſabeth* were unto our ſaid late Couſin but of the half Blood, and therefore, by the ancient Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of this Realm, be not inheritable unto our ſaid late Couſin, although they had been born in lawful Matrimony, as indeed they were not, as by the ſaid Sentences of Divorce, and the ſaid Statute of the twenty-eighth Year of the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, our ſaid Progenitor and great Uncle, plainly appeareth.

And

And forasmuch also as it is to be thought, or, at the least, much to be doubted, that if the said Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elisabeth*, should hereafter have, and enjoy the said Imperial Crown of this Realm and should then happen to marry a Stranger, born out of this Realm, that then the same Stranger, having the Government and the Imperial Crown in his Hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble free Realm into the Tyranny and Servitude of the Bishop of *Rome*, but also to have the Laws and Customs of his or their own native Country or Countries to be practised, and put in Use within this Realm, rather than the Laws, Statutes, and Customs here of long Time used; whereupon the Title of Inheritance of all and singular the Subjects of this Realm do depend, to the Peril of Conscience, and the utter Subversion of the Commonweal of this Realm. Whereupon our said late dear Cousin weighing and considering with himself, what Ways and Means were most convenient to be had for the Stay of the said Succession in the said Imperial Crown, if it should please God to call our said late Cousin out of this transitory Life, having no Issue of his Body, and calling to his Remembrance, that we and the Lady *Catharine*, and the Lady *Mary*, our Sisters, being the Daughters of the Lady *Frances*, our natural Mother, and then and yet Wife to our natural and most loving Father, *Henry*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Lady *Eleanor*, then deceased Sister to the said Lady *Frances*, and the late Wife of our Cousin, *Henry*, Earl of *Cumberland*, were very nigh of his Grace's Blood, of the Part of his Father's Side, our said Progenitor and great Uncle, and being naturally born here within the Realm, and for the very good Opinion our said late Cousin had of our, and our said Sisters and Cousin *Margaret*'s good Education, did therefore, upon good Deliberation and Advice herein had and taken, by his said Letters Patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself our said late Cousin, King *Edward the Sixth*, to decease, having no Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Confines of the same, and his Title to the Crown of the Realm of *France*, and all and singular Honours, Castles, Prerogatives, Privileges, Pre-eminences, Authorities, Jurisdictions, Dominions, Possessions, and Hereditaments, to our said late Cousin, King *Edward the Sixth*, or to the said Imperial Crown belonging, or in any Wise appertaining, should, for Lack of such Issue of his Body, remain, come, and be unto the eldest Son of the Body of the said Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in his Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of the same eldest Son lawfully begotten, and so from Son to Son, as he should be of Antienty in Birth, of the Body of the said Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in our said late Cousin's Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of every such Son, lawfully begotten; and for Default of such Son born into the World, in his Life-time, of the Body of the said Lady *Frances* lawfully begotten, and, for Lack of Heirs Male of every such Son lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all and singular other the Premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the Name of the Lady *Jane*, eldest Daughter of the said Lady *Frances*, and to the Heirs Male of our Body lawfully begotten, and for Lack of such Heir Male of our Body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all other the Premises, should remain, come, and be to the said Lady *Catharine*, our said second Sister, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of the said Lady *Catharine* lawfully begotten, with divers other Remainders, as by the same Letters Patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithens the making of which Letters Patents, that is to say, on *Thursday*, which was the Sixth Day of this instant Month of *July*, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite Mercy our said most dear and intirely beloved Cousin, *Edward the Sixth*, whose Soul God pardon, and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no Heirs of his Body begotten, and that also there remain, at this present Time, no Heirs lawfully begotten of the Body of our said Progenitor and great Uncle, King *Henry the Eighth*, and forasmuch also as the said Lady *Frances*, our said Mother, had no Issue Male begotten of her Body, and born into the World, in the Life-time of our said Cousin, King *Edward the Sixth*, so as the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises to the same belonging, or in any Wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us in our actual and Royal Possession, by Authority of the said Letters Patents: We do, therefore, by these Presents, signify unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, that like as we, for our Part, shall, by God's Grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign Sovereign Queen and Lady to all our

good Subjects in all their juſt and lawful Suits and Cauſes, and to the uttermoſt of our Power ſhall preſerve and maintain God's moſt holy Word, Chriſtian Policy, and the good Laws, Cuſtoms, and Liberties of theſe our Realms and Dominions; ſo we miſtruſt not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their Parts, at all Times, and in all Caſes, ſhew themſelves unto us, their natural liege Queen and Lady, moſt faithful, loving, and obedient Subjects, according to their bounden Duties and Allegiances, whereby they ſhall pleaſe God, and do the Thing that ſhall tend to their own Preſervations and Sureties; willing and commanding all Men of all Eſtates, Degrees, and Conditions, to ſee our Peace and Accord kept, and to be obedient to our Laws, as they tender our Favour, and will anſwer for the Contrary, at their extreme Perils. In Witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents. Witneſs ourſelf at our *Tower* of *London*, the tenth Day of *July*, in the firſt Year of our Reign.

GOD ſave the Queen.

Anno Domini M.D.LIII.

Londini in ædibus Richardi Graftoni Reginæ a typographia excuſum.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.

King *WILLIAM*'s GHOST.

[From a Half Sheet *Folio*, printed in the Year MDCCXI.]

GENTLEMEN,

THE laſt Time I ſpoke to you, I told you, you had ſtill one Opportunity left, but, if ſlipped, you ſhould be a miſerable People.

I was then near my End, God inſpired me, I ſpoke the Decrees of Fate.

What Succeſſes! What Triumphs! have ever ſince attended your victorious Arms! Your Reſolution to aſſert your own and *Europe*'s Liberties.

But you ſtand ſtill! A Fiend in the Likeneſs of an Imperial *Eagle* dazzles your Eyes. In her right Pounce the Hereditary Countries, in her Left the Dominions of *Italy*, in her Beak *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*.

Be not frighted. Where is her Fleet? How remote is ſhe from your Shore? Where are her Manufactures to ſupplant yours?

The Phantom diſappears.

Your *Lions* are, at any Time, an Overmatch for her diſjointed Forces.

Your good Angel comes forth.

Behold the *Gallican* Cock and her numerous *Toads* *, Three-hundred-thouſand veteran Soldiers, Thirty-thouſand experienced Officers, a mighty Fleet, how diſtant? Seven Leagues from your Coaſt.

Tremble!

But no.

Reſume your uſual Courage.

Ruſh in before *Cambray*.

The Genius of *France* ſickens.

Puſh on your bold Squadrons, the *Toads* fly!

† *Lutetia* ſurrenders.

O bleſſed Day! I have my Wiſhes!

Now pauſe a little.

Secure the *Proteſtant* Intereſt.

Give *Auſtria* her Due, but recompenſe her Helper.

Let *Holland* keep all the Strong-holds in *Flanders*, it is your Barrier.

Reſerve *Calais* your own.

Reſtore to *Pruſſia Orange*.

Give *Portugal Badajox*, *Galicia*, and *Algarve*.

To *Savoy Briancon*, Mount *Dauphine*, and Fort *Barrau*.

Erect two Bulwarks againſt *France*.

Let *Anjou* ‡ have *Navarre*, and add to it *Guienne*.

* Three Toads were anciently the Arms of *France*. *Spain*.

† *Paris* formerly called *Lutetia*. ‡ Now King of *Lorrain*

Lorrain is of the *Eagle* Race, his great Father was my beſt Friend, give him *Luxemburg* and *Alſace*, the three Biſhopricks *Burgundy*, *Bar*, and *Champaigne*, he will be your Friend for ever.

Take for yourſelves *Panama* and *Callao*, *Havannah*, and *Porto-Bello*.

Burn the *Toad*'s Fleet, choak *Breſt* and *Toulon*'s Ports.

Hang the *Pretender*, he is not of *Stuart*'s Blood.

Go Home, be happy, rich, and glorious.

An Account of St. *Sebaſtians*, in Relation to its Situation, Fortifications, Government, Cuſtoms and Trade. By one lately come from thence.

[From twenty-two Pages in *Quarto*, printed at *London*, 1700.]

ST. *Sebaſtians*, in the Province of *Guipoſcoa*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, is a free Town, in Manner of a Republick; ſubject to the Crown of *Caſtile*, on Conditions approved on by the Kings of *Spain*. And in all their Writings they ſtile it,

The Moſt Noble and Moſt Loyal City of St. Sebaſtians.

The Kings of *Spain* have given them this Title for the Services they did the Crown, in their Wars againſt the *French* and Kings of *Navarre*.

The Province of *Guipoſcoa* enjoys great Privileges, and does not obey the King's Orders, when that, which is required of them, is contrary to the Privileges and Liberties of the Province, which is governed thus:

Every Year there is a Convocation or Aſſembly, whither every Town does ſend their Deputies to concert Affairs relating to their County or Province. Their Meeting is in four different Places by Turns, and they are called,

St. *Sebaſtians*, *Toloſa*, *Azpeitia*, and *Aſcoitia*.

The Head, or Chief of ſuch as are choſen for the Governing this Province, is a Judge, called *Corrigidor* *, who is as *Lord Lieutenant* of a County, or *Intendant* of a Province. It is to him the King ſends his Orders to be executed in the County. Beſides this *Corrigidor*, there is choſen, for the Governing the ſaid Province, a *Deputation*, ſo called by the *Spaniards*, conſiſting of ſeveral Repreſentatives of the ſeveral Places in the ſaid Province, who have Power of refuſing the King's Orders ſerved to them by the *Corrigidor*, if any ſuch Orders, or Commiſſion, preſented them, are againſt the Rights of the *Deputation*, or Places whom they repreſent; but if the King's Commiſſion, or Orders to the *Corrigidor*, do not contradict the Rights of the *Deputation*, they let him put them in Execution to the full. For Example,

When the King aſks of the ſaid Province to ſupply him with a certain Number of Men, either Landmen or Seamen, the *Corrigidor* ſerves the King's Orders to the Province, and acquaints the *Deputation*; they tell him they are a free People, and that they cannot oblige any Inhabitant to leave his Family to ſerve the King; but, when they find that the Demand is not againſt their Liberties and Rights, they are ſo civil to give the King Leave to order a Drum to be beat, and they will not oppoſe it; otherwiſe they do as in the Caſe of the *Corrigidor*, Duke *Corſano*, a few Years ago, who requiring of this Province of *Guipoſcoa*, and in particular of the City of St. *Sebaſtians*, ſome Things contrary to their Privileges (which I ſhall not mention) they preſented their *Leij Secundo*, or Charter, in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, with Orders to him in four Hours to leave the Province; the Duke was fain to ſcowr for it.

* *i. e.* Judge or Sheriff.

The

The Government of the City of St. *Sebaſtians*, whoſe Magiſtrates are choſen once a Year, about a Week before *Chriſtmas*, is thus:

There are about an hundred Electors, who muſt be qualified as you will hear hereafter, for no Body can be of the Government of St. *Sebaſtians*, nor of the Province, nor indeed of the leaſt Village, till he has proved his *Higuidalquir*, *viz.* That he is Noble.

Their Magiſtrates are choſen thus:

There is a great ſilver Bowl, into which are put, confuſedly, all the Electors Names; the firſt eight, which a Boy (like one of our Blue-coat-boys) takes out, are thoſe who are to be *Alcaijde*, *Subalcaijde*, and *Syndect*, *i. e.* Magiſtrates and Jurates for the following Year.

Theſe eight name, every one of them, one to be *Alcaijde* and *Sabalcaijde*; the firſt two of theſe eight, the Boy takes out, are *Alcaijde* and *Subalcaijde*; the firſt *Alcaijde*, the ſecond *Subalcaijde*, and ſo after the ſame Manner of the *Syndect* and other Officers.

Notwithſtanding this fair Way of chuſing their Magiſtrates, there is Faction and Intereſt made to get in their Friends into the Magiſtracy; they are generally very poor, deſpiſing Induſtry and Arts; and when they come to govern, or to be *Alcaijde*, have Opportunities of exacting even upon their own People as well as Strangers, and which they make no Scruple of doing in the Face of the World. I could relate ſeveral Particulars to my Knowledge, but that I ſhould expoſe them too much; and, indeed, it would hardly be believed that ſuch Tricks and little Things were practiſed in *Spain*, where every one, from the Higheſt to the Loweſt, value themſelves on their Families, Nobility, and *Punctilio*'s of Honour.

In order to be thus qualified to get into the Government (as I ſaid before)

They muſt be Noble.

Their Nobility is thus, not to have had any of their Kindred a *Jew*, *Moor*, *Turk*, or *Heretick*.

And, to prove this, the Perſon, that would be of the Government, preſents a Requeſt to the Province of *Guipoſcoa*, in which is explained his Intention, and asks to be a *Cavallero Dillegenzero* *, *viz.* That his Birth and Eſtate may be enquired into, in order to his being made a Nobleman.

The Province or Town orders their *Syndect*, whoſe Buſineſs it is to enquire into his Family (and for which he has a Piſtole a Day) to go to the Place of his Birth along with him, and there take both private as well as publick Informations of his Family, which afterwards he reports to the Province or Magiſtrates of the Place, where ſuch a one would be of the Government; if the Report is allowed, the *Cavallero Dillegenzero* is declared Noble.

Beſides theſe Qualifications already mentioned, There is one, yet very remarkable, and without it, if they were deſcended from *Cæſar*'s or *Achilles*'s Race, they cannot be Noble, *viz.*

If they live, or are to live in Town, they muſt have a Houſe of their own, or elſe they muſt have Land enough in the Province whereon they have Two-thouſand Apple-trees, or whereon they may raiſe Two-thouſand Apple-trees, and then the *Cavallero Dilligenzero* is admitted, or made capable of being admitted into the Government. No Man can be Noble by his Wife, or by her Eſtate.

The Town of St. *Sebaſtians* is ſeated on the South Side, and at the Bottom of a high Hill of Free-ſtone, in a ſquare Form; the Town is hid by the Hill, as you make towards the Land, and is not to be ſeen, till you are in the Road.

There are two Gates, that of the *Peer*, and the other that is called the *Paſſage-Gate*, from which, goes a Road to *Paſſage*, a noble Harbour: There is a Horn-work with a Ravelin before it, that covers the *Paſſage-Gate*, and but very ordinary, and in ill Repair, and out of all due Proportion.

The Caſtle upon the Top of the Hill ſtands prettily, a noble Proſpect from it all along that Part of the *Bay* of *Biſcay*, from *Cape Martinchauco* to *Arkaſon* and *Cape-Britton* in *France*. The Going up, or Acceſs to this Caſtle, is difficult, which adds to the Strength of it, and, I think, all that can be ſaid juſtly of this Caſtle is this. Although the *Spaniards* are extreme proud of it, and quote you *Charlequin*, who ſaid in Praiſe of it (if you will be-

* A Candidate for an honourable Employment.

lieve

lieve them) that, if he ſhould loſe all *Spain*, and had only the Caſtle of St. *Sebaſtians*, he would recover it.

The Caſtle was blown up by the *Magazine*'s taking Fire, but is now rebuilt, and in good Repair; all the Water in the Caſtle is Rain-water, which is conveighed into a Well by leaden Pipes from the Roof of the Guard-room, and *Barracks*, which are indeed very fine, and capable of lodging Two-thouſand Men conveniently.

The Gariſon at preſent conſiſts of a Serjeant and ſix Men, which by Detachment from the main Guard (which does not conſiſt of above Twelve, beſides a Governor, Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſign) is relieved every Day by the like Number, and by ſometimes a leſſer. The Soldiers are all Beggars, and, if a Stranger refuſes to give them ſomething, they contrive to do him Miſchief.

There are two Platforms mounted with Guns, I ſuppoſe deſigned to ſecure the Harbour, and play on Ships that would force themſelves into the Road; they are too high to be of any Uſe to them, as well as the Caſtle for this Purpoſe.

In the Mouth of the Harbour there is a Hill called St. *Claire*, where there was, three Months ago, a *Hermit* of the Order of St. *Francis*, who tells twenty Legends and Stories, and helps to fill the Caſks with Wine; as he muſt live by Begging, ſo the poor old Fellow will be every Day as drunk as a Beggar; for this Reaſon, they ſay, they turned him out of his Cell, but it is rather believed it was to make Room for one that is now there, a Gentleman of a conſiderable Eſtate in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*; for Reaſons, he has his Eſtate taken from him, and is confined to this *Iſland* as a *Hermit*, to beg his Bread for fourteen Years, and then returns to his Eſtate again: The Church and Clergy enjoy his Eſtate in the mean Time.

All that die *Hereticks* are buried here; when the Corpſe is carried out of Town to be wafted over to this *Iſland* to be buried, the Mob of Men and Women follow, inſulting over the Corpſe, crying aloud, *He goes to Hell.* The *Hermit* has the Benefit of the Ground on his *Iſland*, and ſells it as he thinks fit.

To give the Clergy their Due, they are not ſo troubleſome to Strangers when they are ſick and dying, although *Hereticks*, with their extreme Unction and Wafers, as in *France*.

The Coming into the Road, and over the *Bar* of St. *Sebaſtians*, is difficult, unleſs with a leading Wind, a great Rock lying under Water in the Middle of the *Bar*.

But, to run no Hazard, the Pilots will force themſelves on Board of you; which is commendable enough, if it was not on Deſign to impoſe upon you, and make one pay what they pleaſe, and no Help for it, nor no Juſtice done, if you complain. The *Conſul* and *Merchant* Strangers, reſiding at St. *Sebaſtians*, have brought them to ſome better Reaſon, and to Compoſition, but, for all that, it is ſtill as they pleaſe; every Fiſherman looks upon himſelf as good as *Signior Alcaijde* himſelf: So that a Man muſt ſit down under all Affronts and Hardſhips, and be quiet.

Their Way of Living at St. *Sebaſtians*.

People that are of the better Sort, and diſtinguiſhable, after having enjoyed the Muſick of *Serenading* a little before Day, they get up and drink Chocolate, without which they will not ſtir abroad if their Houſe was on Fire; then they take, both Men and Women, a great deal of Pains with their Hair, dreſs themſelves, and go to Church; they and their Prieſts underſtand what they pray to God for much alike, for not one in twenty of their Clergy underſtands *Latin*.

After *Maſs* the Men go to the *Peer*, where they tarry till Eleven of the Clock; then they go to the Middle of the Town, called the four *Corners*, where they ſtay till Twelve; after it has ſtruck, if it was to ſave the Town, they would not ſtay a Minute longer, and oftentimes break off in the Middle of a Story or Sentence, to go Home to their *Olio*. The firſt Thing preſented at their Tables is a Chocolate Cup of Soop, or the Gravy of Meat boiled, and Bread crumbled into it, ſerved upon earthen Platters; then comes the roaſt Meat, then the boiled, and at laſt the Deſert.

They give this Reaſon for bringing the roaſt Meat before the boiled (which ſeems plauſible enough) the beſt of the boiled Meat, ſay they, is in the Broth, and there is more Subſtance and Nouriſhment in the roaſt than the boiled; for that Reaſon, this would paſs, if they did not ſpoil their roaſt Meat and Fowl, by over-doing of them, and roaſting them dry as they do their boiled Meat, by boiling it to Pieces.

But moſt People think it is rather in Oppoſition to the reſt of the World, for they ſhew it almoſt in every little Thing elſe; Cyder they have cheap,

cheap, and Abundance of ſweet Apples, very large, all round the Country. The Corn of the Country is *Indian* Corn, and no other: With Wheat they are ſupplied from the *Sound*, and ſometimes from *Barbary*, and often from *England*: They have been ſo hard put to it this laſt Year, that they have been forced to make Bread of Cheſnuts, which is the Reaſon they are prohibited to be exported. They have extraordinary good Rabbits of *Navarre*, and Wild-Fowl plenty; their Pigeons are much eſteemed, and their red Partridges of *Arragon* are excellent and large.

Fiſh they have Plenty, and of good Sorts, if they will be at the Pains to catch it; and if the Sea (which with a North-Weſt blowing Wind flies high on the *Bar*, and even up almoſt to the Top of the *Iſland* St. *Claire*, about ſix-hundred Feet) will permit; the Sea oftentimes in the Harbour flies to the Top of the Walls forty Feet high and more.

When the Fiſhermen come from Sea with their Boats, their Wives are ſitting on the *Peer* with their Huſbands Clokes and long Spada's, or long Rapiers; the Huſband walks in State into the Town, and his Wife carries the Baſket of Fiſh on her Head to the Market-place and ſells them. *Billingſgate* Language and Noiſe is nothing to what the Fiſhermen and Apple-women make at St. *Sebaſtians*; they are always quarrelling, and will cuff heartily, and will not be Friends under a Week. Their common Language is *Baſque*, which is as much different from *Spaniſh* as *Welch* from *Engliſh*.

Their Houſes are lofty and ſtately, only covered with Pan-tiles; and becauſe of great unexpected Squalls of Wind, which happen here often, they lay great Stones on the Pan-tiles to keep them faſt; ſometimes both Stones and Pan-tiles are fetched down by Storms of Wind, and, their Streets being narrow, it is dangerous then to walk in them. Their Rooms are large, and there is only one Chimney in a Houſe of five Rooms of a Floor, and four or five Stories high, and that at the Top of the Houſe. They live all Winter in the upper Stories, to enjoy the Benefit of the Sun, and in the lower Rooms in Summer. It is very hot here; the Reflexion of the Sun from the Caſtle-hill on one Hand, and from the Sand in the Vale on the other, is the Cauſe that it is hotter here than in many Places of a more *Southern* Latitude. Their Beds are finely carved and gilt, but very hard to lie on; their Curtains are of Linnen laced at every Half-yard broad, but not wide enough to draw round the Bed; they have few or no Glaſs Windows, only Lattices, their Beds ſtand all in *Alcoves*.

Merchant Strangers, unleſs married with a *Spaniſh* Woman, have not the Liberty to hire Houſes, but muſt get one of the Town to hire them, and live in it with him, and they generally go Snacks with the Merchants in their Profits.

From Dinner they go to Sleep till Two or Three, and then go out of Town between the *Horn-work* and the *Town-wall*; there they tarry all the Afternoon, either playing, or looking on thoſe that play at Tennis and Ninepins: Their Tennis-Court is in the open Air, and rough paved, yet they are very expert in Toſſing the Ball.

In the Winter they paſs their Time till Eight of the Clock at Night in private Houſes, or at an Aſſembly, where every one, that comes in, pays Six-pence; he may either pick up a Party to play at Cards, or ſit and ſee others play and talk, and call for three or four Glaſſes of Wine; if they ſtay beyond Eight, the Mayor ſends his *Algoſins*, and makes Money of the Company, as well as of him that entertains them after ſuch an Hour. Sometimes the Clock ſtrikes Eight, when it is but Seven, if the Mayor wants a little Money.

The Men are very tight in their *Spaniſh* Garb, their long Spada's, their ſilk Stockings and ſlaſhed Shoes; the Women, modeſtly and odly attired, all of them go vailed, their Vails being very large, gathered at the Bottom in ſuch a Manner, that, as they walk, their Vails ſit as full blown about them, as the Sails of a Ship, before the Wind; their Petticoats are proportionable, and the Ladies, who generally all ſit on the Ground or Floor, have ſuch an Addreſs, when they ſit down to fling their Petticoats out in a Round, that, modeſtly ſpeaking, they take up more Room than any Milſtone in *England* does in Circumference, and the Wind gathered under their Coats, by the Turn they make, is ſo long getting out, that, by Degrees, as their Coats fall, they find a cool Breeſe that is very refreſhing to them, in ſo hot a Climate: They ſeldom ſtir abroad, the better Sort, but to Church, and even not then without a great Deal of Jealouſy of an ill-natured Huſband; they have pretty Faces, black Eyes, and would look about them, as Women do, in other Countries, if they durſt.

The

The Prieſts are the only happy Men that enjoy the Ladies Company, who are about eighty in all; their Revenue is but ſmall; they live merry Lives, eat and drink of the beſt, in private Houſes, where they are always welcome; few or none of them, but have three or four Children, and no Reflexion on them.

When a Prieſt would lie with a Woman, he abſolves her from the great Scruple, Women make of Whoredom's being a great Sin; he tells her, he will take that Sin to himſelf; as for the other Scruple, that Women have of loſing their Reputation and ſpoiling their Fortunes, there is no ſuch Thing amongſt them, for, if a Man gets a Woman with Child, that does not paſs for a Proſtitute, he is only to keep the Child, and give the Wench a Portion (if ſhe has nothing of her own) who marries and is not a Bit the worſe looked upon.

Women have another Advantage in this Country, for, after they are contracted and all Matters ſettled, and the Day of Marriage, agreed on, ſhe has the Liberty to deſire her Bridegroom to come and ſhew himſelf a Man: And if ſhe does not find him to her Satisfaction, the Contract is void, and ſhe is a good Maid ſtill.

They bring up ſome of their young Women to play on the *Spaniſh* Harp, for which they let their Nails grow ſo long, that it looks ſtrangely.

They do not allow of any Bawdy-houſes, but every Street, in a dark Night, ſerves their Turn, and he muſt look to himſelf that diſturbs them, or ſpoils Sport.

Every *Sunday* and Holiday, the ordinary Sort of them have a Dance on the Market-Place, thus:

There are three Drums and Pipes; the Drum-Major who has the biggeſt Drum, which is about the Bigneſs of a Child's Drum, is the common Hangman; there they whiſtle with one Hand, and beat their Drums with the other, till there is a Ring made, when one of the nimbleſt of the Fellows goes into the Middle of the Ring, ſhews his Activity, takes out of the Ring a Wench, ſhe her Mate, and ſo it goes round; the firſt Fellow leads the Brandle, and all dance and ſhew their Parts for an Hour. The Coopers, who are numerous here, on St. *Andrew*'s-*Day*, their Patron, go a Maſkquerading all Day, and play twenty Tricks ridiculous enough, and would not work that Day for any Reward, but they make it up at other Times, for they are at Work before Day.

The Country all round abounds with Oak, proper for the Staves, and Cheſnut Trees, of which they make the Hoops for Caſks; there is alſo a great Number of Caſks made in the Country, and at *Paſſage*, and brought to St. *Sebaſtians* empty on Mules.

There is, near to the Town, the Convent of St. *Auſtin*, a Nunnery of Women, where there is to be ſeen the Corpſe of a Woman dead Hundreds of Years ago; her Arms, Legs, and Face appear as full, as if ſhe had been buried but Yeſterday; ſhe looks tawny, and I believe has been ſerved *Mummy*-like; when they were digging the Foundation of this Monaſtery, they found this Corpſe, which they pray to.

The chief Trade of the Town is Iron, Wine, and Oil.

Their Iron-mills are near to the Town, and their iron Bars are brought to the Town on Horſes or Mules, on Crookſaddles, to the publick Magazine, which is under the Town-hall, where conſtant Attendance is given for receiving them out of the Country, and delivering and weighing them to the Buyer. Our Tin-men in *Cornwall* are here ſupplied with their Stamps, and other Utenſils for the Carrying on their Work.

All other Merchandiſes, except Iron, are drawn on Sledges, by two Oxen, in and out of the Town.

They deal ſomewhat in Train-oil and Whalebone. They have ſome Ships that go to the North-ward a Whale-fiſhing; beſides, they catch ſome in Sight of the Caſtle; and in order to this, ſome Months in the Year, they hire a Man that looks out continually from the Top of the Hill, betwixt St. *Sebaſtians* and *Paſſage*, who, when he ſees a Whale or Bottle-noſe, makes a Sign to the Caſtle; the Centinel, from the Caſtle, advertiſes, by his Bell, the Town; immediately the Fiſhermen upon that go forth to the Prey. There was a Bottle-noſe about the Bigneſs of that which was brought up to *Greenwich*, brought into St. *Sebaſtians* in *November* laſt, out of whom they got a great Quantity of that which the call *Sperma Ceti*; the Fleſh was boiled to Oil.

They have alſo ſome Trade to *Newfoundland*, but with that Sort of Fiſh, *Cabelau* they call it, they are better ſupplied from other Nations than by their own Ships.

The great Quantity of *Pilchards*, caught on the Coaſt of *Galicia*, is a mighty Help to this Part of *Spain*, of which they are great Lovers, and are in more Eſteem with them than Herrings.

But the more remarkable Trade of the Town at preſent, and that which brings moſt Money to the Town, is the Wine Trade.

The late War with *France*, from whence we were ſupplied with their excellent *Grave Medoc* and *Pontack* Wines, occaſioned our Parliament to put ſuch a great Duty on *French* Wines, and other Liquors of the Growth of *France*, that Merchants have looked out how to be ſupplied otherwiſe, that they may pay eaſier Duties; and, luckily, they have light upon a Spot of Ground, called the *Spaniſh Navarre*, of which *Pampelone*, *Ablitas*, and *Villa Franca* are the chief Towns, that afford us as good Wines as any *French* Wines; and the *Spaniards* of late both at St. *Sebaſtians*, *Paſſage*, *Fontarabia*, and *Guitaria*, finding ſuch a Demand for Wines, and conſiderable Profit by them, have improved their Vineyards to ſo great a Degree, both in Quantity as well as Quality of good Wines, that their Improvement equals, if not exceeds that of *Portugal*; which, before the War, was not able to furniſh us with above three or four hundred Pipes in a Year, and now there are above ten-thouſand Pipes a Year imported from thence, which appears from the Cuſtom-houſe Books.

This will not be allowed by ſome, but it is very true; one ſhall ſee at St. *Sebaſtians* Mules by Hundreds, loaden with Wine in *Hog-skins*; three Skins upon a Mule, containing ten Gallons each, come every Day into Town, *Sunday* not excepted; all this is unloaden in the Magazines and ſorted, and next Day put into Caſks; the Mules carry away the empty Skins into the Country for more.

This is not only done at St. *Sebaſtians*, but alſo at *Fontarabia*, *Paſſage*, and *Guitaria*; from theſe Places they come to St. *Sebaſtians* in Barques and Barcelongo's, becauſe of the Conveniency of Sea-carriage, in Caſks, and are lodged in Merchants Cellars ready for the Buyer.

The Truth of all this is ſo well known in *England*, from the Care the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms took, in ſending over two of their Officers to examine into the Truth of it, and from ſome Tryals at the Exchequer Bar, that it cannot be further queſtioned.

Beſides, for all Wines ſhipped off from St. *Sebaſtians*, the Maſters of Ships are obliged to take Certificates from the Mayor and Conſul, as a ſufficient Teſtimony that their Wines are of the Growth of *Navarre*, in his Catholick Majeſty's Dominions, given under the great Seal of the

Moſt noble and Moſt Loyal City of St. Sebaſtians.

And underſigned by their ſworn Maſter Cooper, *Signior Nicola* and his Aſſiſtants, that the very Caſks are made by them.

Elynovr Rvmmin; the famous Ale-Wife of *England*. Written by Mr. *Skelton*, Poet Laureat to King *Henry the Eighth*.

[*From an Edition printed at* London, 1624.]

Henry the Eighth's *Reign abounded with Poetical Productions, publiſhed in looſe Sheets, and other Forms in ſmall Pamphlets, amongſt which Writers* John Skelton *was one of the moſt remarkable; and, though he is deſervedly commended for his other Works, yet the moſt comical of all his Pamphlets is this of* Elynovr Rvmmin, *the famous Ale-Wife of* England, *&c. containing two Sheets and an Half in* Quarto, *with the Picture*

Picture in the Title-Page, and the like on the laſt Page, repreſenting an old ill-favoured Woman, holding in her Hand a Pot of Ale, and underwritten with theſe Verſes:

When *Skelton* wore the Lawrell Crowne,
My Ale put all the Ale-Wiues downe.

TO all Tapſters and Tiplers,
And all Ale-houſe Vitlers,
Inne-keepers, and Cookes,
That for Pot-ſale lookes,
And will not giue Meaſure,
But at your owne Pleaſure,
Contrary to Law,
Scant Meaſure will draw,
In Pot, and in Canne,
To cozen a Man
Of his full Quart a Penny,
Of you there's too many:
For in King *Harry*'s Time,
When I made this Rime
Of *Elynovr Rvmmin*,
With her good Ale tunning;
Our Pots were full quarted,
We were not thus thwarted,
With Froth-Canne and Nick-Pot,
And ſuch nimble Quick-ſhot,
That a dowzen will ſcore,
For twelue Pints, and no more.
Full *Winchester* Gage,
We had in that Age;
The *Dutchman's* ſtrong Beere
Was not hopt ouer heere,
To vs 'twas vnknowne;
Bare Ale of our owne,
In a Bowle, we might bring,
To welcome the King,
And his Grace to beſeech,
With *Waſſal my Leigh.*
Nor did that Time know
To puff and to blow
In a Peece of white Clay,
As you doe at this Day,
With Fier and Coale,
And a Leafe in a Hole;
As my Ghoſt hath late ſeene,
As I walked betweene
Weſtminſter-Hall
And the Church of St. *Paul*,
And ſo thorow the Citie,
Where I ſaw and did pitty
My Countrymens Caſes,
With fiery-ſmoake Faces,
Sucking and drinking
A fylthie Weede ſtinking
Was ne're known before
Till the Deuil, and the More,
In th'*Indies* did meete,
And each other there greete,
With a Health they deſire
Of Stinke, Smoake, and Fier:
But who e're doth abhorre it,
The City ſmoakes for it;
Now full of Fier-ſhops,
And fowle Spitting-chops,
So neeſing and coughing,
That my Ghoſt fell to Scoffing,
And to my ſelfe ſaid,
Here's fylthie Fumes made:
Good Phyſicke of Force
To cure a ſick Horſe.
Nor had we ſuch Slops,
And Shagge-haire on our Tops:
At wearing long Haire,
King *Harry* would ſweare,
And gaue a Command,
With Speede out of Hand,
All Heads ſhould be powl'd,
Aſwell young as old,
And his owne was firſt ſo,
Good Enſample to ſhow.
Y'are ſo out of Faſhion,
I know not our Nation,
Your Ruffes and your Bands,
And your Cuffes at your Hands;
Your Pipes and your Smoakes
And your ſhort curtall Clokes;
Scarfes, Feathers, and Swerds,
And thin bodkin Beards;
Your Waſtes a Span long,
Your Knees with Points hung,
Like Morris-daunce Bels,
And many Toyes els,
Which much I diſtaſte,
But *Skelton*'s in Haſte.
My Maſters, Farewell,
Reade ouer my *Nell*,
And tell what you thinke
Of her and her Drinke;
If ſhe had brew'd amiſſe,
I had neuer wrote this.

The Tunning of Elynovr of Rvmmin.

TELL you I chill, if that you will,
A While be ſtill, of a merry Gyll,
That dwelt on a Hill, but ſhe is not grill:
For ſhe is ſomewhat ſage, and well worne in Age,
For her Viſage it would aſſwage
A Man's Courage.
Her lothly Leere is nothing cleere,
But vgly of Cheere, droupy and drowſie,
Scuruy and lowſie, her Face all bowſie;
Comely cryncled, wondrouſly wrinckled,
Like a roaſt Pigge's Ear, briſtled with Haire,
Her lewd Lips twaine, they ſlauer Men ſayne
Like a ropie Rayne.
A gummy Glaire, ſhe is vgly faire,
Her Noſe ſomedeale hooked, and camouſly crooked,
Neuer ſtopping, but euer dropping;
Her Skin looſe and ſlacke, grain'd like a Sacke,
With a crooked Backe;
Her Eyne gowndy, are full vnſoundy,
For they are bleared, and ſhe gray-haired,
Iawed like a Ietty, a Man would haue Pitty,
To ſee how ſhee's gum'd, finger'd and thumb'd,
Gently ioynted, greas'd and annointed
Vp to the Knuckels, the Bones her Buckels
Together made faſt, her Youth is farre paſt.
Footed like a Plane, legged like a Crane,
And yet ſhe will iet, like a iolly Set,
In her furred Flocket, and gray ruffed Rocket,
With Symper the Cocket.
Her Huke of *Lyncolne* greene, it had bin hers I weene
More then fortie Yeare; and ſo it doth appeare,
The greene bare Threeds looke like ſeere Weedes
Wither'd like Hay, the Wooll worne away;
And yet, I dare ſay, ſhe thinks her ſelfe gay,
Vpon the Holyday, when ſhe doth her aray,
And girdeth in her Geetes, ſtitched with Pleetes;
Her Kirtill Briſtow red, with Clothes on her Hed,
That waigh a Sow of Lead.
Writhen in a Wonder-wiſe, after the *Sarſan*'s Guiſe,
With a Whim-wam, knit with a Trim-tram,
Vpon her Brain-pan, like an *Egyptian*
Capped about, when ſhe goeth out
Her ſelfe for to ſhew, ſhe drieth downe the Dew
With a paire of Heels, as broad as two Wheeles;
She hobbles like a Gooſe, with her blauked Hoſe,
Her Shoone ſmeer'd with Tallow greaſed vpon Dyrt,
That baudeth her Skirt.

Primus Paſſus.

And this comely Dame, I vnderſtand her Name
Is *Elynovr Rvmmin* at Home in her Wonning,
And as Men ſay, ſhe dwelt in *Sothray*,
In a certain Steed, beſide *Lederhede*.
Shee is a tonniſh Gib, the Deuill and ſhe be ſib,
But to make vp my Tale, ſhee brueth nappy Ale,
And makes thereof Pot-ſale.
To Trauellers and Tinkers, to Sweaters and Swinkers,
And all good Ale Drinkers, that will nothing ſpare,
But drinke till they ſtare, and bring themſelues bare,
With now away the Mare, and let vs ſley Care,
As wiſe as an Hare.
Come who ſo will, to *Elynovr* on the Hill,
With fill the Cup, fill, and ſit thereby ſtill,
Early and late; thither comes *Kate*,
Ciſly, and *Sare*, with their Legs bare,
And alſo their Feete, hardly vnſweet;
With their Heeles dagged, their Kirtles all to iagged,
Their Smockes all to ragged;
With Titters and Tatters, bring Diſhes and Platters,
With all their Might running, to *Elynovr Rvmmin*,
To haue of her Tunning.
Shee giues them of the ſame, and thus begins the Game;
Some Wenches vnbraced, and ſome all vnlaced,
With their naked Paps, their Flips and Flaps,
It wigs and it wags, like tawny Saff'ron Bags;
A Sort of foule Drabs, all ſcuruie with Scabs,
Some be Flye-bitten, ſome ſkew'd like a Kytten.
Some, with a Shoe-clout, binde their Heads about;
Some haue no Haire-lace, their Lockes about their Face,
Their Treſſes vntruſt, all full of Vnluſt;
Some looke ſtrawy, ſome cawry mawry;
Some vntydie Tegges, like rotten Egges;
Such a lewd Sort to *Elynovr* reſort,
From Tide to Tide, abide, abide,
And to you ſhall be told, how her Ale is ſold
To Mawte and to Mold.

Secundus Paſſus.

Some haue no Money, that thither commy
For their Ale to pay, that is a ſhrewd Aray:
Elynovr ſwears nay, ye bear not away
My Ale for nought, by him that me bought;
With hey Dogge, hey, haue theſe Dogges away;
With get me a Staffe, the Swine eat all my Draffe,
Strike the Hogs with a Club, they haue drunke vp my Tub;
For be there neuer ſo much Preſe, the Swine go to the hy Deſe:
The Sowe with her Pigges, the Bore his Taile wrigges,
Againſt the high Bench, with fough, here's a Stench:

Gather

Gather vp then, Wench ; ſeeſt thou not what's fall,
Take vp Dirt and all, and beare out of the Hall ;
God give it ill Preeuing, clenly as euill Chieuing :
But let vs turn plaine, where we left againe,
For as ill a Patch as that, the Hens run in the Maſh-fat ;
For they goe to Rouſt, ſtraight ouer the Ale iuſt,
And dong, when it comes, in the Ale-tonnes :
Then *Elynovr* taketh the Maſh-boule, and ſhaketh
The Hens Dong away, and ſcomes it in a Tray
Where the Yeaſt is, with her mangie Fiſtis :
And ſometimes ſhe blens the Dong of her Hens
And the Ale together ; and ſaies, Goſſip, come hither,
This Ale ſhall be thicker, and flower the quicker ;
For I may tell you, I learn'd it of a *Iew*,
When I began to brew, and I have found it trew,
Drink now, while it is new ;
And ye may it brooke, it ſhall make you looke
Yonger then you be, Yeares two or three,
For you may proue it by me ; behold, I ſay, and ſee
How bright I am of Blee,
Ich am not caſt away, that can my Huſband ſay :
When we kiſſe and play in Luſt and Liking,
He cals me his Whiting, his Mulling and his Mittine,
His Nobes and his Conny, his Sweeting and Honny,
With Baſſe, my pretty Bonny, thou art worth Good and Mony ;
This make I my ſalyre Fanny, till he dreame and dronny ;
For, after all our Sport, then will he rout and ſnort ;
Then ſweetly together we lye, as two Pigges in a Stye :
To ceaſe me, ſeemeth beſt, of this Tale to reſt,
And leaue this Letter, becauſe it is no better :
Becauſe 'tis no ſweeter, we will no farther rime
Of it at this Time ; but we will turne plaine,
Where we left againe.

Tertius Paſſus.

Inſteede of Quoine and Mony, ſome bring her a Conny,
And ſome a Pot with Honny, ſome a Salt, ſome a Spone,
Some their Hoſe, ſome their Shoone ; ſome rvn a good Trot,
With Skillet or Pot ; ſome fill a Bagge full
Of good *Lemſter* Wooll ; an Huſwife of Truſt,
When ſhe is a-thirſt, ſuch a Web can ſpin,
Her Thrift is full thin.
Some go ſtraight thither, be it ſlaty or ſlidder,
They hold the High-way, they care not what Men ſay,
Be they as be may. Some, loth to be eſpide,
Start in at the Backſide, ouer Hedge and Pale,
And all for good Ale. Some rvn till they ſweat,
And bring Malt or Wheat, and *Elynovr* entreate,
To byrle them of the beſt. Then comes another Gueſt,
Shee ſwear'd by the Roode of Reſt, Her Lips are ſo dry,
Without Drinke ſhe muſt die, therefore fill by and by,
And haue her Pecke of Rye.
Anon, comes another, as dry as the tother,
And with her doth bring Meale, Salt, or other Thing,
Girdle, or Wedding-ring, to pay for her Scot,
As comes to her Lot. Some bring their Huſbands Hood,

Becauſe

Becauſe the Ale is good; another brought his Cap
To offer at the Ale-tap, with Flaxe and with Toe,
And ſome brought ſower Dowe, with Hey and with Hoe,
Sit we down arow, and drink till we blow,
And pipe tirly, tirly lowe.
Some lai'd to Pledge their Hatchet and their Wedge,
Their Hickell and their Reele, their Rocke and Spinning-wheele;
And ſome went ſo narrow, they laid to Pledge their Wharrow,
Their Ribſkin and Spindle, their Needle and Thimble:
Heere was ſcant Thrift, when they made ſuch Shift:
Their Thirſt was ſo great, they neuer aſked for Meat,
But Drinke, ſtill Drinke, and let the Cat winke;
Let vs waſh our Gummes from the dry Crummes.

Quartus Paſſus.

Some, for very Neede, lay down a Skaine of Threed,
Some Beanes and Peaſe, ſome Chaffer doth eaſe;
Sometime, now and than, another there ran,
With a good braſſe Pan, her Cullour full wan;
Shee ran in all Haſte, vnbrac'd and vnlaſte,
Tawny, ſwart, and ſallow, like a Cake of Tallow,
I ſwear by *All-hallow*, it was a Stare to take
The Deuill in a Brake.
Then came halting *Ione*, and brought a Gambone
Of Bacon that was reſtie; but Lord how teſtie,
Angry and waſpie, ſhe began to yawne and gaſpie,
And bad *Elynovr* goe bet, and fill in good Met,
It was deere that was farre fet.
Another brought a Spicke, of a Bacon Slicke,
Her Tongue was very quicke, but ſhe ſpake ſomewhat thicke.
Her Fellow did ſtammer and ſtut, but ſhe was a foule Slut;
For her Mouth foamed, and her Belly groaned.
Ione ſaine ſhe had eaten a Fyeſt, Queane (quoth ſhe) thou lyeſt,
I haue as ſweet a Breath, as thou, with ſhamefull Death.
Then *Elynovr* ſaid, ye Callets, I ſhall breake your Pallets,
Without you now ceaſe, and ſo was made a drunken Peace.
Then came drunken *Ales*, and ſhe was full of Tales
Of Tidings in *Walles*, and St. *Iames* in Gales,
And of the *Portingales*, with loe Goſſip I wis,
Thus and thus it is, there hath beene great Warre
Betweene *Temple-Barre*, and the *Croſſe* in *Cheape*,
And there came a Heape of Mill-ſtones in a Rout;
Shee ſpeaketh thus in her Snout, ſniueling in her Noſe,
As though ſhe had the Poſe, loe here is an old Tippet,
You ſhall giue me a Sippet of your ſtrong Ale,
And God ſend good Sale; and as ſhe was drinking,
Shee fell in a winking with a Barly-hood,
Shee piſt where ſhe ſtood; then began ſhee to weepe,
And forthwith fell a-ſleepe: *Elynovr* tooke her vp,
And bleſt her with a Cup of new Ale in Cornes,
Ales found therein no Thornes, but ſupt it vp at once,
Shee found therein no Bones.

Quintus Paſſus.

Now in commeth another Rable firſt one with a Ladle,
Another with a Cradle, and with a Side-ſadle,
And there began a Fable, a Clattering and a Bable,
Of Foles ſilly, that had a Fole with Willy,
With iaſt you and gup Gilly, ſhe could not lie ſtilly.
Then came in a Gennet, and ſware by Saint *Bennet*,
I dranke not, this Sennet, a Draught to my Pay;
Elynovr, I thee pray, of thy Ale let me aſſay,
And haue here a Pelch of Gray; I wear Skins of Conny,
That cauſeth I looke ſo donny. Another then did hitch-her,
And brought a Pottell-pitcher, a Tonnell and a Bottell,
But ſhe had loſt the Stoppell; ſhe cut of her Shooe-ſole,
And ſtopt therewith the Hole.
Among all the Blommer, another brought a Scommer,
A Frying-pan, and Slice, *Elynovr* made the Price
For good Ale each Whit. Then ſtart in mad *Kit*,
That had little Wit, ſhee ſeemed ſome-deale ſeeke,
And brought a Penny Cheeke, to Dame *Elynovr*,
For a Draught of Liquour.
Then *Margery* Milke-ducke her Kirtle did vp tucke,
An Ynch aboue her Knee, her Legges that ye might ſee;
But they were ſturdy and ſtubled, mighty Peſtels and clubbed,
As faire and as white as the Foote of a Kite;
She was ſome-what ſoule, crooked neck'd like an Owle,
And yet ſhe brought her Fees, a Cantle of *Eſſex* Cheeſe,
Was well a Foot thicke, full of Magots quicke;
It was huge and great, and mighty ſtrong Meat,
For the Deuill to eat, it was tart and punieate.
Another Sort of Sluts; ſome brought Walnuts,
Some Apples, ſome Peares, and ſome their Clipping-ſheares;
Some brought this and that, ſome brought I wot nere what,
Some brought their Huſbands Hat:
Some Puddings and Linkes, ſome Tripe that ſtinkes.
But of all this Throng, one came them among;
Shee ſeem'd halfe a Leach, and began to preach
Of the *Tueſday* in the Weeke, when the Mare doth kicke;
The Vertue of an vnſet Leeke, and her Huſbands, Breeke;
With the Feathers of a Quaile, ſhe could to bord onſaile,
And, with good Ale-barme, ſhe could make a Charme,
To helpe withall a Stitch; ſhe ſeemed to be a Witch;
Another brought two Goſlings, that were naughty Froſlings,
Some brought them in a Wallet, ſhe was a comely Callet;
The Goſlings were vntide, *El'novr* began to chide,
They be wrethocke thou haſt brought, and ſhire-ſhaking nought.

Sextus Paſſus.

Maud ruggie thither skipped, ſhe was vgly hipped,
And vgly thicke lipped, like an Onyon ſided,
Like tan'd-leather hided, ſhe had her ſo guided,

Betweene

Betweene the Cup and the Wall, ſhe was there-withall
Into a Palzie Fall:
With that her Head ſhaked, and her Hands quaked;
One's Heart would haue aked, to haue ſeene her naked;
She dranke ſo of the Dregs, the Dropſie was in her Legs;
Her Face gliſtring like Glaſſe, all foggie fat ſhe was;
She had alſo the Gout in all her Ioints about,
Her Breath was ſower and ſtale, and ſmelled all of Ale,
Such a Bed-fellow would make one caſt his Craw;
But yet, for all that, ſhe dranke on the Maſh-fat:
There came an old Ribibe, ſhe halted of a Kibe,
And had broken her Shin, at the Threſhold comeing in,
And fell ſo wide open, one might ſee her Token,
The Deuill thereon be wroken, what need all this be ſpoken,
She yelled like a Calfe: Riſe vp on God's Halfe,
Said *Elynovr Rvmmin*, I beſhrew thee for Comming;
As ſhe at her did plucke, Quacke, Quacke, ſaid the Ducke
In that Lampatram's Lap, with fie couer the Shap,
With ſome Flip-flap; God give it ill Hap,
Said *Elynovr* for Shame, like an honeſt Dame:
Vp ſhe ſtart halfe lame, and ſcantly could goe,
For Paine and for Woe.
In came another Dant, with a Gooſe and a Gant;
Shee had a wide Weſant, ſhe was nothing pleaſant,
Necked like an Elephant, it was a Bullifant,
A greedy Cormorant.
Another brought Garlike-heads, another brought her Beads,
Of Iet or of Cole, to offer to the Ale Pole.
Some brought a Wimble, and ſome brought a Thymble:
Some brought a ſilke Lace, and ſome a Pin-caſe:
Some her Husband's Gowne, ſome a Pillow of Downe;
And all this Shift they make for the good Ale Sake.
Then ſtart forth a Phiſgigge, and ſhe brought a Bore-pigge,
The Fleſh thereof was ranke, and her Breath ſtrongly ſtanke;
Yet ere ſhe went ſhe dranke, and gate her great Thanke
Of *Elynovr* for her Ware, that ſhe thither bare,
To pay for her Share. Now truly, to my Thinking,
This was a ſolemne Drinking.

Septimus Paſſus.

Soft, quoth one hight *Sibbill*, firſt let me with you bibbill;
Shee ſate down in the Place, with a ſorry Face,
Whey-wormed about, garniſhed was her Snout,
With here and there a Puſcull, like a ſcabbed Muſcull:
This Ale, ſaid ſhe, is noppy, let us ſipp and ſoppy,
And not ſpill a Droppy, for ſo mote I hoppy,
It cooleth well my Coppy.
Dame *Elynovr*, ſaid ſhe, haue, here's for me,
A Clout of *London* Pins, and with that ſhe begins
The Pot to her plucke, and dranke a good Lucke,
She ſwing'd vp a Quart at once for her Part:
Her Paunch was ſo puffed, and ſo with Ale ſtuffed,
Had ſhe not hyed a-pace, ſhe had defiled the Place.

Then began the Sport amongſt the drunken Sort,
Dame *Elynovr*, ſaid they, lend here a Locke of Hay,
To make all Things cleane, you wot well what I meane.
But, Sir, among all that ſate in that Hall,
There was a Prick-me-dainty ſate like a Sainty,
And began to painty, as though ſhe would fainty;
She made it as coy as a lege Demoy,
She was not halfe ſo wiſe as ſhe was peeuiſh nice;
She ſaid neuer a Word, but roſe from the Bord,
And called for our Dame, *Elynovr* by Name.
We ſuppoſed I wis, that ſhe roſe to piſſe;
But the very Ground was to compound
With *Elynovr* in the Spence, to pay for her Expence.
I haue no Penny nor Groat, to pay, ſaid ſhe, God wot,
For Waſhing of my Throat.
But my Beades of Amber, beare them to your Chamber.
Then *Elynovr* did them hide within her Bed-ſide;
But ſome ſate right ſad, that nothing had,
There of their owne, neither gelt nor pawne;
Such were there manny, that had not a Peny:
But, when they ſhould walke, were faine with a Chalke,
To ſcore on the Balke:
Or ſcore on the Taile, God give it ill Haile,
For my Fingers itch, I haue written to mych,
Of this mad Mumming of *Elynovr Rvmmin.*
Thus endeth the Geſt of this worthy Feaſt.

Skelton's *Ghoſt to the Reader.*

THUS, Countrymen kinde,
I pray let me finde,
For this merry Glee,
No hard Cenſure to be.
King *Henry the Eight*
Had a good Conceit
Of my merry Vaine,
Though duncicall plaine:
It now nothing fits
The Times nimble Wits;
My Lawrell and I
Are both wither'd dry,
And you flouriſh greene,
In your Workes daily ſeene,
That come from the Preſſe,
Well writ I confeſſe;
But Time will deuouer
Your Poets as our,
And make them as dull
As my empty Scull.

Dif-

Diſcourſes upon the Modern Affairs of *Europe*, tending to prove that the illuſtrious *French* Monarchy may be reduced to *Terms* of greater Moderation.

Dì Denári, dì ſénno, e dì Féde
C'n'è mancò ché non Créde.

There is commonly leſs Money, leſs Wiſdom, and leſs good Faith than Men do account upon. VERULAM.

Et digiti pedum partim ſunt ex ferro, & partim ex luto; quia ex parte regnum futurum eſt durum, & ex parte futurum eſt fragile, Dan. ii. 42.

[From a *Quarto* Edition, Twenty-four Pages, printed at the *Hague*, in the Year 1680.]

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

The Author *of theſe Diſcourſes I know not. But the ſame coming to my Hands, beyond any Expectation of mine, I thought I was bound to give the Publick (whoſe Mark is upon them) Credit for the ſame. And, becauſe it is one eſſential Property of a good Merchant to pay well, I alſo thought myſelf obliged to render the Effects of ſo good a* Hit, *into the common Bank, where they are due. It is true, there are ſome Things in them, which ſeem not ſo fit for publick View; but thoſe Things concerning the* Author *and not* me, *who have a Stock only going in the publick Company, and am no private Trader; I paſs thoſe Conſiderations over, ſeeing good Things (as the* Philoſopher *long ſince obſerved) the more common, the better they are. And he that cannot ſpeak within Doors, may ſometimes take Liberty to ſpeak without Doors, eſpecially when thoſe within Doors ſeem to forget the moſt material Points. Something I would alſo ſay of the Diſcourſe itſelf; but becauſe it is a Proverb as old as* Apelles *himſelf, its Author*, That the Shoemaker muſt not go above his Laſt: *I will pray in Aid of my Lord* Bacon*, *and deſire him to be of Council for me. And firſt, for the* Method and Manner *of Handling, thus he ſpeaks*, The Form of Writing, which beſt agrees with ſo variable and univerſal an Argument *(as is the Handling of Negociations and ſcattered*

* Advancement of Learning.

Occaſions) that would be of all others the fitteſt, which *Machiavel* made Choice of for the Handling of Matters of Policy and Government; namely, by Obſervations and Diſcourſes, as they term them, upon Hiſtory and Examples. *For Knowledge, drawn freſhly, and, as it were, in our View, out of Particulars, knows the Way beſt to Particulars again; and it hath much the greater Life for Practice, when the Diſcourſe or Diſceptation attends upon the Example, than when the Example attends upon the Diſceptation; for here not only Order but Subſtance is reſpected. And as to the* Matter, *who would not but be in a Paſſion, to ſee the World undone by inſufficient Counſellors? Or, to ſpeak in our own Dialect, ſo many good Ships loſt, as it were, in the very Mouth of the Haven, through unskilful Pilots? And to ſee fighting Armies neglected, and impertinent Things relied on? Let him therefore ſpeak to theſe two Things. To the* Firſt, *The Speech of* Themiſtocles, *taken to himſelf, was indeed ſomewhat uncivil and haughty; but if it had been applied to others, and at large, certainly it may ſeem to comprehend in it a wiſe Obſervation, and a grave Cenſure; deſired at a Feaſt to touch a Lute, he ſaid, he could not* fiddle, *but yet he could make a* ſmall Town a great City. *Theſe Words, drawn to a politick Senſe, do excellently expreſs and diſtinguiſh two differing Abilities, in thoſe that deal in Buſineſs of Eſtate. For, if a true Survey be taken of all Counſellors and Stateſmen that ever were, and others promoted to publick Charge, there will be found (though very rarely) thoſe who can make a* ſmall State great, *and yet cannot* fiddle: *As, on the other Side, there will be found a great many, that are very cunning upon the* Cittern *or* Lute (*that is, in* Court-Trifles) *but yet are ſo far from being able to make a* ſmall State great, *as their Gift lies another Way, to bring a* great and flouriſhing Eſtate to Ruin and Decay. *To the* Second *thus: Walled Towns, ſtored Arſenals and Armories, goodly Races of Horſe, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like; all this is but a* Sheep *in a* Lion's *Skin, except the Breed and Diſpoſition of the People be ſtout and warlike. Nay, Number itſelf in Armies imports not much, where the People are of a faint and weak Courage: For, as* Virgil *ſaith,* It never troubles a *Wolf,* how many the *Sheep* are. *And a little after,* A Man may rightly make a Judgment, and ſet it down for a ſure and certain Truth, that the principal Point of all others, which reſpects the Greatneſs of any Kingdom or State, is to have a Race of military Men. *Farewel.*

THE great Thing which has diſturbed the Peace of *Europe*, filled it with Blood and Slaughters, and ſhaken the diſmembered Kingdoms and States thereof, has been the huge Deſign of the *Univerſal Monarchy*; a Deſign which (by a Kind of Faſcination) has poſſeſſed the Genius of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Monarchies, which therefore, in their Turns, have been dangerous to all *Europe*. But the *French* have made nearer Approaches to the Throne of ſuch extended *Empire*, than the *Spaniards*. Let us then look upon the Means and Advantages the *Moſt Chriſtian* King has, to purſue ſo vaſt a Deſign, as if he would plow up the Air: To the End our Minds may be ſtirred up (if any Thing will ſtir them) to raiſe up thoſe Banks, which (under that Providence, to which nothing is ſo high, to be above it; nothing ſo low, to be beneath it; nothing ſo large, but is bounded; nor, nothing ſo confuſed, but is ordered by it) will circumſcribe ſuch wild and boundleſs Ambition, within its own Limits.

And, for our Encouragement, let us, by the Way, hear the Judgment of that excellent Man, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the Caſe of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which then was, what *France* now is, to the reſt of *Europe*. His Words are theſe: *Since the Fall of the* Roman Empire *(omitting that of the* Germans, *which had neither Greatneſs nor Continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the* Eaſt, *but that of the* Turk; *nor in the* Weſt *any Prince that hath ſpread his Wings far over his Neſt, but the* Spaniard; *who, ſince the Time that* Ferdinand *expelled the* Moors *out of* Granada, *have made any Attempts to make themſelves Maſters of*

of all Europe. *And it is true, that by the Treaſures of both* Indies, *and by the many Kingdoms which they poſſeſs in* Europe, *they are at this Day the moſt powerful. But, as the* Turk *is now counterpoiſed by the* Perſian, *ſo, inſtead of ſo many Millions as have been ſpent by the* Engliſh, French, *and* Netherlands, *in a defenſive War, and in Diverſions againſt them, it is eaſy to demonſtrate, that with the Charge of Two-hundred-thouſand Pounds, continued but two Years, or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſuaded to live in Peace, but all their ſwelling and overflowing Streams may be brought back into their natural Channels and old Banks.* But to go on.

France then is come to the greateſt Perfection, in reſpect of domeſtick Empire, it is capable of. For, 1. Whereas heretofore the Body of that Kingdom was not intire, but ſubject to ſeveral great Barons, who were able not only to expoſtulate, but to contend with the King; they are all brought now to a Dependence on the Crown, and become moſt obſequious to it. 2. All thoſe mighty Members, into which that Kingdom was formerly divided, are now annexed to the Crown: So that, for Largeneſs of Territory, and compacted and united Strength, it is become the moſt formidable Kingdom in all *Europe*. And as, by the former of theſe, they have ſecured themſelves againſt all inteſtine Wars, which many Times, through the Intereſts and Feuds of thoſe Barons, ſhook the whole Frame of that Kingdom: So, by the latter, they have fenced themſelves againſt all foreign Invaſion. For, heretofore, all the neighbouring Princes were ready upon every Occaſion to invade the Kingdom of *France*, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Britany*, *Guienne*, or *Flanders*, being always tempting them thereunto, and giving them Acceſs, Paſſage, and Reception. By this Means *England* made two Conqueſts of *France*, and at other Times forced them to buy Peace of them, and pay them Tribute. But now, whoſoever would invade that Kingdom, ſhall not only want theſe for their Confederates, to invite and aſſiſt them, but ſhall have them for their Enemies. Thus far *Machiavel* has obſerved for Subſtance. 3. By abrogating the Convention of Eſtates*, that King has ſpoiled the People of that Power and Share in Government, which they have originally had in all the *mixt Monarchies* of *Europe*, and made himſelf abſolute, even in the Point of raiſing Money; which is the Blood that fills the Veins of that mighty Body. By this Means he has changed the Conſtitution of that Kingdom, from *mixt* to *abſolute* Monarchy, for the Kind of it; which is the Form that enables a Prince to do moſt Miſchief, both at Home and Abroad. 4. But that which is the Crown of this Perfection, and may be the ſtrongeſt Stay of it, is the *Naval Force*, NOW added to the other Strengths of that powerful Monarchy, wherein it now † equals, if it be not an Overbalance to, either *England* or *Holland*. For this is a Maxim, *That the Power of a Prince, whoſe Dominions border on the Sea, cannot be perfect without a Force in Shipping able to command the Sea.* Wherefore, in my Opinion (which nevertheleſs is exceeding weak) one of the greateſt Miſchiefs, this War has produced, is, That it has given Occaſion to *France* to become mighty in Naval Power. And that Miſchief can never better be demonſtrated than by this Conſideration: That there was never before any Example, upon Earth, of a Triumvirate of mighty Nations in a Vicinity of Neighbourhood one to another, and bordering upon the ſame Seas, equally powerful in Naval Strength. The Conſequence of which muſt of Neceſſity, in Time to come, be a perpetual Emulation and Jealouſy, greater, by how much either an Union or Diviſion of Three is more perfect than of any other Number. Whereby it muſt neceſſarily come to paſs, either that ſome Two of the Three ſhall alternately, or by Turns, fight againſt the Third; or that Two of the Three ſhall agree to extinguiſh the Power of the Third; that themſelves may remain in indifferent Terms, without Jealouſy one of another. It is now long ſince *France* wanted but one of three Things to help them to drive on that huge Deſign of Ambition for the *Univerſal Monarchy*, which has ſo long ſwelled their Hearts. To bring *Holland* under a Kind of *feudal* Protection of that Crown, by which Means they might ſerve themſelves of their Ships and Seamen: Or to make themſelves Maſters of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: Or *laſtly*, to grow great in Naval Strength at Home. For *France* has been dangerous enough to the reſt of *Europe*, whilſt they were in a Manner without Shipping: Inſomuch that thoſe two Things were obſerved of them in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, 'That 'France could never abſtain from War, for 'above two or three Years together.' And, 'That they could never be poor.' 5. And *laſtly*, To all this may be added, the new Con-

* *Viz.* The Power of their Parliament.

† *Anno* 1680.

queſts

queſts and Acquiſitions of the *French*. But nevertheleſs it may be doubted, whether that Monarchy has received any real Acceſſion of Strength by thoſe Conqueſts, in caſe it ſhould come to feel the Shock of a powerful and vigorous Enemy. It is true indeed (what *Machiavel* has ſaid) 'That the Conqueſts of Common-wealths that 'are ill governed, and contrary to the Model 'of the *Romans*, do conduce more to the Ruin, 'than Advancement of their Affairs.' But, when we ſhall a little penetrate (what he elſewhere ſays) That, when we have obſerved the Hiſtories of former Times, we ſhall find, that Common-wealths had generally but three Ways of enlarging their Empire. One is that which was obſerved by the *Tuſcans* of old, who entered into a League of Confederacy with ſeveral other Common-wealths, with Condition of Equality, that no Particular ſhould have any Degree or Authority above the reſt, and that Comprehenſion ſhould be left for all their new Conqueſts to come in, not much unlike the Practice of the *Switzers* and the *Hollanders* of late, and the *Achaians* and *Ætolians* of old. Another Way of extending your Empire, is, by aſſociating with ſeveral Cities, but ſo, as that the Dignity of the Command, the Seat of the Empire, and the Honour of the Enterpriſe, may remain with you, which was the Way obſerved by the *Romans*, and it was peculiar to them; no other People has obſerved it, and certainly no better is to be found. The *third* is the Way of the *Spartans*, and *Athenians*, who entertained no Confederates, but whatever Territories they conquered, they annexed them to their own: Which Way is, undoubtedly, the worſt of the Three, as appeared by the two ſaid Republicks, who were ruined upon no other Account, but becauſe they had graſped more Dominion than they were able to hold. I ſay, theſe Things diſtinctly conſidered, and the laſt Way being that which the *French* practiſe in their Conqueſts, it makes the Doubt yet greater.

From that of the State, if we deſcend to the Conſideration of the Perſon of the King, it gives us theſe two momentous Obſervations. 1. It ſhews us how neceſſary a Thing it is for a Prince, that would either defend or enlarge his State, to excel in *practical* Wiſdom, which conſiſts in *Application*, *Conduct*, and *Purſuit*. For by that Means he ſhall always be ſerved by wiſe and excellent Men. For it ever was, and ever will be true: *As the Prince himſelf is, ſo are his Council, and thoſe that are about him.* A weak Prince will never endure wiſe Men; nor can wiſe Men ever be ſafe under an inadvertent Prince. And it gives him mighty Advantages over the Princes and States, that are about him; eſpecially if their Adminiſtrations be ſlow, weak, and remiſs. And it is commonly ſeen, when a great Man riſes in the World, either that he is alone, or that the Magnificence of his Actions ſwallows up the weaker Efforts of others, as the Sea does the Rivers. And *Secondly*, That when a wiſe and martial Prince riſes, and is ſucceeded by one or two Princes of equal Condition to himſelf, without a puſillanimous one interpoſed, they may do very great Things in the World; ſince the Succeſſion of two ſuch Princes alone, *Philip* and *Alexander*, in the Kingdom of *Macedon* was ſufficient to conquer the World. I conclude therefore, That, if the preſent King of *France* * ſhould be ſucceeded by a Prince of equal Virtue to himſelf, they would ſwallow up the greateſt Part of *Europe*. But becauſe the great Things of Monarchy begin and end, with one or a few Princes; and it is rarely ſeen, that three ſufficient Princes immediately ſucceed one another, without ſome *effeminate* or *ill-conſulted* Prince between, I am of Opinion, *that* Monarchy will ſink with its own Weight.

Now having taken a View of the Force and Strength of this Monarchy, and the Sufficiency of her preſent King, let us next conſider what their next Attempts are like to be. In general they will do theſe two Things, What they begun by War, they will purſue in Peace; for they had no other Deſign in making Peace, than to diſarm their Enemies, break their Confederation, and hinder *England* from coming into it, that they might inſult over the World, by a Peace more tyrannical than the War of a gallant Enemy. And then, when the injured World can bear their Inſolences no longer, out of the Elements of this Peace they will raiſe up a new War. For that Prince, that would make *great* Conqueſts, muſt make *ſhort* Wars, and renew them *often*. *Holland* they will not attack, at leaſt not this Year, for two important Reaſons: Becauſe *Flanders* lies between that and *France*. And beſides, they will go as *ſoftly* as they can, till towards the latter End of the Summer, *for fear of awaking them out of that Sleep, their waſted Spirits, and trading Humour,*

* *Lewis the Fourteenth.*

have

have caſt them into. And *England* their Stomachs do not ſerve them to meddle with. For though it be true, that whoever he be, that ſhall attempt to ſet up an *Univerſal Monarchy* in *Europe*, will firſt or laſt find *England*, the ſtrongeſt Bar in the Way; I ſay *England*, which is not only the ſtrongeſt, but now the only ſtrong Kingdom that is in *Europe*, next to *France*. And therefore *Philip the Second* of *Spain*, after all his vain Attempts and Purſuits, turned himſelf upon *England*; in which though he miſcarried, yet he maintained a long War in *Ireland*. Yet the *French* will think to ſerve themſelves of the ſupine Negligence of *England*, and ſtill hope that they may have Prorogations there for their Money, till they have eaten up the reſt of *Europe*, as they eat Bread. And beſides, they will find a better Way to diſtreſs *England*, and more effectual than by any point blanck Attack which they can make upon it, as we ſhall ſee anon. *Laſtly*, there is yet one very important Reaſon, and that is, they are afraid of *England*; and truly, if God had not placed in Man the iraſcible Affection of Fear, he would be much a wilder Creature than he is. But, leſt the Truth of this ſhould be doubted, it will not be amiſs to call a foreign Witneſs, and that is *Machiavel*, whoſe own Words are: 'The 'French are in great Fear of the *Engliſh*, for 'the great Inroads and Devaſtations, which 'they have made anciently in that Kingdom; 'inſomuch that, among the common People, 'the Name of *Engliſh* is terrible to this Day: 'But he adds, there was not then the ſame 'Reaſon for it.". It is true, there are not ſo ſtrong Reaſons, why they ſhould fear us ſo much *now*, as they did *formerly*, our Advantages, which which we had over that Kingdom, being moſt of them loſt, and that Monarchy come to its full Strength, and the greateſt Perfection it is ever like to ſee. And yet there be very ſtrong Reaſons, why *they ſhould yet fear us, and, if they do not apprehend them, it is No-body's Fault but our own.* And I ſay, that both the *Spaniſh* and *French* Monarchies inherit ſuch a Remembrance of the *Engliſh* as the *Romans* did of *Hannibal*. Nay, I think it may be truly affirmed, That *France* is more afraid of the *Parliament* of *England* (that is, the King and the Eſtates of Parliament, for they are all comprehended under the Word *Parliament*) than of any one, if not of all the Princes and States of *Europe*.

But, if *France* will do neither of theſe, what is it then that they will do? I anſwer, we muſt not take our Meaſures by thoſe Reports they cauſe to be given out, up and down the World, to caſt a Miſt before the Eyes of their Neighbour Princes and States, as Jugglers do; nor when they ſeem to look far abroad muſt we regard it; but conſider by the exact Rules of Prudence, what is fit for them to do, and what we ourſelves would do, were we in their Caſe. I ſay then, that the greateſt and wiſeſt Thing, which *France* can do next, is to make himſelf Maſter of the Reſidue of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and particularly to ſeize upon *Oſtend* and *Nieuport*. And when he has done that, to turn his whole Force upon the Empire, not omitting in the mean Time to attempt all that he can do there, as well to amuſe and divert them, as to open his Way to the compleat Conqueſt of that Branch of the miſerable Houſe of *Auſtria*.

To demonſtrate this, I know no better Way, than a little to conſider, and diſcourſe upon the Conſequences of this, with reſpect unto *England* and *Holland*. For *England*, if the *French* be permitted to become Maſters of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and to poſſeſs *Oſtend* and *Nieuport*, then *England* will not only not have a Footing on the Main, but all the Sea-coaſt, oppoſite to the whole Body of it, will be in the Hands of the *French*, always Enemies to *England*, in Intereſt and Humour. And, if he pleaſes to look over the Sea, he may ſeize upon *Ireland*, when he pleaſes, which will always lie open to him, and where he will find *Papiſts* enough to entertain and join with him. And let it be remembered, that *Ireland* is in a Manner already cut off from *England* by the *Iriſh* Act; and what would *England* then be, but an Iſland hemmed in by the Sea, and their Enemy is its Maſter, and ſhut out of the World? By this Means they will be precluded from ſending any Succours to the Reſcue or Relief of thoſe Provinces. And by this Means alſo it muſt neceſſarily come to paſs (which is worſt of all) that *England* muſt loſe both the Dominion of the Sea, and their Trade; and in Time will not be able either to build, or ſail Ships out of their own Ports, without the Licenſe of *France*; and ſo will be in a fair Way to become a *feudal* Province of *France*. And thus we ſee *England* may be diſtreſſed without warring *directly* upon it. It is the greateſt Blemiſh in the Reign of *Henry the Seventh* (celebrated in our Hiſtories for one of the wiſeſt of all our Princes) that he ſuffered *Britany* to be loſt, and annexed to the Crown of *France*; a foul Spot in ſo beautiful a Picture, as he is taken by

by the Pencil of my Lord *Bacon*. And the more I think of theſe Things, the more I am confirmed, that we ſhall ſtir up the juſt Indignation of thoſe that are to come after us, againſt our Memories; and it will be the Wonder of ſucceeding Generations, that ſo great a King, as the King of *England*; *in a War that had for its Ends an* Univerſal Monarchy, *for the moſt* Chriſtian King, *and the Subverſion of the* Proteſtant *Religion and Intereſt*; the one as fooliſh and impoſſible to be effected, as the other is full of monſtrous deteſtable Impiety towards God; and to which Ends our Enemies have been travelling through a Sea of Blood, and all thoſe crooked Ways the firſt Attempter againſt God beat out to thoſe that travel with Pride, Ambition, and Impiety: I ſay that ſuch a King *, in ſuch a War, and ſuch a Peace as followed it, ſhould ſit ſtill, and ſuffer himſelf to be (as it were) beſieged in his own Kingdom, whilſt he ſuffered *France*, not only to grow to an Over-balance to *England* in Naval Force, but to plant himſelf all along on the oppoſite Shore of the main Continent, and in the mean Time to ſuffer the greateſt Part of *Europe* to be conſumed with the Flames of an unjuſt War, and be ſacrificed to the Ambition of *France*. An Aggravation greater, by how much *England* has been famous for holding and caſting the Balance of *Europe*, and Protection of the *Proteſtant* Religion. Since therefore it is a royal Virtue in Kings, not only to avoid Flatterers as a Peſt, but to encourage ſome body to tell them the Truth roundly, ſtill preſerving the Dignity of their Perſons, and the Majeſty of their State; I think a Man cannot do better than to bring Things home to them; for if Princes would but a little reflect, and look back upon the Times paſt, where they might ſee the Beauty, that is upon the Memory of good Princes, and the Deformity of that of the bad, they would ſee the Excellency of plain Dealing, and the Odiouſneſs of pernicious Flattery.

For *Holland*. It will be enough to ſay, That if they ſuffer the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to be loſt, *France* will not only claim, by a Title prior to theirs, all the Conqueſts and Dominions of this State in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, but may ſet up the Title of the Houſe of *Burgundy* to the whole ſeventeen Provinces; and finally, that that they will have a very bad Neighbour.

I conclude therefore, that it is the Intereſt of *England* and *Holland*, by all Means, not only to preſerve the reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* from falling into the Hands of *France*, but to make him vomit up what he has already ſwallowed of them. For, beſides what I have already ſaid, if *France* once becomes Maſter of thoſe Provinces, *Holland*, and the reſt of the Provinces of the League, will become an eaſy and cheap Prey to him; which concerns *England* not a little, in Point of Intereſt. And to keep thoſe *Netherlands* in the Hands of *Spain* is (I think) more the Advantage of *England* and *Holland*, than it is of *Spain* itſelf. For of *Spain* we are ſecure †, becauſe he is weak, at that Diſtance, and neither will, nor can incroach upon his Neighbours; and ſo we preſerve the greateſt Bank of Security to both, againſt the Inundations of *France*.

To conclude this Part. For the *moſt Chriſtian King*, we are no doubt to look upon him as the Miniſter of God's Indignation, howbeit he meaneth not ſo, but has done all theſe Things in Pride and Cruelty, and attributed their Succeſs to his Strength and Wiſdom: For the Power both of Satan and wicked Kings is from God, but the Will and Malice is their own. Therefore the *French* King has made uſe of all theſe Powers and Advantages to do Evil; Evil I ſay, than which the moſt mercileſs Tyrants and Deſtroyers of the Earth (whom God has ſaid he will deſtroy) have not, in any the moſt barbarous Age of the World, committed greater, or more crying to the righteous God for Vengeance. And a Prince, affected with ſo vaſt and wild Ambition, is to be looked on as an Enemy to Mankind, as a proud Attempter to deſtroy the Bounds which God has ſet. And therefore if ſo excellent Hope, that God will ſtop the Way againſt our Enemies, if we return to him; if the Preſervation of the true Religion, the Liberties of our Countries, the great Intereſts of Mankind, or whatſoever other excellent Conſideration we can propoſe to our Minds will move us, let us behave ourſelves like Men, and do ſome great thing worthy of our Remembrance.

And this brings me to the ſecond Part of my Diſcourſe. In the firſt we have ſeen the Miſchiefs, let us now conſider of the Remedies.

* This was the Caſe of *England*, under King *Charles the Second*.

† So long as it was governed by an Intereſt oppoſite to the *French*. But now the Caſe is changed, ſince *Spain* is in the Poſſeſſion of a *French* King, and ſwayed by *French* Counſels.

Now,

Now, becauſe there is no ſeparate Kingdom or State in *Europe* ſufficient to balance the weighty Body of the *French* Monarchy, nor any of their Strengths, in Disjunction, competent to be oppoſed againſt ſo formidable Force; therefore there muſt be a new Fund of Power and Intereſt raiſed up, ſufficient to keep the Balance of *Europe* from being called back into a *Chaos*, out of which the *French* may form an *Univerſal Monarchy*, according to the *Idea* they have conceived thereof.

And this can by no Means better be done than by *England* and the *United Provinces*, entering into a *new League*, for the mutual and reciprocal Defence of themſelves, and their Confederates, that ſhall be admitted into ſuch League, and for Preſervation and Defence of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and for reſtraining the further Growth and Increaſe of the *French Monarchy*, and hindering their Incroachments upon the reſt of *Europe*. The Excellency of which *League* will appear by this, that the Ends of it are in a manner common to all *Europe:* For, though the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion be moſt the Concernment of *England* and *Holland*, yet the ſpecial and immediate End of the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and the general End of holding the Balance of *Europe*, is *Univerſal.*

Upon Occaſion of the Beginning of the War between the *Latins* and the *Romans*, *Machiavel* has delivered this Rule: 'That, in all Conſultations, it is beſt to come *immediately* to the 'Point in Queſtion, and bring things to a Reſult, without too tedious a Heſitation and Suſpenſe.' And the Reaſon of this is founded upon divers Obſervations which he gathers out of ſeveral Parts of the *Roman* Story, as, 'That 'weak Commonwealths are generally *irreſolute*, and *ill-adviſed*, as taking their Meaſures 'more from Neceſſity than Election: That it 'is the Property of weak States to do every 'thing amiſs, and never to do well but in 'ſpight of their Teeth; for there is no ſuch 'thing as Prudence amongſt them: That weak 'and irreſolute States do ſeldom take good 'Counſels, unleſs they be forced; for their 'Weakneſs ſuffers them not to deliberate, 'where any thing is doubtful; and, if that 'Doubt be not removed by a violent Neceſſity, 'they never come to a Reſolution, but are always in Suſpenſe: And that is a Fault peculiar to all *weak* and *improvident* Princes and 'Governments to be *ſlow* and *tedious*, as well as *uncertain* in their Counſels, which is as 'dangerous, as the other.' Withdivers more of the like Nature. Wherefore there may ſeem to be but one thing that may perplex us, and that is, Whether this Courſe may ſort to the Nature of the Times and our Circumſtances? Touching this Point, the ſame Author gives this Rule, 'That the Occaſion of every Man's 'good or bad Fortune conſiſts in its Correſpon-'dence and Accommodation with the Times.' The wary Courſe that *Fabius* took againſt *Hannibal* was good, becauſe the Times and the Condition of the *Romans* ſuited to it: But, had the ſame Courſe been holden on, when *Scipio* undertook the War, *Hannibal* might have ſtaid in *Italy*; but, the Times being changed, they alſo altered the Method of the War. And it is certainly true, That to every Purpoſe there is a Time and a Judgment, therefore the Miſery of Man is great upon him; becauſe the Time is hard to be diſcerned: For, if the Time be miſſed, things cannot ſucceed; for Man knoweth not his Time. If a Man chuſes a wrong Time, he may labour and travel, not only in vain as to the Iſſues deſigned, but may bring forth his own Deſtruction; for the univerſal Influence and Concourſe of the firſt Providence is wanting. But when we ſhall ſeriouſly conſider, that there is no other Way left; that the *French* King will neither be quiet himſelf, nor let any body elſe alone; and that we muſt either throw up the Cudgels, and let him domineer as he pleaſes, or do ſomething that may either deter him from attempting further, or, if he he does, may ſhew him that there is as good Iron in the World as any he has in *France*. I ſay, things being thus, I can foreſee no Objection of Weight againſt the Propoſition: *That State, that will defend itſelf, muſt be in a Condition to offend its Enemies.* And, ſo long as this *State* ſhall give Occaſion to *France* to apprehend that they are afraid of him, he will uſe them as *Dogs.*

Therefore, ſince *this* is like to be a *League* of as great Importance as has been made in the World a good While, to render the ſame ſecure to the Parties; to add Majeſty and Grandeur to it; to render it more ſacred, and to give it Weight and Reputation in the World, it will be neceſſary, that *the ſame* be approved, ratified, and confirmed both by the *Parliament of England*, and the *General Eſtates of the Seven Provinces*, in an extraordinary Aſſembly. I confeſs the thing is both very extraordinary and magnificent, and will make the Times famous. But the Arguments that inforce the Neceſſity thereof are

irrefragable; the Demonſtration whereof I ſhall leave this whole Diſcourſe, and the Dignity and Weight of the Matters themſelves, to give Evidence unto; and ſhall ſay no more in this Place, Than that there is nothing that Princes and States may more juſtly value themſelves upon, than *Faith* and *Sincerity*, in their *Leagues*, and *Treaties*, and *Negotiations* with other Princes and States: And Inſincerity or State-hypocriſy leſs becomes the Majeſty of State, than it does private Perſons in Moral and Civil Actions.

But, before we go any further, it will be but neceſſary to anſwer an Objection that may be made on the Part of *England*; and that is, that to confirm a *League*, by the *Parliament*, will weaken the *King's Prerogative*. To which I anſwer,

1. *Ad Hominem*: That which has been done in the Time of former Kings, and thoſe the greateſt and wiſeſt of our Princes, and did not leſſen their *Prerogative*, may be done again without weakening the *Prerogative* of the preſent King; but this Thing has been often done in former Parliaments, as our Rolls of Parliament, Records, Law Books, and Hiſtories ſhew. But I ſhall content myſelf to name two or three of the moſt principal, as ſufficient.

A League and Alliance was made between King *Henry the Fifth*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and *Sigiſmund King of the Romans*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of the *Romans*, and was confirmed by Act of Parliament. *Coke Inſt. Pars* 4. 156. *Rot. Parl.* 4. *H.* V. N°. 14.

That illuſtrious Peace, 9 *H.* V. made between *Charles the Sixth* of *France*, and the ſaid *Henry the Fifth* of *England* (who was the very *Alexander* of the Kings of *England* for Magnificence) by which the King of *England* had confirmed to him the Regency of the Kingdom of *France*, during the Life of *Charles*; and the Succeſſion of the Crown, after his Death, was ratified by the three Eſtates of *France*, and ſworn to by the *King of England in Parliament*, and by the *ſame Parliament* ratified.

And 11. *Henry* VII. the ſame Caſe happened again. The three States of the Kingdom joined with the King in the Ratification of a Peace with *France* in the ſame Manner. This King was a Prince of great Wiſdom and Sufficiency (as I ſaid before); he invaded *France* with a Royal Army, made them buy a Peace of him, and pay him *Tribute*, which continued yet in the Times of *Henry the Eighth*, his Son; nevertheleſs he ratified a Peace by the *Parliament*. So you ſee two Kings, one the greateſt Conqueror, as the other was the greateſt Politician of the Kings of *England*, *ratifying their Leagues* (which nevertheleſs they purchaſed with their own Swords) by *Parliaments*.

And ſo ſacred were our Leagues and Truces held to be in thoſe Times, that 2. *H.* V. *C.* 6. It was enacted by Parliament, *That the Breaking of Truces ſhould be High Treaſon in the Subjects of* England.

But 2. I anſwer *ad Rem:* It is ſaid the King's Prerogative is to make War and Peace. If the King then make a League, and the Parliament confirm that League, it is ſo far from leſſening that it confirms that Authority.

That there muſt be a *new League*, and that it muſt have not only more, but larger Dimenſions, than the preſent League in being, is evident: Becauſe the Houſe of Commons in the late long Parliament voted, *That the League offenſive and defenſive, between his Majeſty and this State, is not according to their Advices given to his Majeſty, nor purſuant to the Ends by them propoſed.* Which Vote has blaſted the preſent League: And, if you ſhould call twenty Parliaments, they would all be of the ſame Opinion.

And, becauſe all human Providence is ſhort-ſighted, there may be a proviſional Clauſe added; that, where the ordinary Proviſions and Remedies of this League ſhall fall ſhort or diſproportionate, the Parliament ſhall be called to deliberate of ſupplemental Complements of Proviſions, that may be adequate to the Force that ſhall attack the League; which will yet add both Strength and Reputation to it.

But, not to enter into Common-place Diſcourſes, I will inſiſt upon but one Thing more in this Place, and it is this: There is a Rule which *Machiavel* has obſerved, *That the beſt and moſt ſecure Way, to repreſs the Inſolence of an ambitious and powerful State, is to prelude and ſtop up thoſe Ways by which he would come to his Greatneſs*: And that there is not a better or more ſecure Way to ſuppreſs the Inſolence, or *croſs-bite* the Deſigns of ſuch, than to take the ſame Ways to prevent, which he takes to advance them. Now then, I think it would be of great Advantage to this League (as every body

body may eaſily apprehend) to put *Oſtend* and *Nieuport* into the Hands of *England*. And, if *Spain* will ſuffer themſelves to hear Reaſon, and be perſuaded to do it, I am without all Doubts a Way may be found how they may do it with infallible Security to themſelves, of having the ſaid Places reſtored to them, ſo that their End may be obtained, and their Hazard prevented.

Having now ſpoken to that Part of the *Parliament's Confirmation*, I ſhall diſcourſe, and that very briefly, the other Part of the Ratification by the *General Eſtates*; and the more willingly, becauſe I think it may import this State in a double Reſpect. And I have conceived it thus: The Preſcience, Predetermination, and Conſourſe of God none denies, though all have not conceived of them in the ſame *Modus* *. But the Politician has ſaid, that it is a certain Truth, that the Things of this World are determined, and a ſet Time appointed for their Duration; but thoſe run through the whole Courſe which is aſſigned them by their Stars, who keep their Body in ſuch Order, that it may not alter at all, or if it does, it is for the better. And the Way to preſerve ſuch Bodies (*mixt Bodies*, he ſpeaks of, *as Common-wealths*) is Renovation; for no mere Bodies are of long Duration, unleſs they be often renewed; and the Way to renew them is to reduce them to their firſt Principles; and they are reduced partly by external Accident, and partly by internal Prudence. Thoſe Alterations are therefore ſalutiferous, which reduce them towards their Principles. But my Deſign is not to enter into the common Place of Renovation, *therefore I go on.* And ſince it is in the Nature of all Things to decline, and tend to Depravation, it is the Wiſdom of Governments to look often back to their firſt Conſtitutions, which are the very *Formalis Ratio*, and fundamental Laws of their Governments. Therefore let the General Eſtates of the ſeven Provinces be ſummoned to meet in the great *Zael* in the *Hague*, to theſe two general Ends.

Firſt, To renew their common League among themſelves, which will have theſe two admirable Effects:

1. To cure their internal Diſeaſe, and eſpecially that Kind of Politick *Paralyſis* of the two Provinces of *Groeningen* and *Frieſland*, which tends to Mutilation.

2. To reſtore a Kind of new Life and Vigour to their Government. No Government can live, that has not extraordinary Remedies to have Recourſe to, in extraordinary Caſes: *Rome* had its *Dictators*, which kept it in Health; and *England* has its *Parliament*, without which its Government could not ſtand. For this Cauſe have our Parliaments ſo often renewed our *Magna Charta*; near *Forty-Times*. And,

Secondly, To ratify this *League* with *England*: For as the firſt defends them againſt internal Diſeaſes; ſo this againſt external Force; the two Diſeaſes of which all Governments die. And this will alſo give Reputation Abroad to the States thus recreated and fenced. And, if there be any other Argument neceſſary to inforce the Propoſition, it may be drawn from the Nature of the Government itſelf. There are, in Story and Politicks, but three Diviſions of Common-wealths.

Firſt, They are either ſingle, as *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, &c. Or by *Leagues*, as the *Achaians*, *Ætolians*, *Switz*, and the *States*.

Secondly, They are divided into ſuch as are for Preſervation, as *Lacedemon* and *Venice*; or for Increaſe, as *Athens* and *Rome*. Or,

Thirdly, Into *Equal* and *Unequal in Libration.*

This is a Government of a League, and for Preſervation only, and very unequal; which whoſoever ſhall thoroughly penetrate, ſhall find Cauſe to apprehend the Weight of this Propoſition; for ſuch another War would ſhake the States in Pieces. And there is but one of three Ways for them; *War*, *Submiſſion* to *France*, or a *League* with *England*.

And, if there was Time, I think a Man ſhould not fear to want either Matter or Words, to ſet Home the Argument. They are now but newly delivered from the moſt dangerous *Criſis* that ever their State paſſed under ſince its firſt Formation; wherein they have laboured under, not only very dangerous domeſtick Convulſions, but the powerful Aſſaults of foreign Force. And, therefore, what Phyſician, that is

* Manner.

not a Mountebank, would not preſcribe ſome potent Reſtorative in ſuch a Caſe?

I have now but two Things to do, to finiſh this ſecond Part of my Diſcourſe. The one is to ſet down ſome juſt Praiſes of the *Engliſh* Nation, to the End theſe People may be moved to rely upon their Friendſhip with the greater Confidence. And I would have done it elaborately, but that my Diſcourſe has already drawn itſelf out to ſo great a Length. The other is, the admirable Effect that will be produced by oppoſing the *Engliſh Courage* to the *French Fierceneſs*. Let us then but run them over.

The *Engliſh* have always been ſincere in their Leagues, Alliances, and Treaties. I know preſently what will be caſt in our Teeth, and that is the infamous Breach of the *Triple League*. But as he ſhall always be very far from making a true Judgment, that ſhall determine upon one or a few ſingle Actions; ſo nothing can be more injurious than to impeach the Faith of a gallant Nation, for that which no body has regretted more than themſelves. The Philoſopher has ſaid, that Actions denominate not the Subject to be ſuch. And it is true in Divinity, that a Man is not to be judged by a few, or many ſingle Actions; but by the Courſe and Tenor of his Life. I ſay then, that the excellent Virtue of *Faithfulneſs* has been the general Tenor of the *Engliſh* in all Times. Let not ſo foul an Indignity therefore be charged on them; but let the Crime lie at the Doors of thoſe few Men, who were the Authors and Counſellors of it. And, in the mean Time, I will comfort myſelf with this Hope, that, when the Sanction of our Parliament ſhall come to be put upon this League, his Majeſty, and the whole Nation with him, will be reſtored to the good Opinion of all, whoſe Intereſt it is not to believe Lyes. And let me ſay this, that I have not found in Story any Nation to be preferred to them, for the above-mentioned excellent Quality; wherein I may affirm that they have exceeded the *Romans* themſelves: For the *Romans*, paſſionately affecting an univerſal Sovereignty and Dominion, were not ſeldom conſtrained ſhamefully to prevaricate, to make ſtrained Conſtructions of their Leagues, to violate their Faith, and to paſs over all whatſoever Reſpects of Honour, to travel to the Ends of their Ambition. Whereas the *Engliſh* never can have any Intereſt to propagate their *Empire* upon the Body of *Europe* beyond thoſe Bounds, which God by Nature (his Inſtrument) preſcribed to them: The moſt they pretend to is, to be *Arbiters* between the Princes and States of *Europe*, as we may ſee in the Example of *Henry the Eighth*, who living in an active Time, when three ſuch great-ſpirited Princes met, as himſelf, *Charles the Fifth*, and *Francis the Firſt* of *France*, might have made his own Markets; yet fought no more than to keep the Balance equal between thoſe two. *England* then, in Peace, has been famous for the excellent Virtue of Loyalty and Faithfulneſs; and, in all Times, for keeping cloſe to that *righteous Maxim* of *holding the Balance of* Europe *ſteady*, a *Maxim* they took up above Six-hundred Years ago. In War they have been renowned for their Courage, redoubted Strength, and great Atchievements. In a Word, in War they have been juſt, as well as valiant; in Peace kind, and in both ſincere. And for the Profeſſion of the true Religion (without which all other Things are either nothing, or as good as nothing) they have been celebrated above all the Nations of *Europe*. It began there early, and continued in the worſt of Times; and, ſince the Reformation, her *Divines* have been the moſt learned and pious of the *Chriſtian* World; as all *foreign Divines* will be ready to teſtify. Theſe methinks ſhould be powerful Encouragements to this *State* to join with *England*. *England*, in whom the publick Virtue of true Meaning is inherent; from whom both in Peace and War we may expect not only Juſtice but even generous Goodneſs, to allude to the moſt ancient Diſtinction of the *Jews*: And who againſt all other Nations are zealous againſt *Popery*.

But that it may appear we do not lay our Streſs upon General and Rhetorical Diſcourſes, there are other Conſiderations of a more particular Nature, which muſt not be paſſed over. *England* has been the principal Inſtrument of ſaving this State twice from Deſtruction; once in the Infancy of their Common-wealth, in the Time of Queen *Eliſabeth*, againſt the *Spaniards*; and now again in the late War, from the *French*. Again, Nothing can ſecure this *State* for the Future, againſt the Miſchiefs impending from *France*, but the Friendſhip of *England*. And that *England*, in Conjunction with this *State*, is able to balance the *French Monarchy*, I ſhall thus demonſtrate: *France* is larger than *England*, but *England* will always afford more *Soldiers* than *France*, I mean *Foot*; and the Strength of all Armies conſiſts in the Infantry. The Reaſons of this are theſe two:

1*ſt*, The

1*ſt*, The Diviſion of the People.

In *France*, and generally in all other Countries, there are but two Diviſions of the People, the *Nobleſs* and *Peaſants*; but in *England* we have three.

1. The *Nobleſs*, that is, the *Nobility and Gentry*, competent to furniſh a ſufficient Cavalry.

2. The *Yeomanry*, or middle Sort of People, which make up the great Body of the Kingdom, and who are ſufficient to furniſh the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Infantry, of any Kingdom or State in the *Chriſtian* World.

And, 3. The *inferior Sort*, or Servants; I mean ſuch as work for Day-wages, which are very inconſiderable, in Number, to the Yeomanry. The Diviſion of the People is one of the principal Foundations of Empire: And the Diviſion of the People of *England*, being the beſt and moſt perfect of any other in all *Europe*, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that *England* is capable to endure ſtronger Shocks, than any other Kingdom or State, founded upon the ſame Balance of Government, and is the moſt perfect Government, of its Kind, in *Europe*.

2*dly*, In *England*, the People, that is, the *inferior Gentry* and *Yeomanry*, are an Over-balance, both to the King, Nobility, and Church; which is a Defect in Monarchy, and tends to the Generation of a Commonwealth. In *France* and *Spain*, the King and the Nobility have deſtroyed the People; but, in *England*, the King and the People have deſtroyed the Nobility. I ſay, then, the Strength of the Kingdom of *England* is in the *inferior Gentry* and *Yeomanry*; and theſe exceeding all other Kingdoms in Number, Strength, and Courage, it muſt needs follow, if the Buſineſs ſhould come to be tried, where Blows muſt decide, that *England* would be found an Over-match, even to *France* itſelf, if Demonſtration be Demonſtration. But the Cauſe and Occaſion how theſe two Things come to be ſo, that is, why the Nobility of *England* are ſo depreſſed, and the People become ſo formidable, as you may ſee they are, if you look but upon the Houſe of Lords, and the Houſe of Commons, in our preſent Parliaments: I ſay, the Cauſe is, thoſe popular Statutes of *Population*, againſt Retainers of the Nobility, and for *Alienations* of their Lands, made by *Henry the Seventh* (the *Romulus* of the *Engliſh* Kings) which ſhews the Unwarineſs of that politick King, who, in ſeeking to cure that dangerous Flaw in the Government, of the *Nobility*'s being an Over-match to the People, made a far greater of making the Commons formidable: For the one ſtrikes only at a King they diſlike, the other at the Throne itſelf; although it be true, thoſe Effects came not to manifeſt themſelves till above one Hundred Years after his Death. Therefore a wiſe Prince indeed he was, but not long-ſighted.

To the Second: The *French* have beaten and baffled the greateſt Part of the *Chriſtian* World without Fighting, and have oppreſſed them at their own Charge. But, if ever they ſhould come to deal with an Enemy that would force them to fight, they would ſhew themſelves to be *Frenchmen*, that is, would ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded to ſubmit to more reaſonable Terms.

If you look upon the Carriage of this whole War, you may preſently ſee that the wiſeſt Thing, which the *French* thought they could do, was ever to avoid Fighting; ſuppoſing ſurely, that, therein, they imitated the Wiſdom of *Fabius Maximus*. But this is moſt certain (as the Diſcourſes upon *Livy* prove) that a General, who deſires to keep the Field, cannot avoid Fighting, when the Enemy preſſes, and makes it his Buſineſs to engage him. For, in ſuch a Caſe, there is but one of three Ways: The firſt is the Way of *Fabius*, of ſtanding upon your Guard, and keeping your Army in Places of Advantage; and this is laudable and good, when your Army is ſo ſtrong, that the Enemy dares not attack you, as it was in the Caſe of *Fabius* and *Hannibal*; for, if *Hannibal* had advanced, *Fabius* would have kept his Ground, and engaged him. The ſecond Way to avoid Fighting, if your Enemy will needs attack you, is Flying, and fight or fly you muſt. *Philip* of *Macedon*, being invaded by the *Romans*, reſolved not to come to a Battle; and, to avoid it, he took the Way of *Fabius*, incamped his Army upon the Top of a Mountain, and intrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly, that he believed the *Romans* durſt not have ventured to come at him. But, alas! the *Romans* were another Kind of Enemy; they not only adventured, but removed him from his Mountain, and forced him to fly with the greateſt Part of his Army; and, had it not been for the Unpaſſableneſs of the Country, which hindered the Purſuit, the *Macedonians* had all been cut off. The *French* were ſtrongly incamped at *St. Dennis*, and did not at all believe that the Prince of *Orange* would attack

tack them; and yet, for all their Confidence, they could find no other Remedy, than to betake themſelves to their Heels. And this was the greateſt and moſt famous Action of the whole War. The third Way to avoid Fighting is, to ſhut yourſelf up in ſome ſtrong Town, which is the moſt pernicious Way of all, as making your Ruin inevitable. Therefore (as *Machiavel* ſays) to keep the Field, and avoid Fighting, is to be done no Way ſo ſecurely, as by keeping fifty Miles off, and ſending out Store of Spies and Scouts, that may give you Notice of the Enemy's Approach, and Opportunity to retreat.

Nor is it neceſſary, to do all this, that your Army ſhould be very numerous. The *Romans* and the *Greeks* always carried on their Wars with a few Men, depending more upon their great Order, and the Excellence of their Diſcipline, than great Numbers; but the Eaſtern and Weſtern Nations did all by their Multitude. *Alexander* conquered the World with Thirty-thouſand Men; *Pyrrhus* was wont to ſay, that with Fifteen Thouſand Men he would go through the World; and yet *Pyrrhus* fought againſt the *Romans*, and beat them in two Battles, and was, in the Judgment of *Hannibal* himſelf, one of the greateſt Captains of the World. The ordinary *Roman* Army conſiſted of about Twenty-four Thouſand Men, and, if they were, at any Time, overpreſſed with Numbers, they exceeded not Fifty Thouſand; with which Number, at one Time, they oppoſed Two-hundred Thouſand *Gauls*, or, if you will, call them *Frenchmen*.

There are two Nations, whoſe Genius reſembles that of the ancient *Romans*, the *Germans* and the *Engliſh*, who are deſcended from them. But there are theſe two Differences between them: The *Germans* you ſhall never bring up to make a point-blank Attack in the Mouth of Cannons, in ſuch Faſhion as the *Engliſh*; nor again, after a Rout, ſhall you hardly make them rally, as you may the *Engliſh*. From all theſe Things I make this Concluſion: That, if the *French* renew the War again, the beſt Way will be to oppoſe them with an Army of *Engliſh*, and, by all Means, to force them to fight continually, till the Field be too hot for them; and, when they can keep that no longer, their Towns will be of little Service to them. The *Engliſh* have fought many Battles with the *French*, and always beaten them; and yet the *French* have exceeded them much in Numbers, as in the memorable Battle of *Poictiers*, when the *Engliſh* were but about Eight Thouſand, and the *French* were Sixty-thouſand.

And thus I come to the third and laſt Part of my Diſcourſe, the Office whereof is to diſpoſe into Method ſuch Arguments, as will be neceſſary to be uſed to the ſeveral Parties, that is to ſay, the *King*, *Parliament*, and *this State*, to draw them on to ſuch a League; and they are as follow:

To the King.

1. It will ſerve to conciliate, and beget a better Underſtanding between him and the Parliament, and to remove ſome Part of that Jealouſy, which the People travail with, of the King's Adminiſtration, and which will never leave Burning, till it burn to the Foundations of the Throne, if not prevented. And, if it attains not the End of introducing other co-operative Acts of Concord, it will, at leaſt, avert the Haſtening on of greater Evils. There be ſome of thoſe Things which the Parliament would have, which the King would conſent to, upon Condition he might not be preſſed in the reſt, as the Caſe of the Duke of *York*, &c. Therefore let them begin with ſome popular great Thing, that may involve the Intereſts and Affections of all.

2. As to that Point of the Confirmation by the Parliament, I have ſhewed the Precedents of former Times.

3. The Ratification here, by the General Eſtates, will be equipollent to the Ratification, in *England*, by the Parliament, which ſaves the King's Honour. For, thus, the Parties rather conſpire in one, how to render this League illuſtrious and great, than, on their reſpective Parts, to be forced to any Thing.

To the Parliament.

1. Let it move from themſelves, that is, let ſome of thoſe in the Houſe of Commons, who are of unqueſtionable Reputation for Wiſdom, Honeſty, and Integrity, be engaged; let them engage others, and let them communicate their Counſels with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and that Party, in the Houſe of Lords. Then let the Scheme and Project be propoſed in the Houſe of Commons; then the Commons ſeek the Lords Concurrence; and then let it be offered to the King, as the Advice of the whole Kingdom; for

for every Man is there in Perſon, or by Repreſentation.

2. This will ſhut up thoſe Avenues, thoſe Back-doors, by which the *French* have had Acceſſes to our Councils, and have influenced them; and, conſequently, will render the Sitting of Parliaments more calm and ſecure, when that mighty Trade of theirs, of buying Prorogations, ſhall be ſpoiled, and their Factors rendered leſs malignant.

3. This is an infallible Argument, As the End of a Thing is, ſo is the Thing. The two general Ends of this League are, to preſerve the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to preſerve and reſtore the Balance of *Europe*, by leſſening the Power of *France*. And thoſe are the two greateſt Ends in *Chriſtendom*; therefore that Thing, that has thoſe for its Ends, is the greateſt Thing; and the Minds of gallant Men are exceedingly moved with great Things, and ſtrongly carried to the Purſuit of them.

To this State.

1. The firſt Argument is prudential. Prudence is that Virtue, by which, when ſeveral Things are offered, we are directed which to chuſe, and which to refuſe; what to do, and what not to do. *Holland* then muſt either make a League with *France*, or with *England*, or remain *Neuter*.

To make a League with *France* is utterly imprudent, for theſe two Reaſons:

1. Becauſe *France* aiming at, and deſigning an Univerſal Monarchy, would only ſecure himſelf of them, till their own Turn come, that is, till he hath ſwallowed up the *Spaniſh Netherlands* and *Germany*, when he would turn his Force upon them.

2. By ſuch Means they would loſe the beſt and ſureſt Friend they have had from their Foundation of their State, and that is *England*. And where a State is not ſufficient by its own proper Force, in reſpect of the Weakneſs of the one, or the Mightineſs of its Neighbours, to defend itſelf, it muſt of Neceſſity rely ſome where elſe for Protection.

To remain in a *neutral* Condition cannot be; for ſo, inſtead of making *one Friend*, they would make *three Enemies*. And, in caſe *France* ſhould renew the War upon them, *England* would be won, upon ſuch Terms as *France* would offer, either to join with them, or to ſtand ſtill, and ſee *Holland* ruined. Beſides, how impolitick a Thing *Neutrality* is, any Man may ſee that will conſider the Obſervations made thereon. *Mach. Prince*, Cap. 21.

It remains then, and I know nothing elſe that remains, *to make a League with* England. For that will have one of two Effects: Either *France* will be wholly deterred from attempting upon their State; or, if he does, they will be able, with the Aſſiſtance of *England*, to defend themſelves. This is the firſt Argument.

2. The Authority and Reputation of the Propoſers; it is a League propoſed by the Parliament of *England*, to be entered into with the King and Kingdom of *England*. The Parliament repreſents the whole People of *England*, and commands both the Parts and Perſons of a great, rich, and valiant Nation, from whom neither Money nor Soldiers will be wanting to beat down the Power of that proud and inſulting Nation of *France*. But theſe People here are afraid of *France*, why then let them make a League with thoſe of whom *France* itſelf is afraid. And withal, let them remember this League is to be made with a People, from whom they have received the greateſt Benefits, as I have ſhewed before. And this Argument alone will beat down the moſt, if not all the Objections that would ariſe againſt ſuch an League, propoſed in any other Manner.

3. The great Reputation and Security ſuch a League will give to this State, which will cover them as with Wings of Protection againſt *France*, and whoſoever elſe would prey upon them.

If I have not expreſſed theſe Things ſo as I would, I have done it as well as I can in a ſhort Time. And ſo, ſubmitting it with all decent Humility to the grave Conſiderations of thoſe excellent Perſonages whom it may concern, I leave it to its Fate.

Hague, May 24, 1680.

A Speech

A Speech made by Queen *Eliſabeth*, (of famous Memory) in Parliament, Anno 1593; and in the Thirty-fifth Year of her Reign, concerning the *Spaniſh* Invaſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS Kingdom hath had many Wiſe, Noble and Victorious Princes; I will not compare with any of them in Wiſdom, Fortitude, or any other Virtues: But ſaving the Duty of a Child, that is, not to compare with his Father in Love, Care, Sincerity, and Juſtice, I will compare with any Prince that ever you had, or ſhall have.

It may be thought Simplicity in me, that, all this Time of my Reign, I have not ſought to advance my Territories, and enlarge my Dominions; for Opportunity hath ſerved me to do it. I acknowledge my Womanhood and Weakneſs in that Reſpect; but, though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the Things ſo obtained: And I muſt ſay, my Mind was never to invade my Neighbours, or to uſurp over any; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a juſt Princeſs.

Yet the King of *Spain* doth challenge me to be the Quarreller, and the Beginner of all theſe Wars; in which he doth me the greateſt Wrong that can be, for my Conſcience doth not accuſe my Thoughts, wherein I have done him the leaſt Injury: But I am perſuaded in my Conſcience, if he knew what I know, he himſelf would be ſorry for the Wrong, that he hath done me.

I fear not all his Threatenings; his great Preparations and mighty Forces do not ſtir me: For, though he come againſt me, with a greater Power than ever was, his *Invincible* Navy, I doubt not (God aſſiſting me, upon whom I always truſt) but that I ſhall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great Advantage againſt him, for my Cauſe is juſt.

I heard ſay, when he attempted his laſt Invaſion, ſome, upon the Sea-coaſt, forſook their Towns, and flew up higher into the Country, and left all naked and expoſed to his Entrance: But, * I ſwear unto you, if I knew thoſe Perſons, or any that ſhould do ſo hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be ſo fearful in ſo urgent a Cauſe.

The Subſidies, you give me, I accept thankfully, if you give me your good Wills with them; but if the Neceſſity of the Time, and your Preſervations, did not require it, I would refuſe them: But, let me tell you, that the Sum is not ſo much, but that it is needful for a Princeſs to have ſo much always lying in her Coffers, for your Defence in Time of Need, and not to be driven to get it, when we ſhould uſe it.

You that be Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Command in your Countries, I require you to take Care that the People be well armed, and in Readineſs upon all Occaſions. You that be Judges and Juſtices of the Peace, I command and ſtraightly charge you, that you ſee the Laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living Laws, when we have put Life into them.

* The Queen proteſts ſhe will puniſh Cowards.

A Liſt

A Liſt of the Monaſteries, Nunneries, and Colleges, belonging to the *Engliſh Papiſts* in ſeveral Popiſh Countries beyond Sea. Publiſhed to inform the People of *England*, of the Meaſures taken by the Popiſh Party for the Re-eſtabliſhing of *Popery* in theſe Nations. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.

[From eight Pages *Quarto*, *London*, printed in 1700.]

SIR,

I Find that your honourable Houſe is fully ſenſible of the dangerous Conſequence of the Numbers of *Papiſts* amongſt us by your preſent Proceedings; and to add what I can to your Knowledge concerning *Papiſts*, I have here ſent you a Liſt of the *Seminaries* and *Religious Houſes* Abroad, maintained at the Charge of the *Engliſh Papiſts*. I cannot aſſure you the Liſt is perfect, believing there are many more that have ſlipped my Knowledge, but what I here ſend you is known to be true.

Liſbon.

1. HERE is a College of Secular *Engliſh* Prieſts, in Number about Forty.
2. Here is alſo a Monaſtery of *Engliſh* Nuns *, of the Order of St. *Bridget*, their Community Thirty.
3. Alſo a Convent of *Iriſh Dominican* Friars, in Number Sixteen †.
4. Alſo *Dominican* Nuns ‡ of the ſame Country.
5. With a College of Secular *Iriſh* Prieſts, under the Government of *Portugueſe* Jeſuits, in Number about Thirteen.

Valladolid in *Spain.*

Twelve Secular Prieſts, under the Government of *Spaniſh* Jeſuits. An *Engliſh* Jeſuit is the Miniſter ‖ in the Houſe, and is next to the Rector.

Madrid.

1. An *Engliſh* College, under the Government of *Spaniſh* Jeſuits. An *Engliſh* Man is the Miniſter in the Houſe, in Number Eight.
2. A *Scots* and *Iriſh* College.

Sevil.

An *Engliſh* College, under the Government of *Spaniſh* Jeſuits.

St. *Lucar.*

A ſmall College § of *Engliſh*, called, St. *George*'s.

Bilboa.

A Houſe whereof Father *Anthony* is Chief.

Paris.

1. In the *Feaubourge St. Jacques*, is a Convent of *Engliſh Benedictine* Monks, they are in Number Twenty-four.
2. A Monaſtery of Viſitation Nuns, otherwiſe *Blue Nuns*, Number Twenty.
3. A Monaſtery of Nuns of the Order of St. *Auguſtine*. The Nuns are in Number Sixty, the Penſioners as many more.
4. A Monaſtery of *Benedictine* Nuns, in Number Thirty.
5. A College of *Iriſh* Secular Prieſts, called *Montacute College.*
6. A College of *Scots* Secular Prieſts.

* Theſe Nuns call their Nunnery, *Sion*-Houſe, and pretend to be originally tranſported from the ancient Monaſtery of *Bridgettan* Nuns, at *Sion-Houſe* near *Richmond* in *Surrey*. To which they lay Claim, when Time ſhall ſerve.

† Now increaſed to double the Number.

‡ Theſe Nuns are ſituated at *Bethlem*, about three Miles from *Liſbon*.

‖ Confeſſor.

§ This was originally an Hoſpital belonging to the *Engliſh* Factory, and afterwards turned into a College, but now it has only one Prieſt in it.

7. Near *Paris* a Convent of *Engliſh* diſcalced, *alias* bare-legged, *Carmelite* Friars.

Doway.

1. A College of Secular Prieſts and Students, in Number about One-hundred and Fifty.
2. A Convent of *Benedictine* Monks, in Number Twenty-five
3. A College in the Convent of *Engliſh* Youths, they have been known to be Fifty-nine.
4. A Convent of *Franciſcan* Friars, in Number Sixty.
5. A *Scots* College of Jeſuits.

Blois in *France.*

A Nunnery.

Pontois in *France.*

A Monaſtery of *Benedictine* Nuns, under the Direction of the Jeſuits *.

Dunkirk.

1. A Monaſtery of *Benedictine* Nuns, commonly called the *rich Dames*, under the Direction of the Jeſuits.
2. A Monaſtery of *poor Clares.*

Gravelin.

A Monaſtery of *Engliſh poor Clares.*

Flanders.

A Monaſtery of diſcalced, *alias* bare-legged, *Carmelite* Nuns.

Two other Monaſteries of *Auguſtine* Nuns.

At *Burnham* near *Bruſſels.*

A Convent of *Dominican* Friars, founded by Cardinal *Howard.*

Near that,

A Monaſtery of *Engliſh Dominican* Nuns.

Near that,

A Convent of *Carmelite* Friars.

Ares in *Flanders.*

A Monaſtery of *poor Clares.*

Lovaine.

1. A College of *Dominican* Friars.
2. A College of *Iriſh Capuchins.*

Nieuport in *Flanders.*

A Convent of *Carthuſian* Monks †, in Number Twelve.

Cambray.

A Monaſtery of *Benedictine* Nuns, under Direction of the Monks of the ſame Order, in Number Thirty.

Liege.

1. A Monaſtery of *Canoneſſes Regulars* of the Order of St. *Auſtin.*
2. A College of *Engliſh Jeſuits*, conſiſting of One-hundred and Eighty.

Ghent.

1. A College of Jeſuits, in Number Six.
2. A Nunnery.

Bridges.

1. A Monaſtery of Nuns of the third Order of St *Francis*, in Number Thirty.
2. A Monaſtery of *Auguſtine* Nuns.

St. *Omers.*

A College of Jeſuits about Thirty ‡, with One-hundred and Eighty *Engliſh* Scholars.

Lanſpring in *Germany.*

An Abbey of *Benedictine* Monks, with a Lord Abbot, in Number Thirty.

Deiulward in *Lorrain.*

A Convent of *Benedictine* Monks, in Number Sixteen.

Rome.

1. A College of Secular Prieſts under the Government of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits ‖.
2. A *Scots* College.

By this Account it appears there are Fifty-one Religious Houſes maintained at the Charge of the *Engliſh Papiſts*, which carries vaſt Sums of Money yearly out of the Nation, and returns nothing in lieu thereof, but a Sort of Vermin, that are a common Nuſance to Church and Sate. The Methods, how to prevent this growing Evil, are left to the great Wiſdom of your honourable Houſe. *I am, Sir, Yours*, &c.

* *viz.* Having *Jeſuits* for their Confeſſors, *&c.*

† Who pretend a Title to the *Charter-Houſe, London*, and all its Eſtates, when ever they can lay hold of a Popiſh Government in *England.*

‡ Upon the Eſtabliſhment of the Houſe.

‖ This College has flouriſhed very much of late Years.

A Queſtion

A Queſtion of the Cock, and whether his Crowing affrights the Lion? Being one of thoſe Queſtions handled in the weekly Conferences of Monſieur *Renaudot*'s *Bureau d'Addreſſes*, at *Paris*.

[Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1640, in ſix *Quarto* Pages.]

THE *firſt* Man ſaid thus: The *Germans*, going to the Wars, had Reaſon to take a *Cock* with them to ſerve them for a Spur and an Example of Watchfulneſs; whence came a Cuſtom to this Day uſed by the Mule-drivers; ſome of which tie a *Cock* upon the foremoſt Carriage; and others, that will not trouble themſelves with him, provide only a Plume of his Feathers. Upon the ſame Ground *Phidias* made a Statue of *Minerva*, bearing a *Cock* upon her Helmet; unleſs you will rather think his Reaſon to be, becauſe this Goddeſs is as well Preſident of War as of Study; both which have Need of much Vigilancy. Though this Bird, for other Cauſes, may be well enough ſaid to pertain to her; as, for his being ſo warlike and courageous, as that he will not part with his Deſire of Vanquiſhing, though it coſt him his Life; and this Deſire he proſecutes with ſuch Fury, that *Cælius Aurelian* reports, that a Man fell mad, having only been pecked by a *Cock* in the Heat of his Fighting. For the Paſſion of Choler, being a ſhort Madneſs, is able exceedingly to raiſe the Degree of Heat in a Temper already ſo extremely cholerick, that in Time the Body of a *Cock* becomes nitrous; and in this Conſideration it is preſcribed to ſick Perſons to make them laxative, and it is the better, if he were firſt well beaten, and plucked alive, and then boiled.

And this Courage of the *Cock* moved *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, when a Soldier of *Caria* had ſlain Prince *Cyrus*, to grant him Leave to bear a little *Cock* of Gold upon his Javelin, as a ſingular Badge of his great Valour. In Imitation whereof, all the Soldiers of the ſame Province fell to wear the like upon the Creſts of their Helmets; and were thence called *Alectryons*, that is in *Latin*, *Galli*, a Name afterwards given to our Nation *, and it may be for the like Reaſon.

The *Cock* is alſo the Hieroglyphick of Victory, becauſe he crows when he hath beaten his Adverſary; which gave Occaſion to the *Lacedemonians* to ſacrifice a *Cock*, when they had overcome their Enemies. He was alſo dedicated to *Mars*; and the Poets feign that he was a young Soldier, and placed for a Centinel by this God of War when he went to lie with *Venus*, but feared the Return of her Huſband; but, this Watchman ſleeping till after Sun-riſing, *Mars* and ſhe were taken napping by *Vulcan*. *Mars*, being very angry, transformed this Sleeper into a *Cock* for his Negligence; whence, ſay they, it comes to paſs, that, well remembering the Cauſe of his Transformation, he now gives Warning when the Sun draws near to our Horizon. Which Fable is as tolerable as that of the *Alcoran*, which attributes the Crowing of our Cocks to one that, as he ſaith, ſtands upon the firſt Heaven, and is of ſo immenſe a Hugeneſs, that his Head toucheth the Second; which *Cock* crows ſo loud, that he awakens all the *Cocks* upon the Earth, that immediately they fall to provoking one another to do the like; as if there were one and the ſame Inſtant of Cock-crowing all over the Face of the whole Earth. The *Cock* was alſo dedicated to the Sun, to the Moon, and to the Goddeſſes *Latona*, *Ceres*, and *Proſerpina*; which was the Cauſe that the Novices, or thoſe that were initiated in their Myſteries, muſt not eat of a *Cock*. He was alſo dedicated to *Mercury*, becauſe Vigilancy and early

* The Author was a *Frenchman*.

Riſing is neceſſary for Merchants; and therefore they painted him in the Form of a Man ſitting, having a Creſt upon his Head, with Eagles Feet, and holding a *Cock* upon his Fiſt. But particularly he was conſecrated to *Æſculapius*, which made *Socrates*, at the Point of Death, to will his Friends to ſacrifice a *Cock* to him, becauſe his Hemlock had wrought well. And *Pyrrhus*, curing Men of the Spleen, cauſed them to offer a white *Cock*, whereas *Pythagoras* forbade his Followers to meddle with the Life or Nouriſhing of any of that Colour.

The Inhabitants of *Calecut* ſacrifice a *Cock* to their Deity, whom they conceive in the Shape of a He-goat; and *Acoſta*, out of *Lucian*, aſſures us, that anciently they worſhiped a *Cock* for a God; which, *Chriſtianity* not ſuffering, hath put them upon Churches, the Spires of Steeples, and high Buildings, calling them Weather cocks, becauſe, as Fans, they ſhew the Coaſt whence the Wind comes, unleſs you rather think they are ſet up in Remembrance of St. *Peter's* Repentance at the ſecond Crowing of a *Cock*.

The Cauſe of his Crowing is commonly attributed to his Heat, which makes him rejoice at the Approach of the Sun, as being of his own Temper; of which Approach he is ſooner ſenſible than others, becauſe he more eaſily than any other Creature receives the Impreſſion of the Air, as appears by that harſh Voice which he ſometimes uſeth in Crowing when he hath been newly moiſtened by the Vapours; and, therefore, the Countrymen count it an ordinary Sign of Rain. And foraſmuch as the whole Species of Birds is more hot, dry, and light than the Species of four-footed Beaſts; therefore the Lion, though he be a ſolar Creature as well as the *Cock*, yet is ſo in a leſſer Degree than he. Whence it comes to paſs, that the *Cock* hath a Pre-eminence over the Lion, which he underſtands not, till the Crowing raiſe in his Imagination ſome Species which in him produce Terror. Unleſs you will ſay, that the Spirits of the *Cock* are communicated to the Lion, by Means of his Voice; for that is a Thing more material, and ſo more capable to act than the Spirits which come out of ſore Eyes, which nevertheleſs do infect thoſe that are ſound, if they look on them; nay, to ſpeak with the Poet, they do bewitch the very Lambs.

The *Second* ſaid, we muſt reckon this Error [of a *Cock* ſcaring a Lion by Crowing] among divers other vulgar ones, of which often-times the Chairs and Pulpits ring, as if they were certain Truths, when, in the Tryal, they prove ſtark falſe. It may be ſome tame Lion, grown cowardly by the Manner of his Breeding, hath been ſeen affrighted by the ſhrill Sound of ſome *Cock* crowing ſuddenly and near to his Ears; which will ſeem not unlikely to them that, in the Beginning of *March* laſt paſt, were preſent at the intended Combate in the Tennis-court at *Rochelle*, between ſuch a Lion and a Bull; at the Sight of whom the Lion was ſo afraid, that he bolted through the Nets, throwing down the Spectators which were there placed in great Numbers, as thinking it a Place of greater Security; and, running thence, he hid himſelf, and could by no Means be made re-enter the Liſts. Or it may be the Novelty of this Crowing ſurpriſed ſome Lion that never heard it before, as having always lived far from any Village or Country-houſe where Poultry are bred; and thereupon the Lion at this firſt Motion ſtartled.

It is alſo poſſible, and moſt likely too, that the Startle of Choler, whereinto the Lion falls as ſoon as any Thing diſpleaſes him, was miſtaken by Somebody for a Sign of Fear, whereas it was a Token of his Indignation. For I ſee no Shew of Reaſon to imagine in this generous Beaſt a true and univerſal Fear of ſo ſmall a Matter as the Voice of a *Cock*, ſeeing that this Likeneſs of Nature, which is attributed to them, ſhould rather produce ſome Sympathy than any Averſion; and yet this Enmity, if any were, and that as great as between Wolves and Sheep, ought no more to ſcare the Lion than the Bleating of a Sheep affrights a Wolf. But the Wolf devours the Sheeps and aſſimilates it to his own Subſtance, rather for the Good-will that he bears himſelf, than for any Ill-will or Hatred that he bears towards the Sheep. Beſides, we ordinarily ſee Cocks and Hens in the Court-yards of the Houſes where Lions are kept, which never make any Shew of Aſtoniſhment at their Crowing. Nay, I remember, I have ſeen a young Lion eat a Cock; it is true, he did not crow any more than thoſe of *Nibas*, a Village near to *Theſſalonica* in *Macedonia*, where the Cocks never crow. But the Lion would have been content with tearing the Cock in Pieces, and not have eaten him, if there had been ſuch an Antipathy between them as ſome imagine. But this Error finds Entertainment for the Moral's Sake, which they infer upon it, to ſhew us that

that the moſt Hardy are not exempt from Fear, which often-times ariſes whence it is leaſt looked for. So that to aſk, *Why the Crowing of a Cock ſcares Lions*, is to ſeek the Cauſes of a Thing that is not.

The *Third* ſaid, we muſt not make ſo little Account of the Authority of our Predeceſſors, as abſolutely to deny what they have averred, the Proof of which ſeems ſufficiently tried by the continued Experience of ſo many Ages; for to deny a Truth, becauſe we know not the Reaſon of it, is to imitate *Alexander*, who cut the *Gordian* Knot, becauſe he could not unty it. It is better, in the Nature of the Cock and his Voice, to ſeek a Cauſe of the Fright of the Lion, who being a Creature always in a Fever, by his exceſſive cholerick Diſtemper, of which his Hair and his Violence are Tokens; great Noiſe is to him as intolerable as to thoſe that are ſick and feveriſh, eſpecially thoſe in whom a cholerick Humour, inflamed, ſtirs up the Headach. Beſides, there are ſome Kinds of Sound, which ſome Perſons cannot endure; and yet can give you no Reaſon for it, but are conſtrained to fly to ſpecifical Properties and Antipathies; and ſuch we may conceive to be between the Cock's Crowing and a Lion's Ear, with much more Likelihood than that the *Remora* ſtays Veſſels under full Sail; and a thouſand other Effects impenetrable by our Reaſon, but aſſured by our Experience.

Laſtly, This Aſtoniſhment that the Cock puts the Lion into, with his Crowing, is not very unreaſonable: This King of Beaſts having Occaſion to wonder, how out of ſo ſmall a Body ſhould iſſue a Voice ſo ſtrong, and which is heard ſo far off, whereas himſelf can make ſuch great Slaughters with ſo little Noiſe. Which Amazement of the Lion is ſo much the greater, if the Cock be white, becauſe this Colour helps yet more to diſſipate his Spirits, which were already ſcattered by the firſt Motion of his Apprehenſion.

An Enquiry into the Meaſures of Submiſſion to the Supreme Authority; and of the Grounds upon which it may be lawful or neceſſary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties.

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THIS Enquiry cannot be regularly made, but by taking, in the firſt Place, a true and full View of the Nature of *Civil Society*, and more particularly of the Nature of *Supreme Power*, whether it is lodged in one or more Perſons.

1. It is certain, that the Law of Nature has put no Difference nor Subordination among Men, except it be that of Children to Parents, or of Wives to their Huſbands; ſo that, with Relation to the Law of Nature, *all Men are born free*: And this Liberty muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed intire, unleſs ſo far as it is limited by Contracts, Proviſions, and Laws; for a Man can either bind himſelf to be a Servant, or ſell himſelf to be a Slave, by which he becomes in the Power of another, only ſo far as it was provided by the Contract: Since all that Liberty, which was not expreſly given away, remains ſtill intire; ſo that the Plea for Liberty always proves itſelf, unleſs it appears that it is given up, or limited by any ſpecial Agreement.

2. It is no leſs certain, that as the Light of Nature has planted in all Men a natural Principle of the *Love of Life*, and of a *Deſire to preſerve it*, ſo the common Principles of all Religion agree in this, that, *God* having ſet us in this World, we are bound to preſerve that Being, which he has given us, by all juſt and lawful Ways. Now this Duty of *Self-preſervation* is exerted in Inſtances of two Sorts; the one is in the Reſiſting of violent Aggreſſors, the other is the

the Taking of juſt Revenges of thoſe who have invaded us ſo ſecretly, that we could not prevent them, and ſo violently, that we could not reſiſt them. In which Caſes, the Principle of *Self-preſervation* warrants us, both to recover what is our own, with juſt Damages, and alſo to put ſuch unjuſt Perſons out of a Capacity of doing the like Injuries any more, either to ourſelves, or any others. Now, in theſe Inſtances of *Self-preſervation*, this Difference is to be obſerved, that the firſt cannot be limited, by any ſlow Forms, ſince a *preſſing Danger* requires a *vigorous Repulſe*, and cannot admit of Delays; whereas the ſecond, of taking *Revenges* or *Reparations*, is not of ſuch Haſte, but that it may be brought under Rules and Forms.

3. The true and original Notion of *Civil Society* and Government is, that it is a Compromiſe made by ſuch a Body of Men, by which they reſign up the Right of demanding Reparations, either in the Way of Juſtice againſt one another, or in the Way of War againſt their Neighbours, to ſuch a ſingle Perſon, or to ſuch a Body of Men, as they think fit to truſt with this. And in the Management of this *Civil Society*, great Diſtinction is to be made between the Power of making Laws for the Regulating the Conduct of it, and the Power of Executing theſe Laws; the *Supreme Authority* muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed to be lodged with thoſe who have the *Legiſlative Power* reſerved to them; but not with thoſe who have only the *Executive*, which is plainly a Truſt, when it is ſeparated from the *Legiſlative* Power; and all Truſts, by their Nature, import, that thoſe, to whom they are given, are accountable, even though that it ſhould not be expreſly ſpecified in the Words of the Truſt itſelf.

4. It cannot be ſuppoſed by the Principles of Natural Religion, that *God* has authoriſed any one Form of *Government*, any other Way, than as the general Rules of Order and of Juſtice oblige all Men not to ſubvert Conſtitutions, nor diſturb the Peace of Mankind, nor invade thoſe Rights, with which the Law may have veſted ſome Perſons; for it is certain, that as private Contracts lodge or tranſact private Rights, ſo the publick Laws can likewiſe lodge ſuch Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, in thoſe under whoſe Protection they put themſelves; and, in ſuch a Manner, that they may come to have as good a Title to theſe, as any private Perſon can have to his Property; ſo that it becomes an Act of high Injuſtice and Violence to invade theſe, which is ſo far a greater Sin, than any ſuch Actions would be againſt a private Perſon, as the publick Peace and *Order is preferable* to all *private Conſiderations* whatſoever. So that, in Truth, the Principles of *Natural Religion* give thoſe that are in Authority no Power at all; but they do only ſecure them in the Poſſeſſion of that which is theirs by Law. And as no Conſiderations of Religion can bind me to pay another more than I indeed owe him, but do only bind me more ſtrictly to pay what I owe; ſo the Conſiderations of Religion do, indeed, bring Subjects under ſtricter Obligations to pay all due Allegiance and Submiſſion to their Princes; but they do not at all extend that Allegiance further than the Law carries it.

And though a Man has no Divine Right to his Property, but has acquired it by Human Means, ſuch as Succeſſion, or Induſtry, yet he has a Security for the Enjoyment of it, from a Divine Right: So, though Princes have no immediate Warrants from Heaven, either for their original Titles, or for the Extent of them, yet they are ſecured in the Poſſeſſion of them, by the Principles and Rules of *Natural Religion*.

5. It is to be conſidered that, as a private Perſon can bind himſelf to another Man's Service by different Degrees, either as an ordinary Servant for Wages, or as an Appropriate for a longer Time, as an Apprentice; or, by a total giving himſelf up to another, as in the Caſe of Slavery. In all which Caſes, the general Name of Maſter may be equally uſed; yet the Degrees of his Power are to be judged by the Nature of the Contract; ſo, likewiſe, Bodies of Men can give themſelves up, in different Degrees, to the Conduct of others. And, therefore, though all thoſe may carry the ſame Name of King, yet every one's Power is to be taken from the Meaſures of the Authority which is lodged in him, and not from any general Speculations founded on ſome equivocal Terms, ſuch as *King*, *Sovereign*, or *Supreme*.

6. It is certain, that *God*, as the Creator and Governor of the World, may ſet up whom he will, to rule over other Men; but this Declaration of his Will muſt be made evident by Prophets, or other extraordinary Men ſent by him, who have ſome manifeſt Proofs of the Divine Authority, that is committed to them, on ſuch Occaſions; and upon ſuch Perſons declaring the Will of *God*, in Favour of any others, that Declaration is to be ſubmitted to and obeyed. But this Pretence of a Divine Delegation can be carried

carried no farther than to thoſe who are thus expreſly marked out, and is unjuſtly claimed by thoſe who can prove no ſuch Declaration to have been ever made in Favour of them, or their Families. Nor does it appear reaſonable to conclude, from their being in Poſſeſſion, that it is the Will of *God* that it ſhould be ſo; this juſtifies all Uſurpers, when they are ſucceſsful.

7. The Meaſures of Power, and, by Conſequence, of Obedience, muſt be taken from the expreſs Laws of any State, or Body of Men, from the Oaths that they ſwear; or from immemorial Preſcription, and a long Poſſeſſion, which both give a Title, and, in a long Tract of Time, make a bad one become good; ſince Preſcription, when it paſſes the Memory of Man, and is not diſputed by any other Pretender, gives, by the common Senſe of all Men, a juſt and good Title: So, upon the whole Matter, the Degrees of all Civil Authority, are to be taken either from expreſs Laws, immemorial Cuſtoms, or from particular Oaths, which the Subjects ſwear to their Princes; this being ſtill to be laid down for a Principle, that, in all the Diſputes between *Power* and *Liberty*, *Power* muſt always be proved, but *Liberty* proves itſelf; the one being founded only upon poſitive Law, and the other upon the Law of Nature.

8. If from the general Principles of Human Society, and Natural Religion, we carry this Matter to be examined by the Scriptures, it is clear, that all the Paſſages, that are in the *Old Teſtament*, are not to be made Uſe of in this Matter, on neither Side. For as the Land of *Canaan* was given to the *Jews*, by an immediate Grant from Heaven, ſo God reſerved ſtill this to himſelf, and to the Declarations that he ſhould make from Time to Time, either by his *Prophets*, or by the Anſwers that came from the Cloud of Glory that was between the Cherubims; to ſet up Judges or Kings over them, and to pull them down again as he thought fit, here was an expreſs Delegation made by God; and therefore all that was done in that Diſpenſation, either for or againſt Princes, is not to be made Uſe of in any other State, that is founded on another Bottom and Conſtitution; and all the Expreſſions in the *Old Teſtament* relating to *Kings*, ſince they belong to Perſons that were immediately deſigned by God, are without any Sort of Reaſon applied to thoſe who can pretend to no ſuch Deſignation, neither for themſelves nor for their Anceſtors.

9. As for the *New Teſtament*, it is plain, that there are no Rules given in it, neither for the *Forms of Government* in general, nor for the Degrees of any one Form in particular, but the general Rules of Juſtice, Order, and Peace, being eſtabliſhed in it upon higher Motives, and more binding Conſiderations, than ever they were in any other Religion whatſoever, we are moſt ſtrictly bound by it, to obſerve the Conſtitution in which we are; and it is plain, that the Rules, ſet us in the Goſpel, can be carried no further. It is, indeed, clear from the *New Teſtament*, that the *Chriſtian Religion*, as ſuch, gives us no Grounds to defend or propagate it by Force. It is a Doctrine of the Croſs, and of Faith and Patience under it; and if, by the Order of Divine Providence, and of any Conſtitution of Government, under which we are born, we are brought under Sufferings, for our Profeſſing of it, we may indeed retire and fly out of any ſuch Country, if we can; but, if that is denied us, we muſt then, according to this Religion, ſubmit to thoſe Sufferings under which we may be brought, conſidering that God will be glorified by us in ſo doing, and that he will both ſupport us under our Sufferings, and glorioufly reward us for them.

This was the State of the *Chriſtian Religion*, during the three firſt *Centuries*, under *Heathen Emperors*, and a Conſtitution in which *Paganiſm* was eſtabliſhed by Law; but if, by the Laws of any Government, the *Chriſtian Religion*, or any Form of it, is become a Part of the *Subject's Property*, it then falls under another Conſideration, not as it is a Religion, but as it is become one of the principal Rights of the Subjects, to believe and profeſs it; and then we muſt judge of the Invaſions made on that, as we do of any other Invaſion that is made on our Rights.

10. All the Paſſages in the *New Teſtament*, that relate to *Civil Government*, are to be expounded as they were truly meant, in Oppoſition to that falſe Notion of the *Jews*, who believed themſelves to be ſo immediately under the Divine Authority, that they would not become the Subjects of any other Power; particularly of one that was not of their Nation, or of their Religion; therefore they thought, they could not be under the *Roman* Yoke, nor bound to pay Tribute to *Cæſar*, but judged that they were only ſubject out of Fear, by Reaſon of the Force that lay on them, but not for Conſcience-

ſcience-Sake; and ſo in all their Diſperſion, both at *Rome* and elſewhere, they thought they were *God's Freemen*, and made Uſe of this pretended *Liberty as a Cloke of Maliciouſneſs*: In Oppoſition to all which, ſince in a Courſe of many Years they had aſked the Protection of the *Roman* Yoke, and were come under their Authority, our Saviour ordered them to continue in that by his Saying, *Render to* Cæſar *that which is* Cæſar's; and both St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and St. *Peter* in his general Epiſtle, have very poſitively condemned that pernicious Maxim, but without any formal Declarations made of the Rules or Meaſures of *Government*. And, ſince both the People and Senate of *Rome* had acknowledged the Power that *Auguſtus* had, indeed, violently uſurped, it became legal when it was thus ſubmitted to, and confirmed both by the Senate and People; and it was eſtabliſhed in his Family by a long Preſcription, when theſe Epiſtles were writ; ſo that, upon the whole Matter, all that is in the *New Teſtament*, upon this Subject, imports no more but that all *Chriſtians* are bound to acquieſce in the *Government*, and ſubmit to it, according to the Conſtitution that is ſettled by Law.

11. We are then at laſt brought to the Conſtitution of our *Engliſh* Government; ſo that no general Conſiderations from the Speculations about *Sovereign Power*, nor from any Paſſages either of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, ought to determine us in this Matter; which muſt be fixed from the Laws and Regulations that have been made among us. It is then certain, that with Relation to the *Executive* Part of the Government, the Law has lodged that ſingly in the King, ſo that the whole Adminiſtration of it is in him; but the *Legiſlative Power* is lodged between the *King* and the two Houſes of Parliament, ſo that the Power of making and repealing *Laws* is not ſingly in the King, but only ſo far as the two *Houſes* concur with him. It is alſo clear, that the King has ſuch a determined Extent of Prerogative, beyond which he has no Authority: As for Inſtance, if he levies Money of his People, without a Law impowering him to it, he goes beyond the Limits of his Power, and aſks that, to which he has no Right, ſo that there lies no Obligation on the Subject to grant it; and if any in his Name uſe Violence for the Obtaining it, they are to be looked on, as ſo many Robbers, that invade our Property, and they being violent Aggreſſors, the Principle of Self-preſervation ſeems here to take Place, and to warrant as violent a Reſiſtance.

12. There is nothing more evident, than that *England* is a *free* Nation, that has its *Liberties* and *Properties* preſerved to it by many *poſitive* and *expreſs Laws*; if then we have a Right to our *Property*, we muſt likewiſe be ſuppoſed to have a Right to preſerve it; for theſe Rights are by the Law ſecured againſt the *Invaſions* of the Prerogative, and by Conſequence we muſt have a Right to *preſerve* them againſt thoſe Invaſions. It is alſo evidently declared by our Law, that all Orders and Warrants, that are iſſued, not in Oppoſition to them, are null of themſelves; and by Conſequence, any that pretend to have Commiſſions from the King, for thoſe Ends, are to be conſidered, as if they had none at all: Since theſe Commiſſions, being void of themſelves, are indeed *no* Commiſſions in the Conſtruction of the Law; and therefore thoſe, who act in Virtue of them, are ſtill to be conſidered, as private Perſons, who come to invade and diſturb us. It is alſo to be obſerved, that there are ſome Points that are juſtly diſputable and doubtful, and others that are ſo manifeſt, that it is plain that any Objections, that can be made to them, are rather forced Pretences, than ſo much as plauſible Colours. It is true, if the Caſe is doubtful, the Intereſt of the publick Peace and Order ought to carry it; but the Caſe is quite different, when the Invaſions, that are made upon Liberty and Property, are plain and viſible to all that conſider them.

13. The main and great Difficulty here, is, that though our Government does indeed aſſert the Liberty of the Subject, yet there are many expreſs Laws made, that lodge the Militia ſingly in the King, that make it plainly unlawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him; and theſe Laws have been put in the Form of Oath, which all that have borne any Employment either in Church or State have ſworn; and therefore theſe Laws, for the Aſſuring our Liberties, do indeed bind the King's Conſcience, and may affect his Miniſters; yet, ſince it is a Maxim of our Law, that the King can do no Wrong, theſe cannot be carried ſo far as to juſtify our Taking Arms againſt him, be the Tranſgreſſions of Law ever ſo many and ſo manifeſt: And, ſince this has been the conſtant Doctrine of the Church of *England*, it will be a very heavy Imputation on us, if it appears, that though

though we held theſe Opinions, as long as the Court and the Crown have favoured us, yet, as ſoon as the Court turns againſt us, we change our Principles.

14. Here is the true Difficulty of this whole Matter, and therefore it ought to be exactly conſidered. *Firſt*, all general Words, how large ſoever, are ſtill ſuppoſed to have a tacit Exception, and Reſerves in them, if the Matter ſeems to require it. Children are commanded to obey their Parents in all Things; Wives are declared, by the Scripture, to be ſubject to their Huſbands in all Things; as the Church is unto *Chriſt*: And yet how comprehenſive ſoever theſe Words may ſeem to be, there is ſtill a Reſerve to be underſtood in them; and though, by our Form of Marriage, the Parties ſwear to one another, till Death them do part, yet few doubt but this Bond is diſſolved by Adultery, though it is not named; for odious Things ought not to be ſuſpected, and therefore not named upon ſuch Occaſions: But, when they fall out, they carry ſtill their own Force with them. 2. When there ſeems to be a Contradiction between two Articles in the Conſtitution, we ought to examine which of the two is the moſt evident and the moſt important, and ſo we ought to fix upon it, and then we muſt give ſuch an accommodating Senſe to that which ſeems to contradict it, that ſo we may reconcile thoſe together. Here then are two ſeeming Contradictions in our Conſtitution: The one is the publick Liberties of the Nation; the other is the Renouncing of all Reſiſtance, in Caſe that were invaded. It is plain, that our Liberty is only a Thing that we enjoy at the King's Diſcretion, and during his Pleaſure, if the other againſt all Reſiſtance is to be underſtood, according to the utmoſt Extent of the Words; therefore ſince the chief Deſign of our whole Law, and all the ſeveral Rules of our Conſtitution, is to ſecure and maintain our Liberty, we ought to lay that down for a Concluſion, that it is both the moſt plain and the moſt important of the two: And therefore the other Article againſt Reſiſtance ought to be ſo ſoftened, as that it do not deſtroy this. 3. Since it is by a Law, that Reſiſtance is condemned, we ought to underſtand it in ſuch a Senſe, as that it doth not deſtroy all other Laws: And therefore the Intent of this Law muſt only relate to the Executive Power, which is in the King, and not to the Legiſlative, in which we cannot ſuppoſe that our Legiſlators, who made that Law, intended to give up that, which we plainly ſee they reſolved ſtill to preſerve intire, according to the ancient Conſtitution. So then the not Reſiſting the King can only be applied to the Executive Power, that ſo, upon no Pretence of ill Adminiſtrations in the Execution of the Law, it ſhould be lawful to reſiſt him; but this cannot with any Reaſon be extended to an Invaſion of the Legiſlative Power, or to a total Subverſion of the Government. For it being plain, that the Law did not deſign to lodge that Power in the King; it is alſo plain, that it did not intend to ſecure him in it, in caſe he ſhould ſet about it. 4. The Law mentioning the King, or thoſe commiſſioned by him, ſhews plainly, that it only deſigned to ſecure the King in the Executive Power: For the Word Commiſſion neceſſarily imports this, ſince, if it is not according to Law, it is no Commiſſion; and by Conſequence, thoſe who act, in Virtue of it, are not commiſſioned by the King, in the Senſe of the Law. The King likewiſe imports, a Prince cloathed by Law with the Regal Prerogative; but, if he goes to ſubvert the whole Foundation of the Government, he ſubverts that by which he himſelf has his Power, and by Conſequence he annuls his own Power; and then he ceaſes to be King, having endeavoured to deſtroy that, upon which his own Authority is founded.

It is acknowledged by the greateſt Aſſerters of Monarchical Power, that, in ſome Caſes, a King may fall from his Power, and in other Caſes that he may fall from the Exerciſe of it; his deſerting his People, his going about to inſlave, or ſell them to any other, or a furious going about to deſtroy them, are, in the Opinion of the moſt Monarchical Lawyers, ſuch Abuſes, that they naturally diveſt thoſe, that are guilty of them, of their whole Authority. Infamy or Phrenzy do alſo put them under the Guardianſhip of others. All the crowned Heads of *Europe* have, at leaſt, ſecretly approved of the putting the late King of *Portugal* under a Guardianſhip, and the keeping him ſtill Priſoner, for a few Acts of Rage, that had been fatal to a very few Perſons: And even our Court gave the firſt Countenance to it, though of all others the late King had the moſt Reaſon to have done it at leaſt laſt of all, ſince it juſtified a younger Brother's ſupplanting the Elder; yet the Evidence of the Thing carried it even againſt Intereſt; therefore, if a King go about to ſubvert the Government, and to overturn the whole Conſtitution, he by this muſt

be ſuppoſed either to fall from his Power, or at leaſt from the Exerciſe of it, ſo far as that he ought to be put under Guardians; and, according to the Caſe of *Portugal*, the next Heir falls naturally to be the Guardian.

The next Thing to be conſidered is, to ſee in Fact whether the Foundations of this *Government* have been ſtruck at, and whether thoſe Errors, that have been perhaps committed, are only ſuch Malverſations, as ought only to be imputed to *Human Frailty*, and to the Ignorance, Inadvertencies, or Paſſions, to which all Princes may be ſubject, as well as other Men; but this will beſt appear, if we conſider, what are the fundamental Points of our *Government*, and the chief Securities that we have for our Liberties.

The Authority of the Law is, indeed, all in one Word, ſo that, if the King pretend to a Power to diſpenſe with Laws, there is nothing left, upon which the Subject can depend; and yet, as if *diſpenſing Power* were not enough, if Laws are wholly ſuſpended for all Time coming, this is plainly a Repealing of them, when likewiſe the Men, in whoſe Hands the Adminiſtration of Juſtice is put by Law, ſuch as Judges and Sheriffs, are allowed to tread all Laws under Foot, even Theft, that infer an Incapacity on themſelves, if they violate them; this is ſuch a Breaking of the whole Conſtitution, that we can no more have the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſo that it is really a Diſſolution of the Government; ſince all Tryals, Sentences, and the Executions of them are become ſo many unlawful Acts, that are null and void of themſelves.

The next Thing in our Conſtitution, which ſecures to us our *Laws* and *Liberties*, is a *free* and *lawful Parliament*. Now not to mention the Breach of the Law of *triennial Parliaments*, it being above three Years ſince we had a Seſſion, that erected any Law; Methods have been taken, and are daily taking, that render this impoſſible. *Parliaments* ought to be choſen with an intire Liberty, and without either Force or Pre-engagements, how they will vote, if they were choſen themſelves; or how they will give their Votes in the Electing of others; this is plainly ſuch a Preparation to a Parliament, as would, indeed, make it no Parliament, but a Cabal, if one were choſen after all that Corruption of Perſons, who had pre-engaged themſelves, and after the Threatening and Turning out of all Perſons out of Employments who had refuſed to do it; and if there are ſuch daily Regulations made in the Towns, that it is plain, thoſe, who manage them, intend at laſt to put ſuch a Number of Men in the *Corporations* as will certainly chuſe the Perſons who are recommended to them. But above all, if there are ſuch a Number of *Sheriffs* and *Mayors* made over *England*, by whom the Elections muſt be conducted and returned, who are now under an Incapacity by Law, and ſo are no legal Officers, and by Conſequence, theſe Elections, that paſs under their Authority, are null and void; if, I ſay, it is clear that Things are brought to this, then the *Government* is diſſolved; becauſe it is impoſſible to have a *free* and *legal Parliament* in this State of Things. If then both the Authority of the *Law* and the Conſtitution of the Parliament are ſtruck at and diſſolved, here is a plain Subverſion of the whole *Government*. But if we enter next into the particular Branches of the *Government*, we will find the like Diſorder among them all.

The *Proteſtant Religion* and the *Church of* England make a great Article of our *Government*; the Latter being ſecured not only of old by *Magna Charta*, but by many ſpecial *Laws* made of late; and there are particular Laws made in King *Charles the Firſt*'s and the late King's Time, ſecuring them from all *Commiſſions* that the King can raiſe for Judging or Cenſuring them; if then, in Oppoſition to this, a *Court* ſo condemned is erected, which proceeds to judge and cenſure the *Clergy*, and even to diſſeize them of their *Freeholds*, without ſo much as the Form of a Tryal, though this is the moſt *indiſpenſable Law* of all theſe, that ſecures the *Property of* England; and if the King pretends that he can require the *Clergy* to publiſh all his *arbitrary Declarations*, and, in Particular, one that ſtrikes at their whole Settlement, and has ordered Proceſs to be begun againſt all that diſobeyed this illegal Warrant, and has treated ſo great a Number of the Biſhops as Criminals, only for repreſenting to him the Reaſons of their not obeying him; if likewiſe the King is not ſatisfied to profeſs his own Religion openly, though even that is contrary to Law, but has ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and received *Nuncio's* from thence, which is plainly Treaſon by Law; if likewiſe many *Popiſh* Churches and Chapels have been publickly opened; if ſeveral Colleges of *Jeſuits* have been ſet up in divers Parts of the Nation, and one of the Order has been made a Privy-Counſellor, and a principal Miniſter of State; and if *Papiſts*, and even thoſe who turn to that Religion, though declared Traitors by Law,

Law, are brought into all the chief Employments, both Military and Civil; then it is plain, that all the Rights of the Church of *England*, and the whole Eſtabliſhment of the *Proteſtant Religion*, are ſtruck at, and deſigned to be overturned; ſince all theſe Things, as they are notoriouſly illegal, ſo they evidently demonſtrate, that the great Deſign of them all is the Rooting out this peſtilent Hereſy, in their Stile, I mean the *Proteſtant Religion*.

In the next Place, if, in the whole Courſe of Juſtice, it is viſible, that there is a conſtant Practiſing upon the Judges, that they are turned out upon their Varying from the Intentions of the Court, and if Men of no Reputation or Abilities are put in their Places; if an Army is kept up in Time of Peace, and Men who withdrew from that illegal Service are hanged up as Criminals, without any Colour of Law, which by Conſequence are ſo many Murders; and if the Soldiery are connived at and encouraged in the moſt enormous Crimes, that ſo they may be thereby prepared to commit great ones, and, from ſingle Rapes and Murders, proceed to a Rape upon all our Liberties, and a Deſtruction of the Nation: If, I ſay, all theſe Things are true in Fact, then it is plain, that that there is ſuch a Diſſolution of the Government made, that there is not any one Part of it left ſound and intire; and if all theſe Things are done now, it is eaſy to imagine what may be expected, when arbitrary Power that ſpares no Man, and Popery that ſpares no Heretick, are finally eſtabliſhed; then we may look for nothing but Gabels, Tallies, Impoſitions, Benevolences, and all Sorts of illegal Taxes; as from the other we may expect Burnings, Maſſacres, and Inquiſitions. In what is doing in *Scotland*, we may gather what is to be expected in *England*; where, if the King has over and over again declared, that he is veſted with an abſolute Power, which all are bound to obey without Reſerve: And has upon that annulled almoſt all the Acts of Parliament that paſſed in King *James the Firſt*'s Minority, though they were ratified by himſelf when he came to be of Age, and were confirmed by all the ſubſequent Kings, not excepting the preſent: We muſt then conclude from thence, what is reſolved here in *England*, and what will be put in Execution, as ſoon as it is thought that the Times can bear it. When likewiſe the whole Settlement of *Ireland* is ſhaken, and the Army that was raiſed, and is maintained by Taxes, that were given for an Army of *Engliſh Proteſtants*, to ſecure them from a new Maſſacre by the *Iriſh Papiſts*, is all now filled with *Iriſh Papiſts*, as well as almoſt all the other Employments; it is plain that not only all the *Britiſh Proteſtants*, inhabiting that Iſland, are in daily Danger of being butchered a ſecond Time, but that the Crown of *England* is in Danger of loſing that Iſland, it being now put wholly into the Hands and Power of the native *Iriſh*; who, as they formerly offered themſelves up ſometimes to the Crown of *Spain*, ſometimes to the Pope, and once to the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſo are they, perhaps, at this preſent treating with another Court for the Sale and Surrender of the Iſland, and for the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* in it.

If thus all the ſeveral Branches of our Conſtitution are diſſolved, it might be at leaſt expected, that one Part ſhould be left intire, and that is the *regal Dignity*; and yet that is proſtituted, when we ſee a *young Child* put in the Reverſion of it, and pretended to be the *Prince of* Wales, concerning whoſe being born of the Queen, there appear to be not only no certain Proofs, but there are all the Preſumptions that can poſſibly be imagined to the Contrary. No Proofs were ever given, either to the *Princeſs of* Denmark, or to any other *Proteſtant Ladies*, in whom we ought to repoſe any Confidence, that the Queen was ever with Child; that whole Matter being managed with ſo much Myſterioufneſs, that there were violent and publick Suſpicions of it before the Birth. But the whole Contrivance of the Birth, the Sending away the *Princeſs of* Denmark, the ſudden Shortening of the *Reckoning*, the *Queen*'s ſudden Going to St. *James*'s, her no leſs ſudden *Delivery*, the Hurrying the Child into another Room, without ſhewing it to thoſe preſent, and without their hearing it cry; and the myſterious Conduct of all ſince that Time; no Satisfaction being given to the *Princeſs of* Denmark upon her Return from the *Bath*, nor to any other *Proteſtant Ladies*, of the Queen's having been really brought to Bed; theſe are all ſuch evident Indications of a baſe Impoſture in this Matter, that, as the Nation has the juſteſt Reaſon in the World to doubt of it, ſo they have all poſſible Reaſon to be at no Quiet, till they ſee a *legal* and *free Parliament* aſſembled, which may impartially, and without either Fear or Corruption, examine that whole Matter.

If all theſe Matters are true in Fact, then I ſuppoſe no Man will doubt that the whole Foundations of this *Government*, and all the moſt ſacred Parts of it, are overturned; and, as to the Truth of all theſe Suppoſitions, that is left to every *Engliſhman*'s Judgment and Senſe.

The Expedition of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* for *England*. Giving an Account of the moſt remarkable Paſſages thereof, from the Day of his ſetting Sail from *Holland*, to the firſt Day of this Inſtant *December*, 1688. In a Letter to a Perſon of Quality.

[From a *Quarto*, containing eight Pages, printed in the Year 1688.]

SIR,

THE Account you ſo earneſtly deſired of me, of the Prince's Expedition and Invaſion of England, *is a Task no one ſhould have commanded from me but yourſelf; the ancient Friendſhip between us makes nothing appear difficult, in the Way to ſerve you.*

I ſhall not undertake to determine the Legality of this great and bold Attempt, nor reflect on the Counſels that have brought this Miſery upon us, but ſhall content myſelf with giving you a brief Account of of the Prince's Expedition.

And, *Firſt*, you are to take Notice, that his Highneſs ſet Sail from *Holland* with fifty-one Men of War, eighteen Fire-ſhips, and about three-hundred and thirty Tenders, being Ships hired of Merchants, for the Carriage of Horſe and Foot, Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* The Fleet ſtood out at Sea to the *Northward*, which met with horrid Storms for two Days and two Nights together; in which bad Weather there were loſt above five-hundred Horſe, and a Veſſel parted from the Fleet, wherein were four-hundred Foot, ſuppoſed to be loſt, but now known to be arrived at the *Texel*, tho' grievouſly ſhattered and torn by the Storm; two of the Prince's principal Men of War were forced to new rig at *Helvetſluce*.

The Prince, immediately on his Return back, informed the *States* of the Condition of the Fleet (which was not ſo damnified as was repreſented by the Vulgar and Ignorant) who, thereupon, to lull a great Man * a-ſleep, the States, or ſome one employed by them, ordered that the *Haerlem* and *Amſterdam* Courantier ſhould make a diſmal Story of it, by repreſenting to the World, that the Prince returned with his Fleet miſerably ſhattered and torn, having loſt nine Men of War, and divers others of leſs Concern; a Thouſand Horſe ruined; a Calenture among the Seamen; the Loſs of Dr. *Burnet*, and the chief Miniſters under the Prince; the ill Opinion the States had of the Expedition; in ſhort, that one hundred Thouſand Pounds would not repair the Damage ſuſtained; and, almoſt next to an Impoſſibility, that the Prince ſhould be in a Condition to purſue his Deſign, till the Spring. And yet at the ſame Time all Hands were at Work to repair the damaged Ships, which were inconſiderable; ſo that in eight Days Time they were all re-fitted. The Signal being given by the Diſcharge of a Gun, all the Fleet immediately weighed Anchor, and ſtood out at Sea, ſteering their Courſe *Northwards*, all that Night; next Day upon Tide of Ebb, they made a Stretch, and made a Watch above a League, and then ſtood *Weſtward*, and lay all Night in the ſame Poſture, not making two Leagues a Watch.

In the Middle of the Night, an Advice-Boat brought us an Account, that the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of thirty-three Sail, lay to the *Weſtward* of ours. Upon which the Prince fired a Gun, which cauſed a great Conſternation in the whole Fleet; we, having a briſk *Eaſterly* Wind, concluded ourſelves to be all ruined; but the ſmall Advice-Boats, cruiſing for a more cer-

* *James* II.

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tain Account of the *Engliſh*, brought us back Word, that, inſtead of the *Engliſh* Fleet, which the former Advice had alarmed us with, it was Admiral *Herbert* with Part of our Fleet, which had been ſeparated ſome Hours from the Body of our Fleet: Upon whoſe Arrival great Rejoicing was among us all, and a Signal of Joy was given for it by the Prince.

In the Morning, about Eight, the Prince gave a Signal, that the Admiral ſhould come a-board him. Immediately after the whole Fleet was got into the *North Foreland*, upon which the Prince gave the uſual Sign of Danger (according to the printed Book) and ordered that the Fleet ſhould all come up in a Body, ſome fifteen or ſixteen deep, his Highneſs leading the Van in the Ship the *Brill* (in *Engliſh*, *Spectacles*: His Flag was *Engliſh* Colours; the Motto, impaled thereon, was, *The PROTESTANT RELIGION, and LIBERTIES of ENGLAND*, and underneath, inſtead of *Dieu & Mondroit*, was, *And I will maintain it.*

The Council of War, from on Board the Prince, ſent three ſmall Frigates into the Mouth of the *Thames*, *viz.* the *Porpus*, *Poſtilion*, and *Mercury*; who, on their Return, brought us Word, that the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in the *Buoy of the Nore*, conſiſting of thirty-four Sail, and three more which lay in the *Downs*. The Wind continuing at *E. N. E.*

The Prince immediately thereupon gave another Signal of Stretching the whole Fleet in a Line, from *Dover* to *Calais*, twenty-five deep; ſo that our Fleet reached within a League of each Place; the Flanks and Rear were guarded by our Men of War. This Sight would have raviſhed the moſt curious Eyes of *Europe*. When our Fleet was in its greateſt Splendor, the Trumpets and Drums playing various Tunes to rejoice our Hearts; this continued for above three Hours.

Immediately after the Prince gave us a Sign to cloſe, and ſailed that Night as far as *Beach*, and commanded us to follow the Signal by Lights he had hung out to us, *viz.* all the ſmall Sail ſhould come up to him by Morning.

By the Morning-day we eſpied the *Iſle of Wight*, and then the Prince ordered the Fleet to be drawn into the ſame Poſture, as before related; yet not ſtretching above half Channel over, in this Place. About Five in the Morning we made the Start, the Wind chopping about to the *Weſtward*; upon which we ſtood fair by *Dartmouth*, and ſo made for *Torbay*, where the Prince again ordered the whole Fleet into the ſame Poſture as at *Dover* and *Calais*.

Upon his Arrival at *Torbay*, the People on Land, in great Numbers, welcomed his Highneſs with loud Acclamations of Joy.

Immediately after the Prince gave two Signals, that the Admirals ſhould come a-board him, which they did; and then ordered, that the whole Fleet ſhould come to an Anchor, and immediately land; and further ordered, that the Admirals ſhould ſtand out at Sea, as a Guard, as well as the ſmaller Men of War, to attend and guard their Landing; and alſo ordered ſix Men of War to run in to guard *Torbay*.

The Prince then put out a red Flag at the Mizen-yard-arm, and provided to land in ſixty Boats, laid ready for that Purpoſe: Upon which the Prince ſignified, that General *Mackay* with his ſix Regiments of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* ſhould firſt land; and alſo, that the little *Porpus*, with eighteen Guns, ſhould run a-ground, to ſecure their Landing: But there was no Oppoſition; for the People bid us heartily welcome to *England*, and gave us all Manner of Proviſions for our Refreſhment.

The Fifth of *November* (a Day never to be blotted out of the *Engliſhman*'s Heart) the Prince cauſed to be landed about two Thouſand. On the Sixth we landed as many Horſe and Foot as we could poſſibly, and ſo continued the Seventh: The Country bringing in all Manner of Proviſion, both for Man and Horſe, and were paid their Price honeſtly for it.

The Prince the ſame Day commanded Captain *M*—— to ſearch the Lady *Cary*'s Houſe, at *Tor-Abby*, for Arms and Horſes; and ſo all other Houſes which were *Roman Catholicks*. The Lady, entertaining them civilly, ſaid her Husband was gone to *Plymouth*: They brought from thence ſome Horſes and a few Arms, but gave no further Diſturbance to the Lady or her Houſe. Nor ſhall it be forgotten, what was faithfully acted at this Lady's Houſe, immediately on our Arrival at *Torbay*: There were a Prieſt and ſome others with him upon a Watch-Tower, to diſcover what our Fleet was, whether *French* or *Dutch*. At laſt they diſcovered the white Flags on ſome of our Men of War; the ignorant Prieſt concluded abſolutely we were the *French* Fleet, which, with great Impatience they had ſo long expected; and having laid up great Proviſions for their Entertainment; the Prieſt ordered all to the Chapel, to ſing *Te Deum*, for the Arrival of their ſuppoſed Forces; but,

but, being ſoon undeceived on our Landing, we found the Benefit of their Proviſions; and, inſtead of *Voſtre Serviture Monſieur*, they were entertained with *Yeen Mynheer*, Can you *Dutch* Spraken; upon which they all run away from the Houſe, but the Lady and a few old Servants.

The whole Army, to the beſt of my Knowledge, conſiſted of Eighteen-thouſand Horſe, Three-thouſand Dragoons, and one Thouſand Eight-hundred Foot, beſides a Thouſand Voluntier Perſons of Quality, Horſe well equipped, and about Five-hundred Horſe for Carriage.

November the Eighth, the Prince came from *Chudleigh*, towards *Exeter*, with the greateſt Part of his Army attending him, and about One of the Clock, entered at the *Weſt-gate* of the City, welcomed with loud Acclamations of the People.

The Manner of his publick Entrance into *Exeter* was as follows:

1. The Right Honourable the Earl of *M*—— with Two-hundred Horſe, the moſt Part of which were *Engliſh* Gentlemen richly mounted on *Flanders* Steeds, managed and uſed to War, in Head-pieces, Back and Breaſt, bright Armour.

2. Two-hundred *Blacks* brought from the Plantations of the *Netherlands* in *America*, having on embroidered Caps lined with white Fur, and Plumes of white Feathers, to attend the Horſe.

3. Two-hundred *Finlanders* or *Laplanders* in Bears-skins taken from the wild Beaſts they had ſlain, the common Habit of that cold Climate, with black Armour, and broad Flaming Swords.

4. Fifty Gentlemen, and as many Pages to attend and ſupport the Prince's Banner, bearing this Inſcription, *God* and the *Proteſtant Religion.*

5. Fifty led Horſes, all managed and brought up to the Wars, with two Grooms to each Horſe.

6. After theſe rode the Prince on a Milk-white Palfrey, armed *Cap-a-pee*, a Plume of white Feathers on his Head, all in bright Armour, and Forty-two Footmen running by him.

7. After his Highneſs followed likewiſe on Horſeback Two-hundred Gentlemen and Pages.

8. Three-thouſand *Switzers* with Fuzees.

9. Five-hundred Voluntiers, each two led Horſes.

10. His Captain and Guards Six-hundred, armed *Cap-a-pee.*

The reſt of the Army brought up the Rear.

That Night the Prince lay at the Deanery, having before ordered the advanced Guard to march to *Cliſt-heath*, and ſettled the Quarters of the Army; which was done ſo much to the Content and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants in, and about the City, and ſuch juſt Payments made for what the Soldiers had, and ſuch civil Behaviour among them, without Swearing and Damning and Debauching of Women, as is uſual among ſome Armies, that it is to Admiration to behold. I am ſure, Sir, I was an Eye-witneſs of the whole Order, and, when we marched away from this City, their Joy was turned into Dulneſs and Cloudineſs.

On the Ninth the Prince commanded Dr. *Burnet* to order the Prieſt-Vicars of the Cathedral, not to pray for the Prince of *Wales*, and to make Uſe of no other Prayer for the King, but what is in the ſecond Service, which they refuſed to obſerve, till they were forced and very ſeverely threatened; the Biſhop and the Dean being then gone from the City.

About Twelve this Day, Notice was given to the Canons, and all the Vicars, Choral and Singing Lads, to attend in the Cathedral immediately, for that the Prince would be there; and Dr. *Burnet* ordered them, as ſoon as the Prince entered into the Quire, they ſhould ſing *Te Deum*, which was obſerved. The Prince ſat in the Biſhop's Chair, and all his great Officers attending on him. After *Te Deum* was ſung, Dr. *Burnet*, in a Seat under the Pulpit, read aloud the Prince's Declaration, and Reaſons for this his Expedition; when this was over, the Prince returned to the Deanery.

The Baggage was many Days bringing from *Torbay*, but the Ammunition, both Arms for Foot and Horſe, and the Artillery were brought into *Topſham* Road, and there, by Boats and other Carriages landed; the Field-pieces were ſent after the Army at *Cliſt-heath*, the Braſs Cannon remaining ſome of them in *Exon.*

The greateſt Part of the Army were ordered to march forward to *Ottery* and *Honyton*, and in ſeveral Parties were ordered to divers Places in the County. One Party was ſent to the North of *Devon* for Horſes, which were bought

at

at exceſſive Rates: From *Roman Catholicks*, they took Horſes without Money, and many Gentlemen, who might have had Money for their Horſes, refuſed, as the Biſhop's Son and divers others.

On *Sunday*, Dr. *Burnet* preached at the Cathedral on this Text, *Pſalm* cvii, laſt *Verſe*. *Ferguſon* preached in the *Preſbyterian* Meeting-houſe, but was fain to force his Way with his Sword up to the Pulpit, for even the old *Presbyter* himſelf could not away with the Breath of his Brother *Ferguſon* in his Dioceſe: His Text was in *Pſalm* xciv. *Who will riſe up for me, againſt evil Doers*. I heard one of that Gang ſay, that his Diſcourſe came, very much under the Laſh of the 25th of *Edward the Third*; he is not much regarded by any of the Prince's Retinue.

Sir *William W*——— who had been at *Ford* with the Prince, to ſee Sir *William C*———, were both refuſed to be ſeen of him. One Major *M*———, and Sir *Will*—— were in Commiſſion to make new Levies, which was carried on vigorouſly, and many enliſted under them: But Sir *W*——, it ſeems, began to uſe an old Trade of taking Money for Quarters: Complaint was made thereof to the Prince, and they were diſcarded, and the Men diſbanded to ſeek for new Officers. But Sir *W*—— does continue under the Prince's Protection.

The Prince was here above three Days, before any Appearance of Gentry came, inſomuch that the great Officers began to wonder, that the Prince ſhould be invited into *England* by them, and not to appear to the Prince's Aſſiſtance; but this Conſternation was ſoon over, when a conſiderable Body of the Gentry came in to him. Some that were for Taking off the Teſt and Penal Laws, they have not appeared as yet. So that now the Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon* are in the Poſſeſſion of the Gentry thereof, and the Prince's Army quite marched away.

Pendennis Caſtle is managed by ſeveral Gentlemen, who take their Turns. *Plymouth* Fort is declared for the Prince's Service, by the Earl of *B*——, who, it ſeems, was to have been poiſoned, by throwing white *Mercury* over a Leg of Mutton (appointed as one Diſh for his Supper) inſtead of Flour: For that, and ſome other Reaſons, he ſecured the Lord *H*———, turned out all *Papiſt* Soldiers, and has taken in the Country Soldiers into the Fort.

Since which, there is an Aſſociation among the Gentry, worded much after that of my Lord *Shafiſbury*'s.

Mr. *Seymour* being made Governor of *Exeter* and the Lord *Mordaunt* in his Abſence, there are new Levies raiſing every Day; ſo that this City is almoſt full of theſe new Regiments, which are hourly diſciplining by Officers and old Soldiers left here by the Prince. All their Arms are the Prince's, and I am told, he brought with him as many as will ſet out Twenty-thouſand, both Horſe and Foot. I am apt to believe this to be true, having ſeen moſt of what has been landed. All the Veſſels that brought up the Ammunition, *&c.* are returned again to *Torbay*, under the Guard of the principal Men of War, a Squadron of which lie now in the Sound of *Plymouth*, and ſaluted each other with many Cannon from the Fort and the Fleet.

On *Sunday* laſt, there was a Report that the Twenty-thouſand *French* were landed at *Porlock* in this County, upon which the whole Country roſe with Pikes, Spits, Scythes, and what Weapons they could get, and made away for *Exeter*, but it proved a falſe Alarm; for there were two ſmall *French* Ships driven by the *Dutch* Fleet aſhore, and the *French* quitted their Veſſels and went on Land, and were ſome killed, others ſent hither. So that now they are pretty quiet again; but it has given that Advantage to the commiſſioned Officers, who are to raiſe new Levies, to pick and chuſe amongſt them whom they pleaſe.

I ſhall now return again to the Prince: When his Highneſs left *Exeter*, *Wedneſday Nov.* 21, he marched with his own Guards, attended by a great many of the Gentry both of *Somerſetſhire* and *Devon* to St. *Mary Ottery*, where he dined; after which he marched to *Axminſter*, where he continued four Days; from thence to *Crook-horn*, where he tarried only one Night; from thence to *Sherborne*, where his Highneſs was ſplendidly entertained by the Lord *D*——; from thence he went to *Wincanton*, where he lodged at the Houſe of one Mr. *Churchill* a Merchant, and, it is credibly reported, deſigns for *Oxford*.

Sir, I have given you the beſt Account I can of this great Affair; you may communicate it to ſuch Friends as you think fit. Sir, I am, with all due Reſpects,

Wincanton, 1 *Dec.* 1688. *Your moſt obedient Servant*, N. N.

A further

A further Account of the Prince's Army, in a Letter ſent from Exon, *dated* Nov. 24.

HAD I not inſenſibly overſlipped my Time the laſt Poſt, you had received this then: When I came here, I endeavoured to inform myſelf, after the beſt Manner I could, as to the Number and Quality of the Prince's Army; and all generally concluded them to be about Thirty-thouſand, all picked Men, and many of them perſonally preſent at the Siege of *Buda*. This I am certain of, that they appeared to be Men reſolute, well diſciplined, and ſtout, and of an extraordinary Stature, and their Arms ſuitable, Muſkets, Swords, and Pikes, being far larger than ever I yet ſaw; and notwithſtanding the Streets were thronged, almoſt as thick as yours on a Lord-Mayor's Day, yet was it even a Rarity to ſee one of them ſhorter than ſix Foot; and ſome of them were, I am confident, ſix Foot and a Quarter, if not ſix Foot and an Half in Height: So that, were it lawful to truſt in an Arm of Fleſh, they might have ſome Cauſe to preſume; but the Tenor of their Words was otherwiſe; their civil Deportment and their Honeſty of paying for what they have (and the Strictneſs of their Diſcipline hinders them from being otherwiſe) winning not a little the Affections of the Country-men, who daily reſort thither, forty or fifty in a Gang, to be enliſted. My Lord *Mordaunt*'s Regiment was ſoon compleated, which, with two others, was raiſed and maintained at the Charge of the Gentry in this County, of which *Edward Seymour*, Eſq; is by the Prince made Governor. During his Highneſs's Stay here, which was till laſt *Wedneſday*, there appeared a Court moſt ſplendid, compoſed, not only of foreign, but of many of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry, which came hither to wait on his Highneſs ſince his Arrival, of both Ranks, upwards to the Number of Sixty, all mighty gallant in their Equipage, each ſtriving thereby to add to the Glory of their Deſign. The Gentry of theſe Parts firſt ſeemed ſlow in their Advances to ſerve the Prince; but, as ſoon as the Ice was broke by Capt. *Burrington*, the Majority ſoon followed his Steps, and have entered into an Aſſociation. It is to Admiration to conſider the vaſt Magazine of all warlike Utenſils brought hither by the Prince's Army, their Baggage having for a Fortnight together been continually landing, and yet not fully ended: Were it not for the Badneſs of the Roads, as I was informed by a private Sentinal, they could draw into the Field an Artillery of above Two-hundred Pieces: But the greateſt Curioſity I yet ſaw was a Bridge of Boats; ſuch as I conceive the *Imperialiſts* uſe to paſs over the *Danube* and *Saave* with, which was, for the ſpeedy Conveyance of their Carriages, laid over the River in two or three Hours, and afterwards as ſoon removed; not to mention a Smith's Shop or Forge, curiouſly contrived in a Waggon; or another Contrivance the Foot carry with them to keep off the Horſe, which, in their Manner, may well yield the Service of a Pike.

There hath been lately driven into *Dartmouth*, and ſince taken, a *French* Veſſel loaden altogether with Images, and Knives of a very large Proportion, in Length, nineteen Inches, and in Breadth, two Inches and an Half; what they were deſigned for, God only knows.

The

The Act of Parliament of the Twenty-ſeventh of Queen *Eliſabeth*, to preſerve the Queen's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and Government, from the Attempts of the Papiſts, then big with Hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor: With the Aſſociation the Proteſtants then entered into, to the Ends aforeſaid, till the Parliament could meet, and provide for their neceſſary Preſervations. Together, with ſome ſober and ſeaſonable Queries upon the ſame. By a ſincere Proteſtant, and true Friend to his Country.

Eccleſ. iii. 15.

That which hath been, is now; and that which is to be, hath already been; and God requireth that which is paſt.

Rev. xviii. 24.

And in her was found the Blood of Prophets, and of Saints, and of all that were ſlain upon the Earth.

[From a *Folio*, containing ſix Pages, printed in the Year 1679.]

ANNO XXVII.

An Act for Proviſion to be made for the Surety of the Queen's *Majeſty's moſt* Royal Perſon, *and the Continuance of the* Realm *in Peace.*

FOR aſmuch as the good Felicity and Comfort of the whole Eſtate of this Realm conſiſteth (only next under God) in the Surety and Preſervation of the *Queen*'s moſt excellent Majeſty: And for that it hath manifeſtly appeared, that ſundry wicked Plots, and Means, have of late been deviſed and laid as well in foreign Parts, beyond the Seas, as alſo within this Realm, to the great Indangering of her Highneſs's moſt Royal Perſon, and to the utter Ruin of the whole Commonweal, if, by God's merciful Providence, the ſame had not been revealed: Therefore, for preventing of ſuch great Perils as might hereafter otherwiſe grow, by the like deteſtable and deviliſh Practices, at the humble Suit and earneſt Petition and Deſire of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame Parliament, be it enacted and ordained, if, at any Time after the End of this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, any open Invaſion or Rebellion ſhall be had or made, into or within any of her Majeſty's Realms or Dominions, or any Act attempted, tending to the Hurt of her Majeſty's moſt Royal Perſon, *by, or for*

for any Perſon, that ſhall, or may pretend any Title to the Crown of this Realm, after her Majeſty's Deceaſe; or if any Thing ſhall be compaſſed or imagined, tending to the Hurt of her Majeſty's Royal Perſon, by any Perſon, or with the *Privity* of any Perſon, that ſhall, or may, pretend Title to the Crown of this Realm; that then by her Majeſty's Commiſſion, under her Great Seal, the Lords, and other of her Highneſs's *Privy-Council*, and ſuch other Lords of Parliament, to be named by her Majeſty, as, with the ſaid *Privy-Council*, ſhall make up the Number of *Four and Twenty* at the leaſt, having with them, for their Aſſiſtance in that Behalf, ſuch of the *Judges* of the Courts of Record at *Weſtminſter*, as her Highneſs ſhall for that Purpoſe aſſign and appoint, or the more Part of the ſame *Council*, *Lords*, and *Judges*, ſhall, by Virtue of this Act, have Authority to examine all and every the Offences aforeſaid, and all Circumſtances thereof, and thereupon to give Sentence or Judgment, as, upon good Proof, the Matter ſhall appear unto them; and that after ſuch Sentence or Judgment given, and Declaration thereof made, and publiſhed by her Majeſty's Proclamation, under the Great Seal of *England*, all Perſons, againſt whom ſuch Sentence or Judgment ſhall be ſo given and publiſhed, ſhall be *excluded and diſabled for ever to* have or claim, *or to* pretend to have or claim the Crown of this Realm, or of any of her Majeſty's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatſoever, to the Contrary, in any Wiſe notwithſtanding: And that thereupon *all her Highneſs's Subjects* ſhall, and may lawfully, by Virtue of this Act, and her Majeſty's Direction in that Behalf, by forceable and poſſible Means, purſue to Death every ſuch wicked Perſon, by whom, or by whoſe Means, Aſſent or Privity, any ſuch Invaſion or Rebellion ſhall be, in Form aforeſaid, denounced to have been made, or ſuch wicked Act attempted, or other Thing compaſſed or imagined againſt her Majeſty's Perſon, and all their Aiders, Comforters, and Abettors.

And if any ſuch deteſtable Act ſhall be executed againſt her Highneſs's moſt Royal Perſon, whereby her Majeſty's Life ſhall be taken away (which God of his great Mercy forbid) that then every ſuch Perſon, by, or for whom any ſuch Act ſhall be executed, and their Iſſues being any Wiſe aſſenting, or privy to the ſame, ſhall, by Virtue of this Act, be excluded and diſabled for ever to have, or claim, or to pretend to have, or claim, the ſaid Crown of this Realm, or of any other of her Highneſs's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatſoever, to the Contrary, in any Wiſe notwithſtanding. And that all the Subjects of this Realm, and all other her Majeſty's Dominions, ſhall and may lawfully, by Virtue of this Act, by all forcible and poſſible Means, purſue to Death every ſuch wicked Perſon, by whom, or by whoſe Means, any ſuch deteſtable Fact ſhall be, in Form hereafter expreſſed, denounced to have been committed, and alſo their *Iſſues* being any Way aſſenting or privy to the ſame, and all their *Aiders*, *Comforters*, *and Abettors*, in that Behalf.

And to the End that the Intention of this Law may be effectually executed, if her Majeſty's Life ſhould be taken away, by any violent or unnatural Means (which God defend): Be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that the Lords and others, which ſhall be of her Majeſty's *Privy-Council*, at the Time of ſuch her Deceaſe, or the more Part of the ſame Council, joining unto them, for their better Aſſiſtance, five other Earls, and ſeven other Lords of *Parliament* at leaſt (foreſeeing that none of the ſaid Earls, Lords, or Council, be known to be Perſons, that may make any Title to the Crown) thoſe Perſons which were Chief Juſtices of either Bench, Maſter of the Rolls, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, at the Time of her Majeſty's Death, or, in Default of the ſaid Juſtices, Maſter of the Rolls, and Chief Baron, ſome other of thoſe which were Juſtices of ſome of the Courts of Records at *Weſtminſter*, at the Time of her Highneſs's Deceaſe, to ſupply their Places, or any four and twenty or more of them, whereof eight to be Lords of the Parliament, not being of the *Privy-Council*, ſhall to the uttermoſt of their Power and Skill examine the Cauſe and Manner of ſuch her Majeſty's Death and what Perſons ſhall be any Way guilty thereof, and all Circumſtances concerning the ſame, according to the true Meaning of this Act, and thereupon ſhall by open Proclamation publiſh the ſame, and without any Delay, by all forcible and poſſible Means, proſecute to Death all ſuch as ſhall be found to be Offenders therein, and all their Aiders and Abettors; and for the doing thereof, and for the withſtanding and ſuppreſſing of all ſuch Power and Force, as ſhall any Way be levied or ſtirred in Diſturbance of the due Execution of this Law, ſhall, by Virtue of this Act, have Power and Authority not only to raiſe and

and uſe ſuch Forces, as ſhall in that Behalf be needful and convenient, but alſo to uſe all other Means and Things poſſible and neceſſary for the Maintenance of the ſame Forces, and Proſecution of the ſaid Offenders. And if any ſuch Power and Force ſhall be levied or ſtirred, in Diſturbance of the due Execution of this Law, by any Perſon, that ſhall, or may pretend any Title to the Crown of this Realm, whereby this Law may not in all Things be fully executed, according to the Effect and true Meaning of the ſame; that then every ſuch Perſon ſhall, by Virtue of this Act, be therefore excluded and diſabled, for ever, to have, or claim, or to pretend to have, or claim, the Crown of this Realm, or of any other her Highneſs's Dominions, any former Law or Statute whatſoever, to the Contrary, notwithſtanding.

And be it further enacted, by the Authority aforeſaid, that all and every the Subjects of all her Majeſty's Realms and Dominions ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their Power, aid and aſſiſt the ſaid Council and all other the Lords, and other Perſons, to be adjoined unto them for Aſſiſtance, as is aforeſaid, in all Things, to be done and executed according to the Effect and Intention of this Law; and that no Subject of this Realm ſhall in any Wiſe be impeached in Body, Lands, or Goods, at any Time hereafter, for any Thing to be done or executed according to the Tenor of this Law, any Law or Statute, heretofore made to the Contrary, in any Wiſe notwithſtanding.

And whereas, of late, many of her Majeſty's good and faithful Subjects have, in the Name of God, and with the Teſtimonies of good Conſciences, by one uniform Manner of Writing under their Hands and Seals, and by their ſeveral Oaths voluntarily taken, joined themſelves together in one Bond and Aſſociation, to withſtand and revenge to the uttermoſt all ſuch malicious Actions and Attempts, againſt her Majeſty's moſt Royal Perſon; now for the full Explaining of all ſuch Ambiguities and Queſtions as otherwiſe might happen to grow, by Reaſon of any ſiniſter or wrong Conſtruction or Interpretation, to be made or inferred of, or upon the Words, or Meaning thereof, be it declared and enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that the ſame Aſſociation and every Article and Sentence therein contained, as well concerning the Diſallowing, Excluding, or Diſabling any Perſon, that may or ſhall pretend any Title to come to the Crown of this Realm, as alſo for the purſuing and taking Revenge of any Perſon, for any ſuch wicked Act or Attempt, as is mentioned in the ſame Aſſociation, ſhall, and ought to be in all Things expounded and adjudged, according to the true Intent and Meaning of this Act, and not otherwiſe, nor againſt any other Perſon or Perſons.

In Conſideration of the ſaid Act, may it not be queried.

Firſt, Reſpecting the imminent Danger, that *England* was in at that Time, by the *Papiſts*, who in Expectation of a *Popiſh Succeſſor (Mary* Queen of *Scots)* deſigned to murder the Queen, and ſubvert the Government, and *Proteſtant* Religion, by their helliſh Plots, both at Home and Abroad.

Query I. Whether it is not a direct parallel Caſe to our own, at this very Time, wherein the *Papiſts*, in Hopes of a *Popiſh Succeſſor* (the Duke of *York)* have ſo long, and by ſo many Ways, deſigned to murder the King, and ſubvert the Government, and *Proteſtant* Religion, by their helliſh *Plots*, both at Home and Abroad; as the manifold and ſtill renewed Diſcoveries of the Plot, the reiterated Proclamations, publick Faſts, legal Proceedings, and repeated Parliament Votes upon it, doth ſo fully appear? Some of which Votes are theſe, *viz.*

Die Martis, 25 March, 1679.

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente, *By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, that they do declare, that they are fully ſatisfied by the Proofs they have heard, there now is, and for divers Years laſt paſt hath been, a horrid and treaſonable Plot and Conſpiracy, contrived and carried on by thoſe of the* Popiſh Religion, *for the Murdering of his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, and for the Subverting the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the antient and eſtabliſhed Government of this Kingdom.*

Sunday, April 27, 1679.

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente, *That the Duke of* York *being a* Papiſt, *and the Hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Encouragement and Countenance to the preſent Conſpiracies and Deſigns of the* Papiſts, *againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion.*

And again in the intended Act: *Do declare, that the Duke of* York *having openly departed from the Church of* England, *and publickly profeſſed and owned the* Popiſh Religion, *hath notoriouſly given Birth and Life to the moſt damnable and helliſh Plot (by the moſt gracious Providence of God brought to Light)* &c.

Secondly, As to the Remedies then applied, and ſo effectually (by God's Bleſſing) for the Preſervation of her *Majeſty's Perſon, Proteſtant Religion, and Government*; As,

1. By *that famous Aſſociation, entered into by the People, in the Interval of Parliament.*

2. *The wholeſome Laws made by the Parliament at their Meeting.*

Firſt, *As to the Aſſociation of the People in that extraordinary Caſe.*

Query II. Whether the good People of *England* (now in a like Caſe) in Senſe of their moſt imminent Danger, are not loudly called upon, in this Interval of *Parliament*, to be in a Preparedneſs to enter into ſuch a ſolemn Aſſociation, to preſerve the *King's Perſon, Proteſtant Religion*, and *Government*, with their Lives and Fortunes; and to be ready to revenge upon the *Papiſts* any Violence by them offered in the mean Time to his *Majeſty's Perſon*; and to prevent any *Popiſh Succeſſor*, till the Parliament may meet and provide for the neceſſary Preſervation of *King* and *Kingdom*. And whether, from the Circumſtances of Danger that appears to *King* and *Kingdom* now, there is not the ſame Reaſon to ſuppoſe, it may be as acceptable to his *Majeſty* now, as to the *Queen* then, and to be as well approved by the approaching *Parliament* now, as by that *Parliament* then? Eſpecially ſince the late *Parliament*'s Votes are ſo leading and obliging thereto, *viz.*

Sunday, May 11, 1679.

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente, *That in Defence of the King's Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come by any violent Death (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmoſt on the Papiſts.*

And in their Addreſs to the King upon it, *May* 11, 1679, do further ſay, *viz.*

And further to obviate, by the beſt Means we can, all wicked Practices againſt your Majeſty's Perſon and Proteſtant Religion, whilſt any ſuch Laws are in Preparation and bringing to Perfection, we will ſtand by your Majeſty with our Lives and Fortunes, and ſhall be ready to revenge upon the Papiſts any Violence offered by them to your ſacred Perſon: In which we hope your Majeſty will graciouſly pleaſe to be more aſſured, as we ourſelves are the more encouraged, in that the Hearts of all your Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, with the moſt ſincere Affection and Zeal, join with us herein.

And for which the King gave them his Thanks, aſſuring them he would do what in him lay, to preſerve the *Proteſtant* Religion, and to do all ſuch Things as may tend to the Good and Benefit of the Subject.

Secondly, *As to the good Laws made the Twenty-ſeventh of Queen* Eliſabeth, *to the Preſervation of the Queen, Proteſtant Religion, and Government.*

Query III. Whether we may not hopefully expect that the Parliament, at their Meeting (as the Parliament then did) will make ſuch good Laws as may tend to preſerve the *King's Perſon, the Government*, and *Proteſtant Religion*, and may ſecure us againſt a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, and puniſh the *Popiſh* Traytors and Delinquents; as this Parliament and other Parliaments of this Queen did, and as was in the Hearts and Endeavours of the laſt worthy Parliament to effect, not only by the good Acts they had prepared againſt the *Papiſts*, and Reſolutions to try the Delinquents, but in that famous Act to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Succeſſion, in Purſuance of their Vote, *viz.*

Sunday, May 11, 1679.

Ordered,

That a Bill be brought in to diſable the Duke of *York* to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Which Bill was brought in accordingly, being *read, and paſſed, and ordered* to be ingroſſed, and was as followeth:

A Copy of the Bill, concerning the Duke of York.

FOraſmuch as theſe Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, by the wonderful Providence of Almighty God, many Years ſince, have been de-

delivered from the Slavery and Superſtition of *Popery*, which had deſpoiled the King of his Sovereign Power, for that it did and doth advance the *Pope* of *Rome* to a Power over Sovereign Princes, and makes him Monarch of the Univerſe, and doth withdraw the Subjects from their Allegiance, by pretended Abſolutions from all former Oaths and Obligations to their lawful Sovereign, and by many Superſtitions and Immoralities hath quite ſubverted the Ends of the *Chriſtian* Religion; but notwithſtanding that *Popery* hath been long ſince condemned, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for the deteſtable Doctrines and trayterous Attempts of its Adherents, againſt the Lives of their lawful Sovereigns, Kings, and Queens of theſe Realms, yet the Emiſſaries, Prieſts, and Agents for the Pope of *Rome*, reſorting into this Kingdom of *England* in great Numbers, contrary to the known Laws thereof, have, for ſeveral Years laſt paſt, as well by their own deviliſh Acts and Policies, as by Counſels and Aſſiſtances of foreign Princes and Prelates, known Enemies to theſe Nations, contrived and carried on a moſt horrid and execrable Conſpiracy to deſtroy and murder the Perſon of his ſacred Majeſty, and to ſubvert the antient Government of theſe Realms, and to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and maſſacre the true Profeſſors thereof; and for the better effecting their wicked Deſigns and encouraging their villainous Accomplices, they have trayterouſly ſeduced *James*, Duke of *York*, preſumptive Heir to theſe Crowns, to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and have induced him to enter into ſeveral Negotiations with the *Pope*, his *Cardinals*, and *Nuncio's*, for promoting the *Romiſh* Church and Intereſt, and by his Means and Procurement have advanced the Power and Greatneſs of the *French* King to the manifeſt Hazard of theſe Kingdoms, that, by the Deſcent of theſe Crowns upon a *Papiſt*, and by foreign Alliances and Aſſiſtance, they may be able to ſucceed in their wicked and villainous Deſigns. And foraſmuch as the Parliament of *England*, according to the Laws and Statutes thereof, have heretofore, for great and weighty Reaſons of State, and for the publick Good and common Intereſt of this Kingdom, directed and limited the Succeſſion of the Crown in other Manner than of Courſe it would otherwiſe have gone; but never had ſuch important and urgent Reaſons, as at this Time preſs and require their Uſing of their ſaid extraordinary Power in that Behalf. Be it therefore enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by, and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame. And it is hereby enacted accordingly, that *James*, Duke of *York*, *Albany*, and *Ulſter* (having departed openly from the Church of *England*, and having publickly profeſſed and owned the *Popiſh* Religion, which hath notoriouſly given Birth and Life to the moſt damnable and helliſh Plot, by the moſt gracious Providence of God lately brought to Light) ſhall be excluded and diſabled and is hereby excluded and diſabled for ever, from poſſeſſing, having, holding, inheriting, or enjoying the Imperial Crowns and Governments of this Realm and theſe Kingdoms, and of all Territories, Countries, and Dominions now, or which ſhall hereafter be under his Majeſty's Subjection, and of and from all Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, with the ſaid Crowns, now, or hereafter to be enjoyed; and that upon the Demiſe or Death of his Majeſty, without Heirs of his Body (whom God long preſerve) the Crowns and Governments of theſe Kingdoms, and all Territories, Countries, and Dominions now, or which ſhall hereafter be under his Majeſty's Subjection, with all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues therewith, of Right enjoyed, and to be enjoyed, ſhall devolve and come upon ſuch Perſon who ſhall be next lawful Heir of the ſame, and who ſhall have always been truly and profeſſedly of the Proteſtant Religion now eſtabliſhed by Law within this Kingdom, as if the ſaid Duke of *York* were actually dead; and that whatever Acts of Sovereign Power the ſaid Duke of *York* ſhall at any Time exert or exerciſe, ſhall be taken, deemed, and adjudged, and are hereby declared and enacted High-Treaſon and to be puniſhed accordingly.

And foraſmuch as the Peace, Safety, and Well-being of theſe Kingdoms do ſo intirely depend upon the due Execution of, and Obedience to this Law, be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if any Perſon ſhall in any Wiſe, at any Time, during the King's Life (which God preſerve) or after his Demiſe or Deceaſe, aid, aſſiſt, counſel, or hold Correſpondence with the ſaid Duke of *York*, who is and ought to be eſteemed a perpetual Enemy to theſe Kingdoms and Governments) either within theſe Kingdoms or out of them; or ſhall endeavour or contrive his Return into either of them, or into any of the Territories or Dominions

nions of the ſame; or ſhall, during the King's Life, publiſh or declare him to be the lawful, or rightful Succeſſor apparent, preſumptive, or other Heir to the Crown of *England*; or ſhall, after the Demiſe or Deceaſe of the King that now is, proclaim, publiſh, or declare the ſaid Duke of *York* to be King, or to have Right or Title to the Crown or Government of *England* or *Ireland*; or ſhall, by Word, Writing, or Printing, maintain or aſſert that he hath any Manner of Right or Title to the Crown or Government of theſe Kingdoms, and ſhall be therefore convict upon the Evidence of two or more lawful and credible Witneſſes, ſhall be adjudged guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer and forfeit as in Caſes of High-Treaſon.

And foraſmuch as the ſaid Duke's Return, or Coming into any of the aforeſaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories, or Dominions, will naturally conduce to bring vaſt Miſchiefs, and all the Evil hereby provided againſt upon them, in War and Slaughter, and unſpeakable Calamities, which therefore the ſaid Duke muſt be preſumed to deſign by ſuch his Return, or Coming into any of the aforeſaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories, or Dominions; be it therefore likewiſe enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That, if the Duke do at any Time hereafter return or come into any of the aforeſaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories, or Dominions, he ſhall be and is hereby, thereupon and for ſo doing, attainted of High-Treaſon; and all Manner of Perſons whatſoever are hereby authoriſed and required, to apprehend, ſecure, and impriſon his Perſon; and, in Caſe of Reſiſtance made by him, or any of his Accomplices, to ſubdue, or impriſon him, or them, by Force of Arms.

Query IV. Whether the *Proteſtants* of *England* have not Cauſe, by ſad Experience, to be made ſenſible what a horrid deteſtable Thing the *Popiſh Religion* is, or rather, what a Faction and Confederacy it is againſt all Mankind, that ſubmit not their Bodies and Souls to that tyrannous *Romiſh* Yoke; who by Principle (to accompliſh their curſed Ends and Deſigns) can violate Faith, ſay, ſwear, forſwear any Thing, yea at the very Point of Death, [*witneſs their own Books, and late Tryals and Executions*] kill and murder Kings, [*as their own Writings and Practices in all Ages, and particularly their Deſigns and Attempts upon Queen* Eliſabeth, *King* James, *and his Majeſty that now is, ſo fully evidence*] maſſacre their Neighbours, Friends, and neareſt Relations, [*witneſs* Paris, Piedmont, *the* 300000 *in* Ireland, *and the late never to be forgotten helliſh Butchery of Sir* Edmondbury Godfrey] fry and burn our Perſons, [*as* Smithfield, *&c. witneſſeth*] fire and lay waſte our Cities, [*which* London *in chief can never forget, and who had their Hands in chief therein*] buy and ſell (at the Devotion of Foreigners) the Prorogations and Diſſolutions of our Parliaments [*as* Coleman's *and the Treaſurer's Letters can at large tell you.*] How brutiſhly cruel and barbarous to their native Country [*by their late deſigning not only to raiſe an Army within us to inſlave us, but to bring upon us that Army of Foreigners, the* Spaniſh *Cruſado or Pilgrims, under the Pope's Banner, thoſe Devils incarnate as they appeared to the* Waldenſes *of old.*] How reſtleſs and unwearied in their Conſpiracies and Attempts, notwithſtanding their many Fruſtrations [*juſt as it was in Queen* Eliſabeth's *Time, when though ſixty-ſeven Prieſts and Jeſuits were then executed, and fifty-three baniſhed, diſcovered and defeated in every Enterpriſe; yet no ſooner was one Deſign made abortive, but they preſently hatched and attempted another, and ſo went on all her Days; and how good they have been at it ſince, through the three ſucceeding Kings Reigns to this very Day, the St.* Omer's *Records, Kalendar of* Newgate, *and Parliament Rolls can fully tell you.*] And with what horrid Impudence [*as in the* Powder Treaſon, Paris *and* Iriſh *Maſſacres*] they can out-face the fulleſt and cleareſt Diſcoveries (though brought as now ſo undeniably out of their own Bowels and ſo multiplied upon them, [*witneſs their atheiſtical, aſtoniſhing, lying Deaths, and thoſe Swarms of inſolent and audacious Papers, daily, like their Fire-balls, flung amongſt us, and which, like Wild-fire, take Place with ſome Perſons, as in their Houſes formerly*] ſometimes as though a Proteſtant Plot to deſtroy them. And again, ſo helliſhly and jeſuitically ſubtle in managing their Deſigns [*that, when the bare-faced Papiſt cannot do it, the Proteſtant in Maſquerade ſhall*] *the Stratagem of this very Day and above all to be watched againſt.*) As, *Coleman*'s Declaration for the Church of *England*, at that very Time when they ſo deſigned its Extirpation; *being, as you will alſo find, the very Deviliſm of* Savage *and other Prieſts in Queen* Eliſabeth's *Time*; *who, the better to lull in Security, and to cover* Babington's *Treaſons in killing the Queen, which they had engaged him and others at that Time to perpetrate, do at the ſame Time write a Book, exhorting the Papiſts in* England *to attempt nothing againſt their Prince,*

Prince, and to uſe only the Chriſtian Weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Faſting. And, at another Time, the better to divert the Stroke ſo unavoidably coming upon them, they fall upon their old Method to divide the *Proteſtants* among themſelves; *and therefore, putting on a Vizard of Conformity, cry loudly out againſt the* Preſbyterians, *as being only a Plot of their deviſing, who, under Pretence of ſuppreſſing of Popery, have no other Deſign than to caſt down the Mitre and the Crown* (being poor Hearts ſo tender of Heretical Kings and Biſhops); *ſo villainous are theſe Miſcreants, who, with their Father the Devil, can transform themſelves into any Shape to accompliſh their Ends, and accommodate their miſchievous Purpoſes.*

Therefore, whether all true-hearted *Engliſh* Proteſtants, though of different Forms and Perſuaſions, as they value their Bodies, Souls, Eſtates, Poſterities, Religion, Peace, and Proſperity of King and Country, are not thoroughly engaged by all Ways and Means to preſerve and deliver themſelves from ſuch a helliſh and intolerable Yoke and Bondage; and in order thereto to preſerve Peace and Union amongſt themſelves, ſo eminently ſtruck at in this very Juncture; without which it is not to be attained, and which the common Enemy knows right well.

Query V. Whether for any pretending Proteſtantiſm (after ſuch undeniable Demonſtrations of their helliſh and damnable Plottings and Actings, as before) having ſeen our Cities and Boroughs ſo often fired and refired, Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* butchered, *Coleman*'s and *the Treaſurer*'s Letters (ſo ſignally brought to Light) two Parliaments repeated Votes, the Kings reiterated Proclamations, the publick Faſts, and Biſhops Prayers; who can now at laſt be made ſo drunk with the Cup of their Fornications, and bewitched with their lying Inchantments and Forgeries; (ſo as giving the Lye to King and Parliament, and their own Senſes) to defraud and invalidate the Witneſſes, mince or deny the Plot; and call it with them a *Proteſtant* or *Presbyterian* Project, pleading for a *Popiſh* Succeſſor; ought to be eſteemed others than Betrayers of their King and Country, *Runagates does* from their Religion (if ever *Proteſtants* at all) and the worſt of *Papiſts*; and that whatever otherwiſe they might pretend, yet to be ſo marked and dealt with in City and Country.

Query VI. Whether the Proteſtant Intereſt in theſe Nations, in the feeling Senſe of their moſt imminent Danger, would, as one Man, petition and beſeech his Majeſty, as he tenders his own Life and Safety, the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Lives and Liberties of his People, Security and Peace of his Kingdoms and Governments; and to be ſecured not only from the reſtleſs Attempts of ſuch an inveterate, implacable Enemy within us, but from the preſent Threats, and great Preparations, of a ſucceſsful potent Enemy without us: That he be not prevailed with by any, either to retard the Parliament's Sitting, or when ſat, to hinder the Paſſing of ſuch good Laws as may naturally tend to the common Safety of theſe Nations, and therein of his own Perſon and Proteſtant Religion.

Query VII. Whether it may not well become the Wiſdom of the *Parliament*, at their next Meeting (the better to ſecure the *Proteſtant* Cauſe and Intereſt, ſo eminently ſtruck at in this Juncture both at Home and Abroad) to petition his Majeſty not only for a right Ordering of a *Proteſtant* League and Aſſociation within ourſelves in theſe three Kingdoms, but to further and promote the ſame amongſt all the *Proteſtant Princes* and Countries, as well within themſelves, as one with another; as the moſt hopeful Way to fruſtrate the uſurping Attempts not only of the old *Pretender*, but the new rampant Deſigner to the univerſal Monarchy, the better to inſlave the Bodies and Souls of the Nations.

A brief

A brief Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, &c. collected out of the Records, and the moſt authentick Hiſtorians. Written for the Satisfaction of the Nation.

[From a *Folio*, containing eighteen Pages, printed in the Year 1688-9.]

MEN generally, at preſent, buſy themſelves in Diſcourſing about the Succeſſion, and therefore cannot but be pleaſed to have a ſhort Hiſtory of it ſet before them: For, by ſeeing how the Crown has deſcended, and in what Manner, and upon what Grounds the natural Courſe of the Deſcent hath been changed, they will be enabled to judge what has been the Opinion of all Ages, in this ſo controverted a Point, and thereby may ſafely direct their own.

Nothing certain has come down to us, of the Nature of the Government of this Iſland, before the *Romans* came thither; only this we learn from *Cæſar* *, and *Strabo* †, and *Tacitus* ‡, That the *Britons* were ſubject to many Princes and States, not confederate, nor conſulting in common, but always ſuſpecting, and frequently warring with one another.

During the *Heptarchy*, whilſt every Kingdom was governed by different Laws, we cannot think they agreed in one Rule of Succeſſion: But, if that does not, I am ſure, the Reading the many Changes and Confuſions of thoſe Times muſt convince any Man, that their Rule was uncertain, or elſe that they had no Rule at all.

Thoſe ſeven Kingdoms were at laſt united under *Egbert*: But yet our Hiſtorians, who lived neareſt thoſe Times, expreſſed themſelves ſo odly in this Matter, and do ſo conſtantly mention the Election of almoſt every King, before they tell us of his Coronation, that ſome learned Men have doubted, whether, before the Conqueſt, the Government of this Iſland was ever grown up into a ſettled hereditary Monarchy. Surely, if it were ſo, yet all muſt agree, that then the Succeſſion was not guided by the ſame Rules, as ſome Men believe, or pretend, it ought now to be. *Egbert* himſelf, the firſt *Engliſh* Monarch, came to the Crown, not by Succeſſion, but Election, being no Way related to *Briſſicus*, the laſt of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings; and, when he died, he gave the Kingdoms of *Kent* and *Eſſex* to his ſecond Son. *Ethelwolf* divided the whole Iſland between his two Sons, *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*. *Athelſtan* (though a Baſtard) ſucceeded his Father, and was preferred to his legitimate Brothers. *Edred*, the younger Brother of King *Edmund*, was advanced to the Throne, though the deceaſed Prince had two Sons, *Edwin* and *Edgar*, who did both of them reign afterward ſucceſſively. *Edgar* left a Son at his Death; but yet there happened a mighty Conteſt about his Succeſſor, ſome of the great Men contending for the Election of *Ethelred*, his Brother. But, at laſt, the Intereſt of *Edward*, the Son, prevailed, and he was, in full Aſſembly, elected, conſecrated, and anointed King. That which *Ailredus*, Abbot of *Rievallis*, in his Life of *Edward the Confeſſor*, gives an Account of, ſeems very remarkable to our Purpoſe. King *Ethelred* (who was no tame and eaſy Prince) deſirous to eſtabliſh his Succeſſor in his Life-time, ſummoned a great Council, expreſly, for that Purpoſe, and propoſes the Thing to them. The Council were divided, ſome of them appearing for *Edmund*, his eldeſt Son, and ſome for *Alfred*, his ſecond Son, by Queen *Emma*. But, at laſt, upon ſome ſuperſtitious Fancy, they agreed to paſs by both of them, and elected the Infant that was in the Queen's Womb. To which Election, the

* *Cæſ.* de Bell. Gall. Lib. 5. † *Strab.* Lib. 4. ‡ *Tacitus* in Vita *Jul. Agricolæ.*

King

King gave his Royal Aſſent, and the whole Aſſembly ſwore Fealty to the Child, whilſt yet unborn. Undoubtedly, this Story makes it plain, that it was not enough at that Time to intitle one to the Crown, that he was the King's eldeſt Son; for then *Ethelred* would never have ſuffered a Debate about the Election of a Succeſſor, nor ſummoned a Parliament expreſly for that Purpoſe, which you ſee he thought neceſſary to be done. And, notwithſtanding all his Care, it ſeems, upon the Death of *Ethelred*, *Canutus* had ſo great an Intereſt, that by an unanimous Conſent, in a full Council, he was elected King, and all the Iſſue of the laſt Prince rejected. It is true, the *Londoners* ſtood firm to *Edmund Ironſide* (the Approbation of that renowned City had then no little Influence on the Succeſſion) and there were divers Battles fought between them; but, at laſt, they came to an Agreement, and *Edmund* dying, the *Dane* ruled the whole Iſland peaceably whilſt he lived.

Immediately, upon the Death of *Canutus*, there was aſſembled, at *Oxford*, a great Council, to determine who ought to ſucceed; where, notwithſtanding all the Intereſt which *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, and the *Weſt-Saxon* great Men, could make on the Behalf of *Hardicanute*, the legitimate Son of the dead King, they were over-voted, and *Harold Harefoot* (his Baſtard, begotten on *Ailena*, or *Elgiva*) was elected. *Harold* died in the fifth Year of his Reign, and then the People were content to accept of *Hardicanute* for their King, and, to that End, ſent for him out of *Flanders*; but he dying iſſueleſs, it was ordained in a general Council, that never any *Dane* ſhould, for the Future, be admitted to reign in *England*. After which, they proceeded to elect *Alfred*, the Son of *Ethelred*; and, he being murdered by the Treachery of Earl *Godwin*, they choſe his Brother *Edward*, commonly called *Edward the Confeſſor*. Nor were theſe Elections of theirs made with any Reſpect to Nearneſs of Blood, more than thoſe whereof we have heard before; for *Edmund Ironſide*, their elder Brother, had a Son then alive, whoſe Name was *Edward*, and who was Father to *Edgar Atheling*, living alſo at the ſame Time. And though this *Edward* had an undoubted Title to the Crown, if Proximity of Blood could have given it, yet the *Confeſſor* was ſo far from ſuſpecting any Danger from ſuch a Title, as that he invited his Nephew into *England*, and welcomed him, when he came, with the greateſt Expreſſions of Joy, and entertained him with the greateſt Confidence. Nor had the People any Regard to this Royal Blood upon the Death of the *Confeſſor*, but elected *Harold*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, who had no Pretence of Kindred to the *Saxon* Line.

Theſe few, among many other Inſtances which may be given, will ſhew plainly enough, how Men intitled themſelves to the Crown in thoſe Days, and that then it was no ſtrange Thing to hear of a Parliament's meddling with the Succeſſion. Therefore, I ſuppoſe, the Men, who ſeem aſtoniſhed at the Boldneſs of a Parliament, in preſuming to ſpeak of it at this Time*, will ſay, that they ought not to be troubled with Precedents before the *Norman* Conqueſt; and that though the *Saxons* might be guilty of preferring a brave and deſerving *Baſtard*, before a *cruel*, or a *ſilly*, *legitimate* Prince, and of many other Irregularities; yet no ſuch Things are to be found in our Hiſtories, ſince the Time of *William the Firſt*, whoſe Reign is the great *Epoch*, from whence we do compute our Kings. Let us, therefore, go on more particularly to obſerve, what has been done ſince that Time, and we ſhall ſee, whether they, who wonder ſo much, have any Reaſon to do ſo.

William the Conqueror was himſelf *illegitimate*, and yet ſucceeded his Father in the Duchy of *Normandy*, and therefore had no Reaſon to ſet any great Value upon that Sort of Title, which is derived from a Right of Blood. And it ſeems he did not much regard it; for, paſſing by *Robert* his eldeſt Son, he gave the Crown, by his laſt Will, to *William Rufus*, his younger Son, diſpoſing, only with Regard to his own Inclinations, the Crown which himſelf had gained.

But his Son was too wiſe to rely upon this Diſpoſition, as a ſufficient Title; and therefore had Recourſe to a more ſure one: for calling the Nobles and wiſe Men of the Kingdom, he acquainted them, in full Council, with his Father's Will, and deſired their Conſent to it; who, after a long Conſultation, did at laſt unanimouſly agree to make him their King, and thereupon he was crowned by *Lanfranck*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. I cannot but obſerve one Thing farther, that though ſome Men make Uſe of the abſolute Victory, which the *Conqueror* had made, and affirm, that thereby the *Engliſh* were wholy broken, and all the old Laws and

* Of the Revolution.

Cuſtoms of the Realm were deſtroyed; yet it is plain that, at this Time, the *Engliſh* Intereſt was ſo great, that it kept the Crown upon *William Rufus*'s Head, in ſpight of all that the *Normans* could do in Behalf of *Robert*, though they univerſally joined with him. For, the King calling together the *Engliſh*, and opening to them the Treaſon of the *Normans*, and promiſing them a compleat Reſtitution of their ancient Laws, they ſtood firm to him, and ſoon put an End to all the Attempts of his Brother, and his *Norman* Accomplices.

Upon the Death of *William Rufus*, *Robert* had a fair Pretence to renew his Claim to the Crown; but that Prince had diſcovered too much of the Cruelty of his Diſpoſition, of his Averſion to the *Engliſh* Nation, and of his Proneneſs to Revenge; ſo that, by the full Conſent and Counſel of the whole Body of the Realm, aſſembled at *Wincheſter*, he was finally rejected, and they did concur to elect the *Conqueror*'s third Son *Henry* for their King (as *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter* expreſſes it.) Nor did they do this but upon Terms; for both the Clergy and Laity ſaid, that, if he would reſtore them their ancient Liberties, and confirm them by his Charter, and abrogate ſome ſevere Laws which his Father had made, they would conſent to make him King. And this prudent and learned King was not aſhamed or unwilling to own this Title; for he does at large recite it in his Charter, whereby he confirms their Liberties, *Sciatis me Miſericordia Dei, & communi Concilio Baronum Regni Angliæ, ejuſdem Regni Regem coronatum eſſe*, &c. *i. e.* Know ye that I am crowned King of *England* by God's Mercy, and the general Council of the Barons of the ſaid Kingdom.

Henry the Firſt, you ſee, had Reaſon to believe and own the Power of the Kingdom, in ſetting the Crown upon what Head *they pleaſed*; and therefore he deſired to ſecure it that Way to his Poſterity. To that End, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, he ſummoned a Council, and procured all the great and powerful Men of the Kingdom to ſwear, that his Son *William* ſhould ſucceed him; but afterwards this Son of his was unfortunately drowned, and the King died, leaving no other Iſſue but *Maud* his Daughter, who had been married to the Emperor, and afterward to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*. No Diſpute can be made, but that ſhe had all the Right which Proximity of Blood could give; yet *Stephen*, Earl of *Boloign*, who was the Son of *Adela*, one of the *Conqueror's* Daughters, and whoſe elder Brother *Theobald*, Earl of *Blois*, was then living, ſtepped in before her; and, by repreſenting to them the Inconvenience of a Feminine Government, and promiſing them to conſent to ſuch good and gentle Laws, as they ſhould deviſe, prevailed with the Eſtates of the Realm to *elect* him King. And in this Charter, which he made ſoon after, he owns this Title, beginning it thus, *Ego* Stephanus *Dei gratia, aſſenſu Cleri & Populi in Regem Angliæ electus*, &c. * And the *Pope*, in his Charter of Confirmation, ſent to him in the firſt Year of his Reign, tells him, That he was, *Communi voto & unanimi aſſenſu tam Procerum quam etiam Populi, in Regem electus* †, And then he adds, That, ſince ſo univerſal an Aſſent could not be directed but by the Divine Grace, he therefore allows his Title, and confirms him in the Kingdom.

It is true, that afterwards *Maud* the Empreſs, together with her Son *Henry*, having, after ſome Years, gained many to their Side, gave him great Diſturbance; till at laſt *Stephen* having loſt his eldeſt Son *Euſtace* (in whom he placed his Hopes, and uſed all Means, whilſt he lived, to have got him declared his Succeſſor, but without Succeſs) came to an Agreement with the Empreſs and her Son; and the Parliament (who alone could give a Sanction to ſuch Agreement) was aſſembled at *Wincheſter* to confirm it; and then *Stephen* publickly adopts *Henry* for his Son, and with their full Conſent declares him his Heir; and, with the ſame Conſent, *Henry* gives *Stephen* the Name of Father, and agrees that he ſhould continue to be King, during his Life, and they all ſwore, that, if *Henry* ſurvived, he ſhould, without Oppoſition, obtain the Crown; and *Stephen*, by his Charter, which is ſet down at large in *Brompton*, publiſhes this Agreement, *Brompt.* 1037.

In all this Tranſaction, certainly there was no Conſideration had of any other Right, but that which *univerſal Conſent* conferred; for, if *Stephen*'s Heir had any Pretence, he had a Son then living, whoſe Name was *William*, and who, by the ſame Agreement, was to have all the Poſſeſſions, which his Father enjoyed before

* I *Stephen*, by the Grace of God, the Conſent of the Clergy and People, choſen King of *England*, &c.
† Choſen King by the common Voice and unanimous Conſent both of the Nobles and People.

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he was made King. If the Heir of *Henry the First* had any Title, that was vested in *Maud* the Empress, who was then also living; so that neither of the Parties had any other Colour of Right to the Crown, than what the Consent of the People gave them.

According to this Parliamentary Agreement and Limitation, *Stephen* enjoyed the Crown peaceably during his Life, and, after his Death, *Henry the Second* came to it as peaceably; but he remembered by what Title, and therefore was desirous to secure it to his Son in the same Manner, tho' he took a very dangerous and unusual Way to do it. For, summoning a Parliament to meet at *London*, he procures his Son *Henry* to be declared King, together with himself, by their Consent; and thereupon he was crowned by the Archbishop of *York*, and Fealty sworn to him by all. This was the Occasion of Civil Wars between them, for the Father meant hereby only to have secured the Succession to him, and the Son was impatient of having only the bare Title of a King, all along pretending to an equal Authority; as doth sufficiently appear by what he writes to the Prior and Convent of *Canterbury*, where he takes Notice, that his Father did attempt some Invasions upon them, which he ought not to have done without his Assent: *Qui, ratione Regiæ unctionis, Regnum, & totius Regni curam susceptimus* *; and therefore he appealed to the People in that Behalf. Nay, the Father himself paid the Respect to his Son's Dignity, that, when he at last subdued him and his rebellious Brothers, he would not suffer him to do him Homage with his other Sons (though he offered it.) But, *Henry* the Son dying in the Life-time of his Father, *Richard* was then his eldest Son surviving, and consequently had all the Right which a next Heir could claim. But the wise and wary King had not Confidence enough to rely upon this (now so much talked of) sacred Right; but, though he had already suffered so much from disobedient Sons, was glad to get the Succession confirmed to him in his Life-time. And, the Truth is, there was Reason enough that he should do so; for he had all his Children by *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Guienne*, who was before the Wife of *Lewis the Seventh*, King of *France*, who was still living, and she only divorced *causa Adulterii*, which being not a Divorce *à vinculo Matrimonii*, she could not, either by the Canon Law universally received, or the Laws of *England*, lawfully marry with any other Husband.

After his Father's Death, *Richard* came to *London*, to which Place all the Clergy and Laity were summoned; and, after he had been solemnly and duly elected by the whole Clergy and Laity (they are the very Words of the Historian) and taken the usual Oaths, he was crowned. And, when he undertook the Holy War, he declared *Arthur*, Son of his next Brother *Geoffrey*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, next Heir to the Crown.

Richard dying without Issue, this *Arthur* ought to have succeeded, and his Sister *Eleanor* also had a Title before her Uncle; but *John* the younger Brother, without regarding this Divine Right of his Nephew, applies himself to the People for a more sure, though but a human Title, who, being summoned together, elected him King. And *Hubert*, the then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did at his Coronation preach a Doctrine, which would have sounded very strangely to the Convocation in 1640; (*viz.*) No one could make any Title to the Crown, *Nisi ab universitate Regni unanimiter Electus* †. And that he, who was most worthy, ought to be preferred. But (as he goes on) if any one of the Race of the deceased King was more deserving than others, as *John* the Brother of the deceased King was, the People ought the more readily to elect him than a Stranger to the Royal Blood. This was all the Title King *John* pretended, and this was then sufficient to put by his Nephew. And, in his Charters, he does more than once own, that he owed his Crown to the Election and Favour of his Subjects.

But when King *John* gave over to dissemble his Nature, and went about to change his Religion (for he made Offers of that Sort to the King of *Morocco*) when he had discovered himself not to be that worthy Man which the People supposed him to have been; they remembered from whence he derived his Title, and proceeded, upon the same Reason that they had chosen him, to make a new Election, choosing *Lewis*, Son of *Philip*, King of *France*, who was next Heir to the Crown, in the Right of *Blanch* his Wife, Niece to King *John*, and Daughter to his Sister *Eleanor*, both the Chil-

* Who have received the Kingdom, and the Care of the whole Kingdom, by Reason of the Royal Unction. † Unless he be chosen unanimously by the Representatives of the whole Nation.

dren of *Geoffrey* Duke of *Bretagne*, being dead before that Time.

When King *Philip* heard of their Choice, he conſented to ſend his Son, being the rather induced thereto by this Reaſon: That, *John*'s Blood being corrupted by an Attainder of Treaſon in the Life-time of his Brother *Richard*, he was uncapable of taking the Crown by Deſcent, and unworthy of taking it any other Way.

Lewis, coming to *London*, was there elected and conſtituted King, ſwearing to preſerve the People's Laws, and they ſwearing Allegiance to him: But he ſoon forgot his Coronation-Oath, and attempted ſeveral Ways to introduce an *Arbitrary* Government, before he was well eſtabliſhed in his Throne; which the *Engliſh* as ſoon reſented: And, King *John* happening to die very opportunely, the Earl Marſhal calling together the great Men of the Kingdom, and placing *Henry the Third*, then an Infant, in the Midſt of them, perſuaded them to make him King, who was altogether innocent of his Father's Faults. The Earl of *Glouceſter* ſaid this was contrary to their Oath to *Lewis*: To which the Marſhal replied, that *Lewis*, by *breaking his Oath, had abſolved them from theirs*; and that he deſpiſed the *Engliſh*, to ſet up the *French*; and that he would be the Deſtruction of the Realm. With whoſe Reaſons the whole Aſſembly, being convinced, cried out unanimouſly, *Fiat Rex* *; and, accordingly, they crowned King *Henry the Third*, and ſoon after compelled *Lewis* to renounce all Pretences to the Crown.

Henry the Third dying, after a long and troubleſome Reign, his Son *Edward* the *Firſt*, a Prince of great Hopes, and whoſe Life anſwered the higheſt Expectations, ſucceeded †; but, whether he was the eldeſt Son of his Father, remains a Doubt in Hiſtory: The Houſe of *Lancaſter*, who derived themſelves from his Brother *Edmund*, pretending always that *Edmund* was the elder, and *Edward* the younger Brother, and that *Edmund* was put by the Crown by common Conſent, for his *Deformity*.

After the Death of *Edward the Firſt*, his Son *Edward the Second* ſucceeded ‡; but, he degenerating from ſo great a Father, the People grew weary of his irregular and arbitrary Government. And a Parliament being by him ſummoned at *Weſtminſter*, as all our Writers ſay, or as *Polydore Virgil* ** words it, *Principes convocato Concilio pervenerunt* Londini (which I obſerve, only that we may know what *Polydore* means when he makes Uſe of the Expreſſion of *Principes in Concilio congregati*;) they preſently entered into a Conſideration of the miſerable State of the Nation; and a Paper being publickly read, containing many Inſtances of the *King's Miſgovernment*, all which he had confeſſed; they concluded he was *unworthy to reign* any longer, and that he ought to be *depoſed*; and ſent to him to let him know their Reſolution, and to require him to *renounce* his Crown and Royal Dignity, otherwiſe they would proceed as *they thought good*. And they appointed Commiſſioners to go to him in their Names: The Biſhop of *Ely* for the *Biſhops*,, the Earl of *Warren* for the *Earls*, Sir *Henry Piercy* for the *Barons*, and Sir *William Fruſſel* for the *Commons*, to reſign their Homage up to him; which *Fruſſel* pronounced in all their Names, and formally deprived him of all Royal Power; the Form of which is particularly ſet down by *Knyghton* ††. The King read this ſad Sentence with extraordinary Grief, and many Complaints of thoſe evil Counſellors, who had ſeduced him; but, in the Midſt of his Sorrow, he gave them Thanks that they elected his Son to reign after him. Thus was that glorious Prince *Edward the Third* elected King in his Father's Life-time: *Et huic Electioni univerſus Populus conſenſit* ‡‡. *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who preached the Coronation-Sermon, took this for his Text, *Vox Populi vox Dei*. By this we may ſee, that all his Predeceſſors were not of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Mind, but thought there was a Divine Right ſomewhere elſe than where he placed it. Upon the Death of *Edward the Black Prince*, there was ſome Diſpute whether *John of Gaunt*, the eldeſt ſurviving Son of *Edward the Third*, ſhould ſucceed *Jure Propinquitatis*, or *Richard* the Son of the *Black Prince* ‖; whereupon *Edward the Third* procured the Parliament to confirm the Succeſſion to *Richard the Second*. And afterwards, when *Edward the Third* died, *Polydore Virgil* ſays |||, *Principes Regni habito Concilio apud* Weſtm. (you know

* Let him be made King. † *Hen. de Knyght.* f. 2472, c. 16. l. 2. ‡ *Tho. Walſing.* in Vit. *Ed.* 2. f. 126. ** *Pol. Virg.* l. 18. f. 352. †† *Froiſſart* 1. vol. c 14. Fructus Temporum, Par. 7. f. 107. *Hen de Knyght.* l. 3. c. 15. f. 2549. ‡‡ And all the People conſented to this Election. ‖ Jure Hæreditario ac etiam voto communi ſingulorum, *H. Knyght.* l. 5. f. 2630. Rot. Parl. 1 *H.* 4. ||| *Pol. Virg.* l. 5.

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what *Polydore* means by *Principes*) *Richardum, Edwardi principis Filium, Regem dicunt, by their* common Suffrages.

In the twenty-firſt Year of *Richard*'s Reign, a Parliament being aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, they drew up, by their common Conſent, a Form, whereby he did reſign the Crown, and the Name and Power of King, diſcharging all his Subjects from all Oaths, which they had taken, of Allegiance to him, confeſſing himſelf thereby inſufficient for the Government, and ſwearing never to make any Pretences to the ſame for the Future. All which he pronounced and ſubſcribed, wiſhing (if it were in his Power) to have *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* for his Succeſſor; but ſince it was not, he deſired the Commiſſioners to ſignify his Deſires to the States of the Realm. The next Day all the States of the Realm accepted his *Reſignation*, and, when that was done, they proceeded to read publickly his *Coronation-Oath*, and all the *Breaches* of it, that ſo it might appear how *juſtly* he had deſerved to be *depoſed*. All which are contained in thirty-three Articles, entered at large in the Rolls of Parliament (and well deſerve to be read) whereupon the States adjudged, that he ſhall be depoſed, and appoint Commiſſioners, *ad Deponendum eundem* Richardum *Regem ab omni Dignitate, Majeſtate, & Honore Regiis, vice, nomine, & authoritate omnium ſtatuum prædictorum, prout in conſimilibus caſibus de antiqua conſuetudine dicti Regni fuit obſervatum* *; which the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* did, in full Parliament, in their Names, and by their Directions. The ſame Commiſſioners were alſo to reſign up to him their Homage and Fealty, and intimate the Sentence of Depoſition; which they did accordingly, by the Mouth of Sir *William Thirning*, whoſe Words are at large entered upon Record. Then did the Parliament proceed to chooſe *Henry the Fourth* King; and upon this Title only did he rely, though he mentioned ſome other trifling ones, as that he challenged it, being then void, by Force, as deſcended to him from King *Henry the Third*.

But this could give him no Title, for it is plain that, whilſt any of the Iſſue of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Henry the Third*, were in being, no Right of Blood could deſcend to him, who derived his Pedigree only from *John* of *Gaunt*, who was but his fourth Son. And he plainly ſhewed what a good Opinion he had of a Parliamentary Title to the Crown, when, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, he procured an Act of Parliament to paſs †, whereby the Inheritance of the Crown and Realms of *England* and *France* were ſettled upon himſelf, for Life, and the Remainder, entailed upon his four Sons by Name, and the Iſſue of their Bodies begotten. He was contented that it ſhould be limited no farther, but that, after Failure of his own Iſſue, it ſhould go according to the general Direction of the Law. And he made a Charter ſoon after, whereby he ſettled the Crown purſuant to this Act of Parliament: *Poſt ipſum ſucceſſivè hæredibus ſuis de ipſius Corpore legitimè procreandis* ‡; which Charter was again confirmed in Parliament, the Twenty-ſecond of *December*, 8 *H.* 4, and the original Charter is ſtill to be ſeen in the *Cotton* Library.

Immediately upon the Death of *Henry the Fourth*, a Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, and there, according to the Cuſtom of the Realm, it was debated, who ſhould be King: But all Men had entertained ſo good Thoughts of Prince *Henry*, that, without ſtaying till the whole Aſſembly had declared him King, divers of them began to ſwear Allegiance to him ‖. A Thing ſtrange, and without Precedent, as only occaſioned by the extraordinary Opinion, which was generally conceived of him before.

And the certain Title veſted in him by an Act of Parliament.

Henry the Fifth dying, and leaving but one Son, who was an Infant of eight Months old, *Titus Livius* § ſays there was ſome Doubt, whether he ſhould be accepted as King; but as ſoon as his Father's Funerals were ſolemniſed, the Eſtates of the Realm of *England*, aſſem-

* To depoſe the ſaid King *Richard* from all Royal Dignity, Majeſty, and Honour by the Deputation, in the Name, and by the Authority of all the foreſaid States, as it has been obſerved in the like Caſes according to the ancient Cuſtom of the ſaid Kingdom of *England*.

† 7 *H.* 4. cap. 2. ‡ *Buck*'s Hiſt. *R.* 3. L. 2. F. 50.

‖ *Princeps* Henricus, *facto Patris ſui funere, Concilium Principum apud* Weſtmonaſterium *convocandum curat, in quo de Rege creando, more Majorum, agitabatur. Continuo aliquot Principes ultro in ejus Verba jurare cæperunt, quod Benevolentiæ Officium Nulli, priuſquam Rex renunciatus eſſet, præſtitum conſtat. Adeo* Henricus *ab ineunte ætate ſpem omnibus optime Indolis fecit*, Pol. Virg. L. 22. Hiſt. Angl. in Vit. *H.* 5.

§ *Titus Liv.* MS. in Bibl. *Bod. Cott.* Record. F. 666.

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bling and conſulting together, they declared *Henry the Sixth* to be their Sovereign.

In the thirty-fifth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, a *new Limitation* of the Crown was made *by Parliament*; for, though the King had a Son then living, yet it was enacted, that during his own Life only, *Henry the Sixth* ſhould hold and enjoy the Crown; and that, during his Life, *Richard* Duke of *York* ſhould be reputed and ſtiled *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, and that it ſhould be Treaſon to compaſs his Death; and after the Death, Reſignation, *&c.* of *Henry*, the Crown was limited in Remainder to *Richard* and his Heirs, with a Proviſo, that if *Henry*, or any in his Behalf, ſhould endeavour to diſannul or fruſtrate this Act, that then *Richard* ſhould have the preſent Poſſeſſion of the Crown *. And by Force of this Act of Parliament, the ſame Duke of *York*, taking Advantage of *Henry*'s Violation of it, did lay Claim to, and attempt the Recovery of the Kingdom, as alſo did his Son *Edward* after him, with better Succeſs; and *Edward* did openly inſiſt upon this Title in the Speech, which he made at his Coronation †.

It was alſo declared by *Edward*'s firſt Parliament, in the firſt Year of his Reign, that *Henry the Sixth*, having *broken* the aforeſaid *Concord* in many Particulars, the Crown was duely devolved to *Edward the Fourth*, by Virtue thereof.

Afterwards *Edward the Fourth*, being driven out of the Kingdom, in the tenth Year of his Reign, the *Parliament* did again *entail* the Crown on *Henry the Sixth*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, with the Remainder to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward the Fourth*, who was thereby alſo declared Heir to *Richard* Duke of *York*.

It is worthy Obſervation, that both the Families of *York* and *Lancaſter* claimed a Title *by Act of Parliament*, and as long as that Title continued, the Iſſue of *Henry the Fourth* had never any Diſturbance from the Pretences of the Houſe of *York*, who had undoubtedly the Right of Blood on their Side: But as ſoon as *Richard* Duke of *York* had a Title veſted in him, by the Statute made in the thirty-ninth Year of *Henry the Sixth*, then he thought it was worth contending for; nor did he and his Son deſiſt, till they had driven out *Henry the Sixth* ‡.

Edward the Fourth did recover the Kingdom again as ſuddenly as he loſt it, and prevailed with his Parliament to repeal that Law which was made during his Expulſion, and ſo left the Crown to that unfortunate young Prince, *Edward the Fifth*, who held it not long enough to have it put on him, with the uſual Solemnity; for tho' he was proclaimed, he was never crowned King: For his Uncle, *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, having ſecured him and his Brother in the *Tower*, did cunningly inſinuate the Baſtardy of his Nephew, and that *Edward the Fourth* had another Wife living at the Time of his Marriage to their Mother, and alſo at the Time of their Birth.

The Report found Credit univerſally, inſomuch that, the Duke of *Buckingham* coming to him at *Baynard's-Caſtle*, with moſt of the great Lords and wiſe Men of the Kingdom, and the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Duke did, in their Names, acquaint him, that they had unanimouſly thought fit to elect him King, as being Heir to the Royal Blood of *Richard* Duke of *York*, upon whom the Crown was entailed by the high Authority of Parliament.

It is very remarkable, that, in the Midſt of their higheſt Flatteries, and Courtſhip to him, they tell him only of this *great and ſure Title by Act of Parliament*; although, if he had been indeed (what was pretended) the Heir of the Houſe of *York*, his Right, by Deſcent, from *Edward the Third*, was unqueſtionable.

Richard (after ſome feigned Excuſes) did at laſt accept of their Offer and Election ‖; and the Parliament being ſoon after aſſembled, they preſented a Bill to this Effect: *Pleaſe it your Grace to underſtand the Conſideration, Election, and Petition under-written, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons*, &c. And thereby they declare the Children of *Edward the Fourth* illegitimate, and that his Brother *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, was attainted of High-Treaſon by Parliament, in the ſeventeenth Year of *Edward the Fourth*'s Reign, *by Reaſon whereof, all the Iſſue of the ſaid* George *were, and are, diſabled and barred of all Right and Claim, that in any Caſe they might have or challenge by Inheritance to the Crown and Dignity Royal of this Realm, by the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſame* §. After which, conſidering that none o

* *Hubington*'s Hiſt. *Ed.* 4. F. 10. *Cott.* Rec. 670. Fructus Temp. Part 7. F. 162. † *Hubingt. Ed.* 4. F. 73. ‡ *Buck*'s Hiſt. *Rich.* 3. Lib. 1. F. 20. ‖ *Cott.* Rec. F. 709. § *Buck*'s *Rich.* 3. Lib. 1. F. 22.

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the uncorrupted lineal Blood of *Richard* Duke of *York* could be found, but in his Perſon (they ſay) we have choſen, and do chooſe, you our King and Sovereign Lord. Then the Bill proceeds, in reciting, that all the Learned in the Laws do approve his Title, and declaring him King as well by Right of Conſanguinity and Inheritance, as by lawful Election, and entails the Crown on him and the Heirs of his Body, and declares his Son Heir Apparent. To which the King gave his Royal Aſſent in theſe Words: *Et idem Dominus Rex, de Aſſenſu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, & Authoritate prædicta, omnia & ſingula præmiſſa, in Billa prædicta contenta concedit, & ea pro vero & indubio pronunciat, decernit, & declarat* *.

But the barbarous Murder of his Nephews did ſoon beget ſuch an univerſal Deteſtation of *Richard*, in the Minds of the People, that they reſolved he ſhould no longer reign over them; and ſo, taking hold of a Pretence, which *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* ſet up, they joined with him againſt *Richard*. Though *Henry*'s Title was indeed no more than a meer Pretence; for not only the Right of the *Houſe* of *York* (as far as Blood could give Right) was before that of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, but alſo he had no Manner of Intereſt in that Title, which the *Lancaſtrian Line* had, ſince his Claim was under a Baſtard, begotten in Adultery; and beſides, his Mother, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, as Heir, to whom he pretended he claimed, was then living. Therefore *Comines*, the moſt judicious Writer of that Age, and who knew well what was the Senſe of *Europe*, concerning his Title, ſays plainly (though he wrote in the Time of *Henry the Seventh*) *Qu'l n' avoit Croix, ne Pile, ne nul Droit (comme Jeo Croy) a la Couronne d' Angleterre.*

Nevertheleſs, *Henry* having ſlain *Richard* in *Boſworth*-field, the Crown was there put on his Head by the Lord *Stanley*, with the general Acclamations of the People. But he was wiſe enough to think his Title to it was not very good, till it was made ſo, by an Act of Parliament, and therefore, in the firſt Year of his Reign, he procured one to paſs in theſe Words: *For the Wealth, Proſperity, and Surety of this Realm of* England, *and for avoiding of all Ambiguities and Queſtions* (The wiſeſt of our Princes, you ſee, had no little Opinion of the Authority of a Parliament in this Point) *Be it ordained*, &c. *That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realms of* England *and* France, *with all the Pre-eminences and Dignities Royal to the ſame appertaining, and the Ligeances to the King belonging, beyond the Seas*, &c. *ſhall be, reſt, remain and abide in the moſt Royal Perſon of our Sovereign Lord,* Henry the Seventh, *and in the Heirs of his Body lawfully coming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and ſo to endure, and no other* †.

Thus did the wiſeſt of our Kings eſtabliſh himſelf, and the beſt of our Hiſtorians ‡ mentions it as one of the greateſt Inſtances of his Wiſdom, that he did not preſs to have this as a Declaration or Recognition of ancient Right, but only as an Eſtabliſhment of the Poſſeſſion, which he then had; nor to have the Remainder limited to any Perſon after the Determination of his Eſtate, but was content with the Settlement upon himſelf, and the Iſſue of his own Body, leaving it to the Law, to decide what was to follow upon the Failure of ſuch Heirs.

Nor can any Thing be more clear, than that *Henry the Seventh* depended intirely on this Parliamentary Title, without extending any Pretences of his Wife's (who was Heir of the Houſe of *York*) beyond this Eſtabliſhment, inaſmuch as the Oaths of Allegiance, and other publick Teſts and Securities, which were required at that Time of the Subjects, were not in general Terms, to the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, but only to the King, and the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten. An Inſtance of this (without going any further) may be ſeen amongſt the Records, printed at the End of the late Hiſtory of the Reformation ‖, where Cardinal *Adrian*, when he was promoted by *Henry the Seventh* to the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, renounces all Clauſes in the Pope's Bulls, which

* And the ſame Lord, the King, by, and with the Conſent of the ſaid three Eſtates of the Kingdom, and by the Authority aforeſaid, doth grant all and ſingular the Premiſes, contained in the foreſaid Bill, and pronounceth, decreeth, and declareth the ſame for true and undoubted.

† *Bucks Rich.* 3. Lib. 5. F. 145. ‡ Lord *Bacon H.* 7. F. 11, 12. ‖ *Burnet*'s Hiſt. of the Reformation, Collect. ad Lib. 2. F. 3, 4.

may

may be prejudicial *Domino meo ſupremo, & Hæredibus ſuis corpore ſuo legitimè procreatis*, Angliæ *Regibus*; and he does afterwards ſwear Allegiance to him, in the very ſame Words, without taking any Notice of remoter Heirs.

Henry the Eighth, the Heir to this Entail, ſucceeded his Father; and though he attempted as much for Arbitrary Power, and uſed Parliaments, with as little Reſpect as any of his Predeceſſors; yet even he never doubted of their Power in ſettling the Succeſſion, but valued it much and reſorted to it frequently.

In the twenty-fifth Year of his Reign an Act * paſſed, wherein the Parliament ſay, they were *bounden to provide for the perfect Surety of the Succeſſion* (they did not certainly reckon themſelves bound to do a Thing that was not in their Power.) And then they take Notice of the great Miſchiefs and Effuſions of Blood which had happened by Reaſon of the Doubtfulneſs of the true Title; and *for the avoiding of all future Queſtions*, do enact, *That the* Imperial *Crown of this Realm ſhall be to King* Henry the Eighth, *and the Heirs of his Body lawfully begotten on Queen* Anne, *and the Heirs of the Bodies of ſuch ſeveral Sons reſpectively, according to the Courſe of Inheritance; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, then to the Sons of his Body in like Manner; and upon Failure of ſuch Iſſue, then to the Lady* Eliſabeth, *and after her to any other Iſſue in Tail, and then the Remainder is limited to the right Heirs of* Henry the Eighth. By the ſame Statute every Subject at his full Age is obliged to take an Oath to defend the Contents of it, and the Refuſal is made Miſpriſion of Treaſon. And the next *Parliament* †, which was held in the Year following, does particularly enact an Oath for that Purpoſe.

Some few Years after, theſe Acts were repealed, and the *Parliament* ‡ *entailed* the *Crown* upon the King, and the Heirs of his Body by *Queen Jane*; and Power is given the King, for Want of Iſſue of his Body, to diſpoſe of the Succeſſion by his Letters Patents, or his laſt Will.

It is alſo made Treaſon, if any uſurp upon thoſe, to whom it is ſo appointed. Here the *Parliament* do not only uſe their Power of changing the Succeſſion, but they *delegate it to another*.

And, in the thirty-fifth Year of this King's Reign, the *Parliament* ‖, by another Act, take Notice of the great and high Truſt which the Subjects had in him, in putting into his Hands wholly the Order and Declaration of the Succeſſion; yet the King being then ready to go into *France*, they do enact, that after his Death and the Death of *Prince Edward*, without Iſſue, the Crown ſhould be to the *Lady Mary*, and the *Heirs* of her Body; but both ſubject to ſuch Conditions as the King ſhould limit by his Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will, ſigned with his Hand: And if the Lady *Mary* performed not thoſe Conditions, that then the Crown ſhould go to the Lady *Eliſabeth*, as if the Lady *Mary* had been dead without Iſſue; and if the Lady *Eliſabeth* neglected to perform ſuch Conditions, then it ſhould go to ſuch other Perſon as the King ſhould appoint, in the ſame Manner as before, as if the Lady *Eliſabeth* had *been dead without Iſſue* §. And Authority is given to him, by his Letters Patents, or his laſt Will ſigned with his own Hand, to appoint the Crown to remain to ſuch Perſon or Perſons and for ſuch Eſtate, and under ſuch Conditions as he ſhould pleaſe.

An Oath alſo for Obſerving this Statute is appointed, and it is made *Treaſon* to refuſe it, or to diſturb or interrupt any Perſon, to whom it is limited by this Act, or ſhould be by the King, purſuant to the Power given him thereby.

This is abundantly ſufficient to prove, that it was *the univerſal Opinion of that Age, that the Succeſſion was wholly under the Controul of Parliament*, who not only limited it as they pleaſed themſelves, but *ſubjected it to Conditions*, and *to the Appointment of others*. But the Thing was in its own Nature ſo evident, that they who had the greateſt Reaſon, and were moſt concerned to do it, did never preſume to queſtion the Power of a Parliament in this Point.

Lethington, Secretary of *Scotland*, in a Letter, of his, written to Sir *William Cecil* **, then Secretary of State here, wherein he argues in Behalf of the Title of his Miſtreſs, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, to ſucceed Queen *Eliſabeth*, againſt a

* St. 25 *H.* 8. Cap. 22. † 26 *H.* 8. Cap. 2. ‡ 28 *H.* 8. *Raſt.* Crown 4. ‖ 35 *H.* 3. Cap. 1.
§ See the Inſtrument of Queen *Jane*'s Proclamation, *&c.* before, on Page 394.
** *Burn.* Hiſt. Reform. Collect. 268.

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pretended Diſpoſition made by the laſt Will of *Henry the Eighth*, to his Niece the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the *French* Queen, if his own Iſſue failed, ſays, of theſe Statutes that gave the King Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, that they were againſt Equity to diſinherit a Race of foreign Princes, and that they were made in an abrupt Time (as he terms it) but yet he confeſſes, that ſince the Thing was done, it was now *valid* and *unavoidable*, unleſs ſome Circumſtances did annihilate the Limitation and Diſpoſition made by King *Henry*'s Will.

And ſo he proceeds to prove that the Power, which was given to the King by theſe Statutes, was not purſued (which it ought to have been moſt ſtrictly, and in a preciſe Form) for that the King never ſigned the Will, but that his Name, ſet to it, was forged: Nay, I will venture to ſay that in all the Books, which were written to ſupport the Claim of the *Scotiſh* Queen againſt King *Henry*'s Will (though the whole Power and Wealth of the *Guiſes* were employed to ſet every Wit at Work on that Deſign *) there was never any Streſs laid upon it, or ſo much as a Pretence that theſe Acts of Parliament were void or ineffectual in themſelves. In that Diſcourſe which was publiſhed by *Philips*, and compoſed by Sir *Anthony Brown*, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, who was (in Judge *Dodderidge*'s Opinion) a Perſon of an incomparable Sharpneſs of Wit, there was all the Help that Learning either in Divinity, Civil or Common Laws, could give; yet there the Authority of the Parliament in the Caſe, and the Validity of theſe Statutes, is all along admitted. Indeed, they endeavour to put ſome other Conſtruction upon the Statutes; but their great Argument is, that King *Henry*, as King, had no Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, and therefore theſe Laws only gave him an Authority, and made him only as it were a Commiſſioner, and therefore, as all other Authorities (eſpecially being in Derogation of the Courſe of the common Line) was to be ſtrictly followed. They allow that he had ſufficient Power to deviſe, and that he might honourably have uſed that Power; but that he ever did exerciſe that Authority, is the Thing denied. But it is Time for us to go on.

Edward the Sixth ſucceeded his Father, and took upon him a Power, which ſurely no King ever had, to diſpoſe of his Crown, by Will. But that Diſpoſition ſerving to no other Purpoſe, but to the Ruin of the Lady *Jane Grey* †, his Siſter Queen *Mary* firſt, and after, Queen *Eliſabeth*, enjoyed the Crown according to the Limitation of the Statute, 35 *H.* VIII. *c.* 1. and, that one of them had no other Title, muſt be agreed by all: For Queen *Catharine* was alive, at the Time when *Eliſabeth* was born; ſo that, if the firſt Marriage was unlawful, Queen *Mary*; and if the ſecond was unlawful, Queen *Eliſabeth* muſt neceſſarily have been illegitimate.

I cannot but obſerve one Paſſage to our preſent Purpoſe, which I meet with in the Time of Queen *Mary*. Sir *Edward Montague*, firſt Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards of the King's Bench (one who had the Reputation of the ableſt and wiſeſt Lawyer of his Age ‡) being accuſed to have drawn the Will of *Edward the Sixth*, whereby that Queen was to have been diſinherited, and being in great Danger upon that Account, drew up a State of his own Caſe, and therein ſets forth, that the great Reaſon which prevailed with him to obey the King in that Particular, and upon which he did ſtill rely for his Indemnity, was, that, if Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, ſhe took it by Force of the Act of Parliament, which did limit it to her in Remainder; ſo that ſhe came in as a Purchaſer, and not in Privity of Eſtate to her Brother, and conſequently could not puniſh Treaſons or Offences committed in his Time ‖.

I muſt needs alſo obſerve, that in the Articles made upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with *Philip of Spain*, which were confirmed by Act of Parliament, the ſeveral Crowns and Territories of *Philip* are diſtributed, Part to *Charles* the Infant of *Spain*, Part to the Iſſue of the intended Marriage §. Whereby it does appear not only what Opinion all *Europe* had of the Power of an *Engliſh* Parliament, but alſo that by the Conſent of the Eſtates of other Realms, Crowns might be limited and diſpoſed out of the ordinary Courſe of Deſcent.

* See a Treatiſe of the Title of Queen *Mary* to the Succeſſion, Pages 38, 39, *&c.* Lib. 2. *Dodd.* Engl. Lawyer, Page 8. † See the Introduction to her Proclamation, on Page 391.

‡ *More*'s Reports, 827, and 828. ‖ *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſtory, Lib. 8. Fol. 5.

§ 1 *Mar. Parl.* 2. cap. 2.

In the first Year of Queen *Elisabeth*, the Parliament recognise her Title to the Crown *, with express Relation to the Statute 35 *H.* VIII. which invests it in her and the Heirs of her Body, and do enact that the Limitation, made by that Statute, shall stand and remain as a Law for ever, and all Sentences Judgments and Decrees to the Contrary are declared to be void, and appointed to be cancelled. And the several Offences, which are made Treason by another Statute in the same Year, are all restrained to the Queen and the Heirs of her Body only: The Parliament intending to extend that new Security no farther than her Estate in the Crown (which she took by that Parliamentary Limitation) did extend.

In her thirteenth Year it was enacted †, That if any Person claim Title to the Crown for himself or any other, during her Life, or shall not upon Demand acknowledge her Right, *be shall be disabled, during his Life, to have the Crown in Succession as if he was naturally dead.* And to affirm Right of Succession in such Claimer or Usurper, (after Proclamation made of such Claim or Usurpation) is made Treason. Nor does the Statute stop there, but makes it Treason, during the Life of the Queen, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels after her Decease, to affirm that the Queen, with and by the Authority of Parliament, is not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance and Government thereof; or that this or any other Statute made by Parliament, with the Queen's Assent, is not or ought not to be for ever of sufficient Force to bind and govern all Persons, their Rights and Titles that may claim any *Interest* or *Possibility* in *or* to *the Crown in Possession, Remainder, Inheritance, Succession or otherwise.* It were well if some rash Men, who presume in their Discourses to restrain the Power of the Parliament (that is, the King, Lords, and Commons) in the great Business of the Succession, would be so wise as to remember this Act (which is still in Force) and the Penalty to which they subject themselves by such sawcy Talk. That incomparable Statesman the Lord *Burleigh* had another Kind of Opinion of the Security which an Act of Parliament could give his Royal Mistress, by making the *Scotish* Queen (the *Popish* Succeffor of that Time) unable and unworthy of the Succession; as appears in a Letter which he wrote about this Time, to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, then Ambassador in *France* ‡.

In the twenty-seventh Year of Queen *Elisabeth*, it was enacted ‖, that if any Invasion was made, or Rebellion, or other Thing tending to the Hurt of her Person, by, or for, or with the Privity of any one who should or might pretend Title to the Crown, and the same should be adjudged in such Manner as that Law appoints, then every Person, against whom such Judgment should be given, should be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim the Crown; and that the Subjects of this Realm lawfully might, by all forcible and possible Means, pursue all such Offenders: And their Issues, assenting or privy thereto, are in like Manner disabled, and to be pursued. And this Act was made in Pursuance of an Association entered into by the People, in the Vacancy of Parliament, out of their great Zeal for the Preservation of the Life of that excellent Princess.

By Virtue of this Statute, *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, was afterwards executed, as appears by the Commission for her Tryal §.

King *James*, her Son, who was a wiser Prince, and not wholly governed by Priests, as his Mother was, though he had the same Pretences that she had, yet never disputed his Right, or set on Foot any Title, during the Life of the ever renowned Queen; though she would never suffer him to be declared her Successor. He was too wise to incur the like Disability as his Mother had done, and to contest a Title established by Parliament.

After Queen *Elisabeth*'s Death, the Act of Recognition, made upon King *James*'s Coming to the Crown, doth particularly insist upon that Title, which was raised by Act of Parliament to *Henry the Seventh*, and the Heirs of his Body, and that immediately, upon the Queen's Decease, the Crown descended and came to King *James*; so that you see the Title of Queen *Elisabeth* is again acknowledged by Parliament: And the Entail made by the Statute of 35 *Hen.* 8. being spent upon her Death without Issue, King *James* comes in, as next Heir to the old Entail made the first Year of *Henry the Seventh*.

Thus, I have set down before you the whole Course of the *English Succession*, as plainly, as truly, and as briefly as is possible. I shall leave

* 1 *Eliz.* c. 3, and 5. † 13 *Eliz.* c. 1. *Rast.* Treason. 27. ‡ Compleat Ambassad. fol. 289.
‖ 27 *Elis.* c. 1. § *Strangway*'s Hist. of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, fol. 179.

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every Man to make his own Observations on this Historical Deduction. But this one Observation, I believe, all Men must make from it, That it hath been the constant Opinion of all Ages, that the Parliament of *England* had an unquestionable Power to limit, restrain, and qualify the Succession as they pleased, and that in all Ages they have put their Power in Practice; and that the Historian had Reason for Saying, that seldom, or never, the third Heir, in a right Descent, enjoyed the Crown of *England*.

It were as easy to shew, that in all other Kingdoms, the next of Blood hath been frequently excluded from the Succession *; but the History of our own Country is our Business, yet I cannot forbear reciting the Speech which Ambassadors, sent from the States of *France*, made to *Charles* of *Lorrain*, when they had solemnly rejected him (though he was Brother to *Loys d'Outremes*, and next Heir to the Crown) and had elected *Hugh Capet* for their King. They told him, that every one knew that the Succession of the Crown of *France* belonged to him, and not *Hugh Capet* †. But yet (say they) the very same Laws, which give you this Right of Succession, do now judge you also unworthy of the same; for that you have not hitherto endeavoured to frame your Manners according to the Prescript of those Laws, nor according to the Usages and Customs of your Country, but rather have allied yourself with the *German* Nation, our old Enemies, and have loved their vile and base Manners. Wherefore, seeing you have forsaken the ancient Virtue and Sweetness of your Country, we have also forsaken and abandoned you, and have chosen *Hugh Capet* for our King, and put you back; and this, without any Scruple of Conscience at all, esteeming it better, and more just, to live under him, enjoying our ancient Laws, Customs, Privileges, and Liberties, than under you, the Heir by Blood, in Oppressions, strange Customs, and Cruelty. For, as those, who are to make a Voyage at Sea, do not much consider whether the Pilot be Owner of the Ship, but whether he be skilful and wary: So our Care is, to have a Prince to govern us gently and happily (which is the End for which Princes were appointed) and for these Ends we judge this Man fitter to be our King.

Certainly, it were a most dangerous Thing to have an Opinion prevail, that the King, in Concurrence with his Parliament, should not have Power to change the direct Order of Succession, though the Preservation both of him and his People did depend upon it. For it does directly tend to Anarchy, and makes the Government to want Power to defend itself, by making such Alterations, as the Variety of Accidents in several Ages may make absolutely necessary. There must be a supreme uncontroulable Power lodged somewhere. And the Men, who talk at this Rate, can hardly find where it is lodged in *England*, if not in the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament.

But when a Man begins to ask a Reason of this Doctrine of theirs, that Proximity of Blood does give a Title unchangeable by any human Laws, the Teachers of it differ exceedingly; some of them tell us of a Divine Patriarchal Right, which Kings, as natural Fathers of their People, have derived down to them from *Adam*. And this Notion, though it be no older than the present Age, has been very frequent in Men's Mouths and Books, and has much pleased of late (as new Things use to do.) But they consider not, that if this be true, there never can be but one rightful Monarch in the Universe; that is, he only who is the direct and lineal Heir of *Adam* then living. And thus these great Patrons of absolute Power, instead of supporting, do shake the Thrones of all the Princes in the World, since none of them, at this Day, can make out any such Title.

There are others, who being desirous to bestow upon the Crown a Compliment of the like Nature, which they were at the same Time obtaining from it, have declared in general, That Monarchy is of Divine Right, That Princes succeed by the Laws of God, That their Title is not subject to any earthly Cognisance, nor owing to any Consent of the People. But the Consequences of this Opinion are not once considered by these Men, that thereby the Property of all Subjects and the Laws of all Countries are destroyed together. For no human Laws or Contracts can bind or restrain a Power Divinely instituted. (Or, if you like it better, in the Words of a great Cardinal ‡) a Jurisdiction which is of Divine Right, is not alterable by the Will or Power of Man.

* *Daniel*, fol. 5. *in Vita H.* 1. † *Gerr. du Hail.* lib. 6. *An.* 988. ‡ Card. *Palav.* Hist. *Conc. Trid.* lib. 18. c. 15.

Beſides, all Communities, which live under another Form of Government, muſt be guilty of violating this Divine Inſtitution. And, perhaps, there are few others, beſides the Great *Turk*'s Dominions, which are governed as they ought to be.

In what a damnable Condition are the *Venetians* and the *Netherlands*, who admit no Monarch at all? *Poland*, and the *Empire*, who elect their Princes, and will not hear Talk of this Divine Right of Succeſſion?

Arragon, where they do not only elect their King, but tell him plainly at his Coronation, that they will depoſe him, if he obſerves not the Conditions which they require from him, and have a ſettled Officer, called *El' Juſtitia*, for that Purpoſe. Nay, even *France* itſelf, which, it is notoriouſly known, does exclude Women from this Divine Right.

That Government is of Nature, and derived from God, is manifeſt. Nothing is more natural in Man, than the Deſire of Society, and without Government, Society would be intolerable. But can it be proved from hence, that the Government cannot be moulded into ſeveral Forms, agreeable to the Intereſt and Diſpoſitions of ſeveral Nations, and may not be varied from Time to Time, as Occaſion requires, by the mutual Conſent of the Governors, and of thoſe who are governed?

And after all Pretences of this Kind, let any Place of Scripture be produced, wherein God obliges a People to this, or that Form, till they have firſt obliged themſelves to it, by ſome Act of their own?

I do agree that, if God by any extraordinary Revelation has ordained any Sort of Government, or, by any immediate Denomination, has conferred a Kingdom on any Family, and has directed in what Order the Crown ſhall deſcend, that all Men are bound to ſubmit to it, and acquieſce in the Divine Will, as ſoon as it is clearly and evidently made out to them; but they muſt not be angry, if Men expect ſuch an Evidence.

There is a third Sort of Men, who tell us, this Realm being intirely ſubdued by the Conqueror, and by him left to deſcend to his Heirs, none of theſe Heirs, who derive a Title under him, can deprive thoſe who are to ſucceed of any Right, which they ought to have, but muſt leave the Crown as free to them, as they themſelves received it from their Anceſtors.

I will not here inſiſt upon the Danger that any Prince runs into, who founds his Title in Force, becauſe it will be hard to prove that ſuch an one does not leave as good a Title open for every Man, who can make himſelf ſtrong enough. Nor need I trouble myſelf to ſhew, that all Conqueſt does not put the Conqueror into an abſolute Right. Though it be moſt evident in the Caſe of *William the Firſt*, who did by his Sword proſecute a Claim of another Nature, and meant only to acquire that Right, and after Conqueſt reſted in it. He pretended to the Crown as the Gift of King *Edward*, and to vindicate that Title, he entered with Arms. And though his Relation to the Crown was more remote than that of *Edgar Atheling* (then a Child) yet this Title was better than *Harold*'s the preſent Uſurper, who could pretend no Kindred at all, and who had himſelf ſworn to ſupport the Grant to *William*. Nor did he claim a Power by Conqueſt, (though the Name of *Conqueror* was given him by after Times, ſays *Daniel*) but ſubmitted to the Orders of the Kingdom, deſirous rather to have his Teſtamentary Title, than his Sword, to make good his Succeſſion. But I will admit that he made an abſolute Conqueſt, and then theſe Men will grant that he might himſelf diſpoſe of this conquered Kingdom. Therefore, if he did not leave it to deſcend in ſuch a Manner as they would have it go, nor did inſtitute any ſuch Sort of Succeſſion, ſurely this Argument of theirs will fall to the Ground. Now it is plain, that he never deſigned that the Crown ſhould deſcend, but gave it to his ſecond Son, and thereby gave an early Example *of excluding and pretermitting the Unworthy*.

Laſtly, others object, that the fundamental Laws of the Land, againſt which no Act of Parliament can be of Force, have ſo eſtabliſhed the Succeſſion, that the Courſe of it cannot be altered. This is ſurely a new Diſcovery unknown to our Fore-fathers, as the foregoing Hiſtory does abundantly prove. But let theſe Objectors be aſked, By what Authority theſe imaginary Laws were made? For if an Authority, equal to that which made them, be ſtill in being, that Authority may certainly repeal them, whenever it pleaſes to exert itſelf. If the King alone made them, no Doubt but that he may change them too. If they will ſay they were made by the diffuſive Body of the People; they run before they are aware, into the Guilt of worſhiping

ing that Idol the Multitude, and make a great Step towards placing the Foundation of the Government upon Contract and Conſent. But then let them produce thoſe Laws, or ſome authentick Memorial of them, before it be exacted from us to believe, there were ever any ſuch.

Yes, they will ſay, there is ſuch an ancient Law, acknowledged by all the Judges, and known to every Man, that the Deſcent of the Crown purges all Defects whatſoever. This Maxim, as it is uſually repeated, is in theſe Words; and this might be admitted, and yet could not be pertinently applied to a Caſe, where the Deſcent itſelf is prevented by a Law. But I will not take Advantage of their Words, but will conſider the Objection, as it ſtands in that Book, where the firſt Mention of it was made; and that is in the *Year Book* of *Henry the Seventh*, it being ſaid there by the Judges, That the King was a Perſon able, and diſcharged of any Attainder, *eo facto*, that he took upon him the Government, and to be King *.

Firſt, This was not only an *extrajudicial* Opinion, but was not pertinent to the Queſtion referred to their Conſideration, Whether thoſe who were choſen into the Houſe of Commons, and were at that Time attainted of Treaſon, might ſit in Parliament till their Attainders were reverſed; and they all agree that their Attainders ſhould firſt be annulled. But then they proceed to ſay, That there was no Neceſſity that the King's Attainder ſhould be reverſed; for that he might enable himſelf, and needed not any Act of Reverſal. But ſurely they ſaid very wiſely in what they ſaid, for he, who had won a Crown in the Field, had gone a great Way towards enabling himſelf to wear it. Moſt ſure it is, that if an Act of Reverſal were neceſſary before he could ſit, that then it was impoſſible he ever ſhould ſit there, becauſe no ſuch Act could be made, without the Royal Aſſent. *Henry the Seventh* was then King *de facto*, and in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and it was ſomewhat of the lateſt to conſider, whether he was qualified or not. Certainly it had been ſtrange Self-denial in the Judges, and a Neglect of themſelves (which is not uſual with them) to have alledged an incurable Diſability in the King, from whence they had their Patents and Authority.

In the next Place let us conſider, what Precedent the Judges cite to juſtify this Opinion of theirs, and how oppoſite it is. *Henry the Sixth*, being driven out of the Kingdom by *Edward the Fourth*, the Conqueror called a Parliament, and got an Act to paſs, whereby *Henry* was diſabled to hold the Crown. About ten Years after, *Henry* regains the Kingdom, and upon this Re-acceſſion to the Crown (as it is uſually called) this Act is never repealed. But does not every Child ſee the Reaſons of it? For if *Henry* was lawful King (and before he was not to doubt that) the Act itſelf was void, inaſmuch as it wanted the Royal Aſſent. So that for him to have procured an Act of Repeal, had been to affirm a Title to the Crown in *Edward*. But without Doubt, this Opinion of the Judges, as it is applied by the Objectors, was new and unheard of before. We ſee the King of *France* was otherwiſe informed by the learned Men in the Time of King *John* †, for they thought his Blood corrupted, and him uncapable of taking the Crown by Deſcent, becauſe he was attainted of Treaſon; which prevailed with that King to ſend over his Son *Lewis*, to put in his Claim, in Right of his Wife, who was the next Heir. It alſo ought to be obſerved, that the true Reaſon, why the Generality of the Nation did ſo long approve the Title of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, was, becauſe all the Princes of the Houſe of *York* were attainted of Treaſon, and their Blood corrupted. But as ſoon as ever this Corruption was purged, and *Richard* Duke of *York* was declared Heir Apparent by Parliament, the People ſoon forſook the *Lancaſtrians*, and ſet the *Houſe* of *York* on the Throne.

Nay the very learned Men of the ſame Age with theſe Judges thought quite otherwiſe, as will appear beyond Contradiction, in this famous Caſe which follows: *Richard the Third* had two elder Brothers, *Edward* and *George* Duke of *Clarence*. *Richard*, deſigning to ſecure the Crown to himſelf, had procured the Children of *Edward* to be declared illegitimate, yet ſtill the Duke of *Clarence* had Iſſue living, which might pretend. But obſerve what the Parliament ſay (as to this) in the firſt Year of *Richard the Third* ‡: ‘ That, in the ſeventeenth Year of ‘ *Edward the Fourth*, *George* Duke of *Clarence* ‘ was attainted of Treaſon, by Reaſon whereof ‘ all the Iſſue of the ſaid *George* was, and is diſ‘ abled and barred of all Right and Claim, that ‘ in any Caſe, he, or his Iſſue, might have, or ‘ chal-

* 1 *H.* 7. fol. 4. b. *Que le Roy fueſt Perſon able & diſcharge d' auſcun attainder eo facto qu'il priſt ſur lui le Reign & eſtre Roy.* † *Mat. Weſtm.* 275. *v. ſupra.* ‡ *V. ſup. & Cott.* Rec. 709.

'challenge by Inheritance to the Crown, and 'Dignity Royal of theſe Realms. After that 'we conſider, that you be the undoubted Heir, '*&c.* And ſo they proceed, affirming that all 'learned Men in the Laws do approve his 'Title.' You ſee, within leſs than three Years before this Opinion of the Judges, the whole Parliament do not only give their Opinion, but aſſure you that all learned Men of that Time held clearly, that an Attainder did hinder the Deſcent of the Crown, and incapacitate the Perſon to take it. Nay, what goes yet further in this Matter, *Richard* himſelf, though he was as jealous to ſecure his Title as ever Tyrant was, and had as good Advice to diſcern the moſt diſtant Danger; though he was always reſtleſs in endeavouring to get the *Earl* of *Richmond* into his Hands, who was a very remote Pretender, and only deſcended from a Baſtard of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, yet he feared nothing on this Side. He knew how he had wronged the Children of his Brother *Edward*, and could not be at Eaſe till he had ſent them out of the World, but he let the Children of his Brother *Clarence* live, without apprehending any Danger from them, becauſe their Blood was corrupted, and all Poſſibility of Deſcent taken from them, by the Attainder of their Father. It was this only preſerved them alive, and not any Remorſe of Conſcience, or any Niceneſs in ſending another Nephew out of the World, after thoſe whom he had diſpatched before. This notable Caſe, attended with theſe Circumſtances, will convince every Man either that the Judges intended no ſuch Thing by their Opinion as ſome Men fancy, or elſe at leaſt that *extra judicial* Opinions were then as Apocryphal as they have been ſince.

Conſider, *laſtly*, the Unreaſonableneſs of this Doctrine which tends directly to ſubvert Government, and to put the Life of the King Regnant into the Hands of his Succeſſor. The next Heir may commit Rapes, and Murders, and Treaſons; burn Cities, or betray Fleets; may conſpire againſt the Life of his Prince, and yet after all, if by *Flight* or *Force* he can ſave himſelf, till ſome of his Accomplices can get the King diſpatched, in Spight of all Laws and Juſtice he muſt come to the Crown, and be innocent.

But when I reflect what Sort of Men I am arguing with, and how willingly they uſe to ſubmit to Authority, I think I ſhall convince them beſt by citing the Opinions of two great Men, the one a Cardinal, the other a Lord-Chancellor, both of them Martyrs for the Papal Supremacy; I mean, Biſhop *Fiſher* and Sir *Tho. Moor*. And, if their Judgments approve the Power of Parliaments in the Buſineſs of the Succeſſion, it cannot but weigh very much on ſuch Occaſions as this. It is well known, how * with Reſolution, even to Death, they refuſed the Oath of Succeſſion which the Parliament had framed, becauſe therein the King's Supremacy was avowed, and therefore they cannot be ſuſpected to diſſemble, when at the very ſame Time they declared, that, if that of Supremacy was left out, they would willingly ſwear an Oath to maintain the Succeſſion of the Crown to the Iſſue of the King's preſent Marriage, as it was then eſtabliſhed by Parliament, and gave this Reaſon for it, that this was in the Power of a Parliament to determine; but not who was ſupreme Head of the Church. Sir *Tho. Moor* went further, and owned a very ſtrange Opinion of their Power in this Point. But he ſays expreſly at the ſame Time, that the Parliament had unqueſtionable Authority in the Ordering the Succeſſion, and that the People were bound to obey them therein.

After the Teſtimonies of theſe two great Papiſts, it will be little to add the Teſtimony of a Proteſtant. But yet I will mention what Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (who was no inconſiderable Man, though a Proteſtant) ſays in his incomparable Preface to the Hiſtory of the World: 'Without Doubt (ſays he) human Reaſon would 'have judged no otherwiſe but that *Henry the* '*Fourth* had rendered the Succeſſion as unqueſ-'tionable by the Act of Parliament which he 'had procured to entail it on his Iſſues, as by 'his own Act he had left his Enemies power-'leſs.'

But ſinking Men catch Hold of every Thing, and, when they cannot object to the Validity, they will tell us, That ſuch an Act of Parliament, to diſinherit the next Heir, is unjuſt and without a ſufficient Ground.

I will not, at Preſent, enter into a Diſpute how far the Difference of Religion, which will alſo neceſſarily draw on a Change in the Government, does juſtify Men in ſeeking to preſerve the two deareſt Things on Earth in an orderly and lawful Way. I will not (though I ſafely might) challenge theſe Men to tell me, where-

* *Burn.* Hiſt. Reform. lib. 2. fol. 156.

ever

ever any ſettled Nation which had Laws of their own, and were not under the immediate Force of a Conqueror, did ever admit of a King of another Religion than their own. I will not inſiſt on it that the Crown is not a bare Inheritance, but an Inheritance accompanying an Office of Truſt; and that, if a Man's Defects render him uncapable of the Truſt, he has alſo forfeited the Inheritance. I need not ſay how far a Nation is to be excuſed for executing Juſtice ſummarily, and without the tedious Formalities of Law, when the Neceſſity of Things requires Haſte, and the Party flies from Juſtice, and his Confederates are numerous and daring, and the Prince's Life in Danger.

But this I will ſay, that, if the Parliament have Power in this Thing, which I need not prove, by ſhewing, that the ordinary Courſe of Law allows Heirs to be diſinherited of Fines and Recoveries, and that the Parliament, in all Ages, has frequently done it by making Acts to alter the ſtrongeſt Settlements, where Equity has dictated it, though the Heirs were never, in any Wiſe, criminal: *There*, according to Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Opinion, *the People are bound, in Conſcience, to obey their Laws, and muſt not pretend to enquire whether they were made upon juſt Grounds*. For by the ſame Reaſon they may pretend that all other Laws were made without juſt Cauſe, and refuſe Obedience to any of them. And ſurely thoſe, that ſhould do ſo, would be an excellent *Loyal Party*. God defend this Nation from ſuch Loyalty, as oppoſes itſelf to the Laws.

Advice to a Soldier, in two Letters, written to an Officer in the *Engliſh* Army, proper to be expoſed at the preſent Time, while the Peace of *Chriſtendom* (if not the Liberty of it,) ſeems to be very ſhort-lived.

[From a *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages, printed at *London*, by *John Shadd*, 1680.]

The Firſt of theſe Letters endeavours to convince every Candidate for a Field-Commiſſion, That he is petitioning, not for a ſmall and trivial Matter, but for a Preferment, on the due Execution of which depends his own and his King's and Nation's Welfare; and that therefore the Author adviſeth every one firſt to engage a Voluntier in ſome Action in the Wars, before that he accepts of the Poſt of the meaneſt Officer; becauſe the Military Arts *of* Battles *and* Sieges *are as little to be learned by Reading and Theory, as any other wordly Employment; and they that have the Commiſſion, and muſt be beholden to the Inſtruction and Direction of a Subaltern in the Execution of their Duty, lie ſubject to this Dilemma,* To loſe the Credit of their Succeſs when Fortune favours, or to bear the Blame when it happens otherwiſe.

The Second Letter contains the Moral Part of Military Diſcipline; and that not only in Regard to the Soldiers in General, but to the Officers in Particular. And they are both not only now, but at all Times, worthy the Peruſal of the Gentlemen, who ſerve their King and Country with their Hearts and Swords.

The

The first Letter to a young Gentlemen, who, by the Mediation of great Friends, had obtained the Grant of a considerable Command in the English *Army, against the prevailing Power of* France, *in the Year* 1678.

My dear Friend,

I Do highly approve the Resolution you have taken to serve his Majesty in the Wars, if any happen, it being a Duty which every good Subject owes him, especially the Gentry, who derive all their Streams of Honour from that Original Fountain: But it may possibly seem strange, that, while all the rest of your Friends are congratulating your good Fortune, in the Preferment proferred you, I only shew myself dissatisfied; I will assure you I am so far from envying your Promotion, that no Man living does more heartily desire it than myself; it is the Reality of my Friendship make me jealous, that Preferment is arrived at your Port, before you are ready, before you are fit for it: It is no small or trivial Matter which he undertakes who receives a Commission from the King, how light soever you and other young Gentlemen think of it; and I should not be worthy any Place in your Esteem, if I did not deal very candidly and plainly with you. And in the first Place I will tell you, *He cannot be a fit Man to command, who knows not the Duty of those that are to obey him.*

I doubt not but you have read Books relating to War, and may understand something of the Theory of it, but all the Reading in the Universe will not enable a Man to perform well the meanest of the Mechanick Arts; we usually allow seven Years Experience for attaining the Skill to make Shoes, *&c.* and do you believe that the Military Science (upon the Success whereof depends the Safety or the Ruin, the Standing or Falling of Towns and Cittadels, Kingdoms and Empires) is to be learned amidst the Softnesses and Ease of Courts, and rich Cities, and Reposing on the Laps of Ladies? or by the imperfect Ideas of a Battle, and a Siege represented in a Play? or at best by a little superficial Reading of Commentaries? No, the Art of War is to be attained by other Methods and Means more studious, more laborious, more manly; and, if you accept of a Command at this Time, it is odds that you neither efficaciously serve the King, nor yourself; not the King, *for the Obtaining Preferments by Favour, without Merit, is the greatest Discouragement in the World, to Men of low Fortunes and high Spirits, and such, in Times of Danger, are the usefullest Men to a Common-wealth*; who, having served many Years in the Wars, and made themselves capable of the greatest Offices, shall on the sudden find themselves defeated, by such young Gentlemen as you; although, if you come to speedy Action, you must necessarily be baffled, and disappoint his Majesty's Service, or else owe your Success wholly to Chance, for which none but Fools will commend you. You cannot serve yourself, because the main Thing you aim at is Honour: Now you must know, *they lie under a vulgar Error, who think that to have a great Office, or great Title, is sufficient not to make a Man Honourable. True Honour does so much consist in possessing great Offices, or great Titles, as in the using those great Titles, and in discharging those great Offices so, as the Prince may be well and faithfully served, and the publick Good advanced and promoted.*

Which can never be done by one who wants Experience, unless, as I said before, it be by Chance, or by the discreeter Menage of the Under-officers. I will add further, that what Miscarriage soever happens under you, will be imputed, right or wrong, to your Want of Conduct, and the Credit of all good Service you do, shall be carried away by those of your Officers who have more Skill, even then when they do not deserve it. Wherefore my Advice is, if you would serve your Prince and your Country, as becomes a good Subject and a Gentleman; if you would bring an Addition of Honour to yourself and Family; *let your Advancement be the Reward, rather than the Obligation of your Merit.* Content yourself, for a Time, to serve as a private Gentleman, a Voluntier, and you will find, that one Year's Experience, in Time of Action, will instruct you better than twenty Year's Reading without it. It has been always my Manner to express my Mind freely, and so I do now, when I assure you, I am,

London, Aug. 20, 1678.

Your faithful Friend.

A Second

A Second Letter to the ſame young Gentleman, after he had received his Commiſſion, wherein is chiefly diſcourſed the Moral Part of Military Diſcipline.

My dear Friend,

IT ſeems, before my Letter came to your Hands, you had received the Commiſſion, from which I was too late endeavouring to diſſuade you; the wiſeſt Men do many Things in their Lives, which they are ſorry for when done, but cannot undo without greater Diſadvantage: This Act of yours I look on to be one of thoſe; it was the Deſire of Honour made you take a Commiſſion, and though now you wiſh it had been deferred till another Time; yet, ſince you have put your Hand to the Plough, you muſt not look back, you cannot lay it down without Shame, without Diſparagement. Therefore, I will give you ſuch general Advice as I can; for particular or practical, you know, I do not pretend to.

It will be impoſſible for you, at firſt, to conceal your Unſkilfulneſs in Arms, from your Men, and therefore all Attempts of that Nature will be fruitleſs and ridiculous; wherefore it will be your beſt Way to own it, to ſuch of your Officers as are ingenious, and do not think it any Diſparagement to learn of your Inferiors. *It is no Shame not to know that which one has not had the Opportunity of Learning; but it is ſcandalous to profeſs Knowledge and remain ignorant.*

In regard your Experience in Martial Matters is green, as well as your Years, it will be needful that you uſe all the Helps you can, to make ſome Amends for that Defect.

And, firſt, I would have you get intimately acquainted with ſome of the beſt of our *Engliſh* Officers, eſpecially ſome of thoſe who have been either on the Side of *France* or *Holland*, or both, engaged in the preſent War of *Chriſtendom*; and by a frequent Converſe with them, and by your own heedful Obſervation, you may the ſooner make a good Improvement of your Time; and you would do well to get yourſelf provided with ſome of the beſt Books, deſcribing the modern Way of Military Diſcipline, for Books are great Aſſiſtances to thoſe who every Day compare their Reading and Practice.

When you have made a Choice of Perſons with whom you intend to be intimate, be careful you are not by any of them drawn into private or particular Quarrels; and if any ſuch Accident happens in your Preſence, between others, endeavour what you can to compoſe, not widen the Breach: If the Difference grow ſo high, that nothing leſs than a Duel can reconcile the Feud in Point of Honour, make them ſenſible what a Shame it is for Men of true Merit, to receive the Laws of Honour from faint Effeminates, the Hectors and Huffs of the Town, who poſſeſs none themſelves but what they are indebted for to their Schools of Honour and Morality, the Play-houſes; aſk with what Juſtice they can expect the King's Pay, or hope for his Favour, or his Pardon, while they ſhew ſuch Contempt of him and his Laws, and hazard their Lives in a Quarrel, deſtructive to his Service. Remind them that the *French*, the great Promoters of Duelling in a more puſillanimous Age, having now ſhaken off former Fooleries, and put on the Bravery of a warlike People; look on that Man who offers to ſend a Challenge, as a Fellow fit to be kicked by their Foot-boys, and that is the uſual Way the Gentry of *France* think themſelves obliged in Honour to anſwer him. He who charges moſt briſkly at the Head of his Troops; he who firſt mounts the Enemy's Wall, and he who is forwardeſt in Attacking their Fortifications, are the only Men among them, who now obtain the Title and the Eſteem of Honourable.

But if you meet with any ſo fond of falſe Honour, ſo falſe to the Principles of Loyalty and true Glory, that no Reaſon can divert them, even in a foreign Country, from Aſſiſting the Enemy, by diminiſhing our Strength, and making Factions in our own Party; let them alone by themſelves to deſtroy one another, for it is Pity they ſhould live, and it is Pity they ſhould die by any worthier Hands than thoſe of the Hang-man or their own.

If you would ever arrive at greater Preferment than you have, or deſerve that which his Majeſty has already beſtowed, you muſt be beholden for it chiefly to the Valour and Affection of your Soldiers; therefore endeavour, what you can, to get them their Pay in due Seaſon, and, if that cannot be done, at leaſt let them ſee that it is not your Fault; obſerve and abhor

hor the Example of ſome others, who detain the Soldiers Wages, the Price of their Blood, and throw it away on the Turn of a Dye, or ſpend it profuſely on their Pride and their Luſts.

Deſpiſe all baſe Ways of inriching yourſelf, either by cheating the King with falſe Muſters, or defrauding or abridging your Men any Part of their Due; ſuch Practices have been the Undoing of many a good Cauſe, and are ſo far more worthy a Gallows, than common Robberies, by how much the Loſs of a Battle is more conſiderable than the Loſs of a Bag of Money, and the Ruin of the Publick, than that of a private ſingle Perſon. Conſider, your Men are equal Sharers in the Danger, though not in the Profit or Honour of the War; and that as you are the Head, they are the Body, containing, beſide the Trunk, the uſefulleſt Members, Hands, Arms, Legs, and Feet, without whoſe executive Power, all your contriving Faculties will prove inſignificant; ſo that you muſt not think you diſcharge the Duty of a good or prudent Commander, when you only ſhew yourſelf bold, and bring them on bravely to Battle; your Care muſt be, both before and afterwards, to ſee that they have as wholeſome Food (and Phyſick when it needs) and as good Quarters as the Place will afford; and ſince *Engliſh* Conſtitutions cannot ſo eaſily endure Famine, as the People born and bred up in leſs plentiful Countries; you muſt make it a principal Part of your Endeavours, to have them ſufficiently provided, and when upon any Action, your Under-officers or others have deſerved well, you ought to uſe your Intereſt to get them encouraged and promoted.

A good Commander will uſe his Soldiers, juſt as a good Father uſes his Children; and he who governs otherwiſe, through Covetouſneſs, Negligence, Pride, or Ill-nature, ſhall never get any great Honour himſelf, nor ever do any Service conſiderable, for his King or Country.

But though I would have you love your Men well, becauſe you can do nothing without them, I would not have you ſpoil them with overmuch Kindneſs. *It is the wiſe Diſpenſing of Rewards and Puniſhments, which keeps the World in good Order. They never had their Buſineſs well done, who through an Exceſs of Goodneſs reward mean Services too highly, or puniſh great Miſcarriages too lightly.* Therefore, as you muſt take Care of the Back and the Belly, the Pay and Proviſion of your Soldiers, ſo you ought to be very ſevere in your Diſcipline; the two former will gain you the Love of your Men, the latter their Fear, and all mixed together, produce compleat Obedience. Or, to expreſs it better in the Martial Phraſe, *Pay well, and hang well, makes a good Soldier.*

The frequent Company of Women, and the tippling ſtrong Liquors, debilitate both the Mind and Body of a Soldier, rendering him ſoft and effeminate, laſy and ſickly, unapt and unfit for heroick Exploits. Reſtrain, therefore, as much as may be, the Debaucheries of your Men, and be careful to refrain your own, and take this along with you as a general Rule; that, *when you teach your Men to live innocent, you do at the ſame Time make them valiant.*

To the End you may with greater Facility effect ſo good a Deſign, you ought to be always attended with a good Chaplain; and if I were worthy to adviſe your General, I would beg him to be as careful in the Choice of his Chaplains as his Captains. Nay, I would adventure to ſay, they are as neceſſary, and many Times have done, and may again, as largely contribute towards the obtaining happy Succeſſes. And now there is as great an Occaſion for able Divines in our Army and Navy, as ever there was, ſince *England* profeſſed *Chriſtianity*. *For the Fops of this Age, under the Notion of Wits, endeavour to buffoon Religion out of Countenance; talk Blaſphemy and Atheiſm, in common Diſcourſe, ſpeak Treaſon againſt the Majeſty of Heaven, a Crime which no Prince upon Earth will endure, at an eaſier Rate than mortal Puniſhment.* And ſo while nothing is allowed for faſhionable Wit, which is not atheiſtical, or prophane, or impudently immodeſt; the young Gentry, fond of that fooliſh Humour, called *witty*, are in a fair Way to be debauched. *For what ſhall reſtrain their Exorbitancies, who have learned to deſpiſe the ſupernal Power?* And by their ill Example, a Door is ſet wide open, to let in, among the Vulgar, all the Lewdneſſes and Immoralities in the World.

Therefore you ſhould chuſe for a Chaplain a Man reſerved in his Life, grave in his Deportment, fixed in his Principles, and faithful to his Prince; one that will not be abaſhed, when Fools deride him; one that will not be afraid to exhort and reprove, as Occaſion requires; one that is patient enough to endure Scorn and Reproach, and bold enough to oppoſe himſelf againſt the greateſt Torrent of Impiety. And then you ought to ſhew him Reſpect, as unto the

the Meſſenger of God, and to ſee that the Martial Laws relating to Religion, and good Order, be put in Execution; which truly of late have been juſt ſo obſerved, as if they had been purpoſely made to be broken. If you begin the good Example, you ſhall hardly need to compel your Men to follow; they will be aſhamed to be vicious, if their Commander be virtuous; *And Shame is a more effectual Way to reform Vice, than pecuniary Penalties, or corporal Pains.*

By this Means the Lives of many Men will be ſaved, who otherwiſe, to ſupport their Vices, neglect their Duty, commit Thefts, and Robberies, and Rapes, and the like; and bring themſelves under the Laſh of Martial Law, great Puniſhments and ignominious Deaths.

You ſhould be as frequent and regular, at your publick Prayers, as Time and your Affairs will permit; eſpecially neglect it not before a Battle, or other great Undertaking. *For Prayer, by a ſtrange and ſecret Influence, (which none can tell but they who uſe it) brings from Heaven new Life, and Vigour, and Courage to the moſt weak and timorous.*

And now I have happened to ſpeak of Courage, that neceſſary Qualification in a Soldier, I will give you my Opinion what it is, and whence it uſually ariſes.

Courage is either Active, or Paſſive, and both are as uſeful for a Soldier, as a Sword and a Target. Active is that which does prompt and excite a Man, to the Undertaking and Attempting great and hazardous Enterpriſes. And Paſſive is a certain even Temper and Frame of Mind, which dangerous Accidents cannot diſcompoſe, or divert from his intended Purpoſe. On the Contrary, Fear amazes and diſtracts, and diſappoints the wiſeſt Counſels, and moſt deliberate Deſigns; hurrying Men into the Danger they think to avoid, or into greater; as the *Hart* in the Fable, to eſcape the Dogs, ſought Shelter in the Lion's Den; ſo it commonly happens in Battles, that thoſe Men are killed in Flight, who, by keeping the Field, might have won the Victory; and it is frequent for a Coward, who runs away from a Sword, to ſtumble upon a Halter.

Inconſiderate Raſhneſs is by ſome Men called Courage, when it produces the like Effect, but is in Truth no better than Madneſs, and I intend only to ſpeak of that Courage, which is the Product of Reaſon.

True Courage ſprings from a Contempt of Death, or an Opinion that one ſhall not die. Contempt of Death ariſes from a Confidence in God's Mercy, or a Conſideration of Honour, or both. Confidence in God's Mercy will naturally grow as the Fruit and Effect of a good and virtuous Life, and *thoſe Men will be afraid of nothing, who are and who believe themſelves to be under the ſacred Protection of Almighty God.* And when Honour (or the Thirſt after publick Fame for Well-doing) is added, I think there is all, which is neceſſary to make a Man truly courageous. Honour by itſelf (I mean a great Title or publick Applauſe) is but an empty Name, (not valued by wiſe Men, ſave only when it comes as the juſt Reward of Virtue, the Fruit of worthy Performances) and the Apprehenſions of Death and Damnation are two weighty Things, when nothing but that empty Name is put in the Balance againſt them; now *there are but a few Atheiſts in the World ſo thorough-paced, as to have totally extinguiſhed the Fears of a future Being*; however they may boaſt of it, when no Danger ſeems to be near them. I have ſeen ſome of thoſe Gallants, who talk nothing but Honour, in the Middle of a Sea-fight, look as ſilly as Sheep, and ſneak themſelves behind the Main-maſt.

But the far greater Number of thoſe, who go to the Wars, are perſuaded they ſhall not be killed, and that Opinion is the Cauſe of their Courage, which, having a Foundation ſo liable to Uncertainty, is eaſily overturned by a little adverſe Fortune: For when the Battle grows hot, when Death preſents itſelf in Diverſity of Shapes; when one loſes a Leg, and another both his Arms, and a Third is ſhot off in the Middle: When Men and Horſes confuſedly come tumbling down together, and a Man's beſt Friends lie bleeding by his Side, then that Confidence, which was groundleſs, vaniſhes of its own Accord, and quickly follows Diſorder and Rout, and down-right Running away.

No Man can promiſe himſelf before a Battle, that he ſhall be alive afterwards, and *every prudent Man ſhould be provided, not only for that which muſt, but as near as one can, for that which may happen.* I mean every prudent Man ſhould think it may be his Turn to be killed as ſoon as another, and therefore ſhould endeavour beforehand to keep himſelf from all horrid, flagitious, enormous Crimes, ſuch as hinder one in Times of greateſt Danger, from aſking or hoping for God's Mercy, and make a valiant Man turn Coward.

I have inſiſted the more on this Particular, becauſe we have lived to ſee the beſt King, having the beſt Cauſe in the World, ruined by his own rebellious Subjects, towards which Ruin, I have been told, the Irregularities of ſome of the Loyal Party did in a great Meaſure contribute.

And becauſe it is reported, by ſome and believed by many, that Piety and Devotion, Virtue and Religion, are only to be found amongſt thoſe who are Diſſenters from, or Enemies to the Church of *England*: I would perſuade you, my dear Friend, by your own Practice, to endeavour the contradicting that wicked Aſſertion: I would fain have you as eminent for your Piety, as your Native Bravery, and let one add Reputation to the other. King *David* among the *Jews*, *Scipio Africanus* among the *Romans*, and King *Henry the Fifth* among the *Engliſh*, were, in their Times, the moſt pious and moſt proſperous Generals in the World.

It is very convenient, I think I may ſay neceſſary, that your Men be poſſeſſed with the Juſtice of the Cauſe they fight for: Let them be told by your Chaplain this Truth, that they are doing God's Work, by endeavouring to reſtore thoſe to Right, who ſuffer Wrong; to bring an univerſal Peace to *Chriſtendom*, and preſerve it from falling into the Slavery, wherewith, at this Time, it ſeems to be threatened; to put an End to that Blood and Slaughter, Ruin and Devaſtation, which it has, for ſeveral Years paſt, ſuffered under.

You may alſo do well, at convenient Times, to relate to your Officers and Men, the great Things their Anceſtors formerly performed in *France*, and be ſtirring them up to a like Emulation: But I cannot by any Means, approve of their Policy, who perſuade their Men to deſpiſe their Enemies; inſtead of that, I would have you let them know, that they are not now to fight againſt *France*, lulled a-ſleep by a long Peace, and drowned in the Pleaſures of Eaſe and Idleneſs; but againſt *France* awakened, grown watchful and wiſe; againſt Men, whom a long War has made Martial, and taught to be as good Soldiers, perhaps, as are in the World; and againſt Men, who have taken the ſtrongeſt Towns in *Chriſtendom*, with greater Facility, and defended them, with greater Obſtinacy, than any of their Enemies, with whom they have hitherto been contending.

In my Opinion, *the Contempt of a crafty Enemy is one of the greateſt Advantages you can give him*, and he who commands valiant Men, as the *Engliſh* are, need not be afraid to make them ſenſible of Danger; it will rather ſerve to inflame, than abate their natural Courage; whereas, if they be taught to ſlight their Enemy, they will be apt to think of a Victory without Labour, without Dangers; ſuch an Imagination will teach them to be careleſs, and Careleſneſs will lay them open to inevitable Ruin and Deſtruction. But you muſt not dwell too long on this Subject, you muſt put them in Mind, that, although the *French* are politick and powerful, they are yet very far from invincible; their Courage will give Way, when attacked by Men of Reſolution, who are not afraid of Dying (the Truth whereof appears by the Shock and Diſappointment they lately received before *Mons.*) And Atchievements againſt them will be ſo much more glorious, by how much they ſeem more difficult and dangerous.

Remember your Soldiers how unkindly the *French* uſed ſome of their Fellows, who had faithfully ſerved them many Years, and to whom they owed a good Part of their Succeſs; uſe any Arguments which may heighten their Courage, or whet Revenge, to a ſharp and vigorous Proſecution; and always let them know, they are in a Place, where they muſt owe their Safety and Succeſs, and the very Bread they eat, only to the Effects of their own Valour and Vigilance.

The Seaſon for Action, this Year, is now almoſt over, however you ſhould not be abſent from your Men oftener, or longer than you need, although you have Nothing for them to do; for *vulgar Minds are generally buſy, and depraved, and will rather be contriving Ill, than doing Nothing:* It will therefore be an Act worthy your Prudence, to exerciſe them at convenient Times (above what is uſual) in Matches at Leaping, Running, Wreſtling, Shooting at Marks, or any other manly and innocent Sports, which may render them healthy, and hardy, and give them no Leiſure to ſtudy Mutinies, or other Miſchief.

If thus by your Example, by the Strictneſs of your Diſcipline, by the Veneration you ſhew Religion, by the Encouragement you afford the Diſpenſer of it, you can perſuade or compel your Men to live well and temperate, you will find when you come to fight, that Soldiers

ſo

ſo well paid and provided for, ſo kindly uſed, and ſo ſtrictly diſciplined, and prudently managed, will enter Trenches, mount Walls and Fortifications, endure ſteadily the Shock of Enemies, run upon the Mouths of Cannons, and perform Actions becoming gallant Men, even ſuch as ſeem to others impoſſible.

For your own Part.

As long as you have a ſuperior Commander, you muſt be a punctual Obſerver of Orders, and, when you are employed on any particular Deſign, endeavour to get your Orders in Writing; ſo may you beſt avoid committing Miſtakes, and beſt ſecure yourſelf from fathering the Miſtakes of other Men. In any Thing, eſpecially if the Hazard be eminent, never attempt leſs than you are commanded, and, without a very good Reaſon, do not attempt more; for, in ſuch Caſe, if it ſucceed well, you ſhall only *ſhare* the Honour; but, if ill, you ſhall bear *all* the Blame by yourſelf.

In a Word, when it depends on your Choice be wary in Undertaking, ſpeedy in proſecuting your Deſign: *Caution in Reſolution, and Quickneſs in Execution, being the two greateſt Characters of a wiſe Man.*

Thus, my dear Friend, I have touched upon ſeveral Particulars, which I did not think of, when I firſt ſet Pen to Paper, and doubt I have too much exceeded the Limits of a modeſt Letter; and perhaps a great Part, if not all of it, will be rendered uſeleſs to you, by a General Peace, which is the End of his Majeſty's Arming; and if it can be had on ſafe and reaſonably Terms, without more Contending, is that which all good Men ought to wiſh and pray for. If it happen otherwiſe, I ſhall then venture to write you Something elſe, in another Strain, which for the Preſent is not convenient. I hope you will accept kindly, what is kindly intended, from

Your faithful Friend and

Aug. 30th, 1678.

Servant.

A Letter from a Miniſter to his Friend, concerning the *Game of Cheſs.*

[From a broad Side, printed at *London*, in the Year 1680.]

SIR,

I Here ſend you my *Reaſons* for my Diſuſing and Declining the *Game of Cheſs.* This I premiſe, that I think *Recreation* to be *in itſelf lawful*, yea, that like Phyſick it *is* to ſome Perſons, and in ſome Caſes *very needful.* Alſo that this Game of Cheſs is not only lawful, but it may be the moſt ingenious and delightful that ever was invented. Others ſeem to be calculated for Children, this for Men; in moſt others there is much of *Contingency*, in this there is nothing but *Art.* But, though it be never ſo *lawful* and *eligible in itſelf*, yet *to me* it is *inexpedient.* And there are ſome particular Reaſons why I am fallen out with this Exerciſe, and, I believe, ſhall never be reconciled to it again; and they are ſuch as follow:

I. It is a great *Time-waſter:* How many precious Hours (which can never be recalled) have I profuſely ſpent in this Game? O Cheſs, I will be avenged of thee for the Loſs of my Time! It is a true Saying, That it is more neceſſary Thriftineſs to be ſparing and ſaving of Time than of Money. One offered on his Death-bed a World of Wealth, for an Inch of Time; and another, with great Earneſtneſs, cried out, when ſhe lay a dying, *Call Time again! Call Time again!* This I heard, ſays a worthy Miniſter, and I think the Sound of it will be in my Ears ſo long as I live.

II. It hath had with me a *faſcinating* Property; I have been bewitched by it; when I have begun, I have not had the Power to give over. Though a Thing be never ſo *lawful*, yet I ought not to ſuffer myſelf to be *brought under the Power of it*. I will not uſe it, till I find I can refuſe it. Reaſon and Religion ſhall order my Recreation.

III. It hath not *done with me*, when I have *done with it*. It hath followed me into my Study, into my Pulpit; when I have been praying or preaching, I have (in my Thoughts) been playing at Cheſs; then I have had, as it were, a Cheſs-board before my Eyes; then I have been thinking how I might have obtained the Stratagems of my Antagoniſt, or make ſuch and ſuch Motions to his Diſadvantage; nay, I have heard of one who was playing at Cheſs in his Thoughts (as appeared by his Words) when he lay a dying.

IV. It hath cauſed me to *break many ſolemn Reſolutions*, nay, *Vows* and *Promiſes*. Sometimes I have obliged myſelf, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, to play but ſo many Mates at a Time, or with any one Perſon, and anon I have broken theſe Obligations and Promiſes, and after Vows of that Kind I have made Enquiry how I might evade them; and have ſinfully prevaricated in that Matter; and that not once only but often.

V. It hath *wounded my Conſcience*, and *broken my Peace*. I have had ſad Reflexions upon it, when I have been moſt ſerious. I find, if I were now to die, the Remembrance of this Game would greatly trouble me, and ſtare me in the Face. I have read in the Life of the famous *John Huſs*, how he was greatly troubled, *for his Uſing of this Game*, a little before his Death.

VI. My Uſing † of it hath been *ſcandalous* and *offenſive to others*. Some godly Friends (as I have underſtood) have been grieved by it; and others (as I have Reaſon to fear) have been hardened by it. Great Inconveniences have ariſen from the Places where, and the Perſons with whom I have uſed this Game.

VII. My Uſing of it hath *occaſioned much Sin*, as Paſſion, Strife, idle (if not lying) Words, in myſelf or my Antagoniſt, or both. It hath cauſed the *Neglect* of many *Duties* both to God and Man.

VIII. My Uſing of it doth evince, I have *little Self-denial* in me. If I cannot deny myſelf in a fooliſh Game, how can I think I either do or ſhall deny myſelf in greater Matters? How ſhall I *forſake all for Chriſt*, when I cannot forſake a Recreation for him?

IX. My Uſing it is altogether *needleſs* and *unneceſſary* to me. As it hinders my Soul's Health, ſo it doth not further my bodily Health. Such is my Conſtitution (being corpulent and phlegmatick) that, if I need any Exerciſe, it is that, which is ſtirring and labouring. I cannot propound any End to myſelf in the Uſe of it, but the *Pleaſing of my Fleſh*.

X. My Uſing of it hath occaſioned (at Times) ſome little *Expence of Money*. This is the leaſt, and therefore I mention it laſt. I ſhould think much to give that to *relieve* others Wants, that I have *waſted* this Way at ſeveral Times upon my own Wantonneſs.

I conclude with the Paſſage of Mr. *Baxter*, in his *Chriſtian Direction*, p. 464. Thus he writes: ‘ I know not one Perſon of an Hun-
‘ dred, or of many Hundreds, that *needeth* any
‘ Game at all, there are ſuch Variety of better
‘ Exerciſes at Hand to recreate them. And it
‘ is a Sin to *idle away* any Time, which we can
‘ better improve. I confeſs, my own Nature
‘ was as much addicted to Playfulneſs as moſt,
‘ and my Judgment alloweth ſo much Recrea-
‘ tion as is *needful to my Health and Labour*, and
‘ *no more*; but for all that, I find *no Need* of any
‘ Game to *recreate* me. When my Mind wants
‘ Recreation, I have Variety of recreating
‘ Books, and Friends, and Buſineſs to do; that,
‘ when my Body needeth not it, the hardeſt La-
‘ bour, that I can bear, is my beſt Recreation;
‘ *Walking* is inſtead of Games and Sports, as pro-
‘ fitable to my Body, and more to my Mind.
‘ If I am alone, I may improve that Time
‘ in *Meditation*; if with others, I may im-
‘ prove it in *profitable chearful Conference*. I
‘ condemn not *all* Sports and Games *in others*,
‘ but I find *none* of them all to be beſt for *myſelf*.
‘ And when I obſerve how far the Temper and
‘ Life of *Chriſt*, and his beſt Servants, was from
‘ ſuch Recreations, I avoid them with the more
‘ Suſpicion. And I ſee but few but diſtaſte it
‘ in Miniſters (even *Shooting*, *Bowling*, and *ſuch*
‘ more healthful Games, to ſay nothing of theſe
‘ and ſuch others as fit not the End of Recreati-

* Being a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and charged with the Care of Souls.

‘ on)

'on) therefore, there is ſomewhat in it that *Nature* itſelf hath ſome Suſpicion of. That *Student*, that needeth *Cheſs* or *Cards* to pleaſe his *Mind*, I doubt hath a *carnal empty Mind*; if God, and all his Books, and all his Friends, *&c.* cannot ſuffice for this, there is ſome Diſeaſe in it that ſhould rather be cured than pleaſed. And for the *Body*, it is *another Kind* of Exerciſe that profits it.'

A Dialogue between the Cities of *London* and *Paris*, in Relation to the preſent Poſture of Affairs, rendered into Verſe, and made applicable to the Diſturbances which now ſeem to threaten the Peace of *Europe*. Written by a Perſon who has no Money to pay Taxes in Caſe of a War.

[From a *Folio* Edition, containing thirteen Pages, printed at *London*, 1701.]

The PREFACE.

Prefaces have formerly been made Uſe of to clear up ſome Obſcurities which have crept into the Body of the Books they belonged to, and let the Reader into the Author's Deſign. But as there is no Occaſion for ſuch a Plea, either to vindicate my preſent Intentions, or illuſtrate what is ſo obvious to every Man's Underſtanding, that has any Knowledge from the News-Papers of the publick Tranſactions, I ſhall forbear making Comments in Proſe, *upon that which is no otherwiſe clouded with* Verſe, *than the common Performances that run about the Town ſo merrily, as Pieces of Scandal have of late.*

I ought, indeed, to account for my making Cities *ſpeak, when their Inhabitants have Tongues loud and capable enough of expreſſing their Diſſatisfactions at ſome Proceedings, which are like to embroil them in a new War, and be very burthenſome to their Pockets, which they, probably, might wiſh to have loaden with more agreeable Things than Taxes, which are the likelieſt Methods imaginable to make them too light for thoſe whom they belong to: But ſince* Chaucer's Birds *and* Beaſts *have lately been talkative, and ſpoke their Minds with a Sort of Aſſurance and Freedom, I preſume I may take the Liberty to give* Stones *the ſame Privilege, which is altogether as Poetical. But as ſome Expreſſions, probably, may give Occaſion to ſome People who are Subjects for Satyre, and make them very ready to run down and decry them, ſo I muſt let them know ſomething of my Sentiments, and acquaint them, that its two Combatants Buſineſs to try which can cut deepeſt, and it has been the Cuſtom of every* Roman *Gladiator, to take Care,* Ne Parma caderet, *that he ſhould not drop his Guard, and lay himſelf open to his Enemy's Attacks. This, I hope, will excuſe the Freedom one City takes with another; and ſince he, who has ſet them together by the Ears, has taken Care, like a* true-born Engliſhman, *to ſtate the Caſe ſo, as to make his own Countryman's Side the ſtrongeſt, it is hoped, the* Engliſh *Reader will*

give

give the Deſign his favourable Interpretation, eſpecially ſince the Author has as little to get by a War (being no Military Man) as he has hitherto got by the Peace.

LONDON.

THOU City, whoſe aſpiring Turrets riſe,
And next to mine are neareſt to the Skies,
Tell me from whence our mutual Diſcord flows,
And two ſo near ally'd * muſt act like Foes?

PARIS.

Ah! Siſter, while we two divided ſtand,
And *diff'rently* ſupport a *diff'rent* Land,
While *Holland*'s Quarrels *England*'s Treaſures drain,
And *France* remits her *Louis d'Ors* to *Spain*,
What Hopes are left of ſeeing Peace reſtor'd,
Or that our Rival Kings will ſheathe the Sword?

LONDON.

Our Kings will ſurely do as Sov'reigns ſhou'd,
That earneſtly advance their *Subjects Good*;
Not ſeek for Meaſures to perplex the Throne,
And for another's Quiet loſe their own.
Suppoſe two diſtant Countries can't agree,
What are *their private Feuds* to you or me?
E'en let 'em *by themſelves* maintain the Fight,
And each with Arms in Hand aſſert its Right;
We, that are Neighbours, ſhould like Neighbours prove,
And ſtudy Commerce, as we practiſe Love.

PARIS.

But Ties of Blood, and Friendſhip's Laws, enjoin
Thoſe that are *Philip*'s † En'mies ſhould be mine;
Here the young Prince firſt ſuck'd the vital Air,
Ordain'd from hence to fill the Regal Chair,
And ought, from hence, to be with Aid ſupply'd,
Since Juſtice, Birth, and Merit take his Side.
Yonder 's a Land ‡, from whence your Monarch drew
His Infant-breath, and is that Land untrue?
What e'er he ſpeaks or acts has their Applauſe,
And Life and Fortune wait upon his Cauſe;
While he for Arbiter of Fate is own'd,
And reigns a *Sov'reign* ‖ where he 's not *inthron'd*.
Why ſhould not my Affection be the ſame,
Since there is no Diſtinction in their Claim,

* In Situation and Greatneſs.
† *Philip*, Duke of *Anjou*, now King of *Spain*.
‡ *Holland*.
‖ Stadtholder.

As I a Native's Right with Zeal purſue,
And practiſe what ſhould be perform'd by you?

LONDON.

'Tis own'd that Natives ſhould for Natives ſtand,
Where Nature pleads, and Juſtice binds a Land;
But when a Prince, by mean clandeſtine Ways,
Aſcends a Royal Throne, and Scepter ſways;
When Vows and Oaths are reckon'd Things of Courſe,
And a *forg'd Will* * is valid and of Force,
Your Bonds and Obligations are as void,
As if a Foreigner the Throne enjoy'd;
Since what's unjuſt deſerves an equal Scorn,
From thoſe in *France*, as thoſe without it born;
If Perjury 's the ſame in diff'rent Climes,
And *Paris* ſhould abhor *Pariſian*'s † Crimes.
Such is thy *Philip*———when my *William*'s Name
Fills ev'ry Tongue and ſwells the Voice of Fame.
Bold is his Soul, yet peaceful is *his* Mind,
Forgetful of himſelf for human Kind;
Ready for War, when Honour ſounds Alarms,
But, for his Subjects Eaſe, averſe to Arms,
Unleſs their Safety wings him to the Field,
And Kingdoms ſkreen themſelves behind his Shield.
As *Lewis* graſps at the terreſtrial Ball ‡,
And's not content to riſe, unleſs we fall.

PARIS.

Preſumptuous Wretch, thy baſe Reflexions ſpare,
Monarchs, like mine, are Heav'n's peculiar Care,
As Heav'n's Vicegerents they its Image bear.
Born to be Kings *by God's own Act* ‖ they reign.
And from their *high Deſcent* their Scepters gain:
Not call'd to govern by the *People's Choice*,
Or holding Crowns *precarious* from their Voice:
Survey my Prince, if thou can'ſt bear the Sight
Of Lineaments, ſo awful and ſo bright,
And ſtand amaz'd at Features that ſurpriſe
The moſt audacious Looks and daring Eyes,
And vindicate their Kindred to the Skies.
Is there a Line ignoble in his Face,
Or what's degenerate from *Bourbon*'s Race?
Is there a Thought admitted to his Soul,
That prompts him to commit a Deed that's foul?

* See this well explained in the Rights of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, beginning on Page 198, in this Collection.

† Alluding to the bloody *Bartholomew* Maſſacre of the Proteſtants at *Paris*, at a Time, when all ſeemed to live in Peace.

‡ Univerſal Monarchy. ‖ This is the Doctrine of abſolute Monarchs, who pretend to an hereditary Right, not only to the Crown, but to the Liberties and Properties of their Subjects, *by Divine Right*, or that they are commiſſioned by God to *inſlave* their Subjects

Or can a Mind ſo prodigally good,
That has for other's Rights ſo bravely ſtood;
That Kings exil'd maintains within his Court,
And gives thy *abdicated Prince* * Support;
Submit to Methods of ſo vile a Fame,
When Armies might make good his *Grandſon's* † Claim,
And Troops innumerable ſeize a Crown,
Which muſt have been *without a Will* ‡ his own?
He ſwore, indeed, excluſive of his Right,
And promis'd *France* and *Spain* ſhould ne'er unite;
And ſtill he keeps religious to his Oath,
Since there are different Kings that govern both,
And in their ſeparate Thrones diſtinctly ſhine,
Tho' both proceed from one illuſtrious Line.

LONDON.

Not that I'd wrongfully crown'd Heads abuſe,
Or due Reſpect to regal Titles loſe,
But, when *fictitious* Births, as *true*, are feign'd,
And *Bourbon's* Blood with *Mazarine's* is ſtain'd.
When a Queen's Fame a juſt Suſpicion brings,
And luſtful Prieſts beget laſcivious Kings,
I ſtand excus'd, and guiltleſs are my Thoughts,
If I affirm a certain King has Faults,
And fall off from the Deference he might claim,
Did not the Father's Birth the Mother's ſhame;
As the lewd Stateſman ‖ took his Maſter's Place,
And daſh'd with Infamy the Regal Race.

All muſt allow, as it by all is known,
That *Lewis* was begotten to a Throne;
And from his very Being was ordain'd,
To wield the Scepter where he long has reign'd:

Yet all muſt likewiſe hold this Maxim good,
That Merit is ſuperlative to Blood;
And it's much nobler to deſerve, and gain
Crowns, the Rewards of Hero's Toils and Pain,
Than idly be beholden to his Birth,
And owe to Nature what is due to Worth.
We grant that our *Naſſovian* Hero § came,
And trod unbeaten Ways to purchaſe Fame;
Thro' devious Paths in Queſt of Crowns appear'd:
But he deſerv'd the more, the more he dar'd,
As he through joyful Crouds to Empire rode,
And ſhew'd the *People's* Voice the Voice of *God*;
Whilſt thy inglorious Monarch ſat at Home,
And meditated over Ills to come,
Unweary'd with the Miſchiefs he had done.

* *James.* † *Philip's* Claim to *Spain.* ‡ See the firſt Note in the foregoing Page. ‖ Cardinal *Mazarine* was the ſuppoſed Father. § King *William the Third,* Prince of *Orange* and *Naſſau.*

With his inſatiate Strumpet * by his Side,
To feed his Luſt, and gratify his Pride.
What if thy Maſter looks auſtere and great,
And he ſeems pointed out to reign by Fate?
What if his Eyes majeſtically roul,
If no kind Beams of Goodneſs grace his Soul?
If his baſe Mind, poſſeſs'd by Thoughts unclean,
Darkens the Brightneſs of his ſhining Mien,
And 'tis but juſt, that Monarchs ſhould provide
For thoſe their wicked Arts have led aſide.
Two Kings, it's granted, in two Kingdoms reign,
And one's inthron'd in *France*, and one in *Spain*;
Different in Perſon, but the ſame in Mind,
As the ſame Principles run thro' the Kind,
And ſpread their Venom, and diſperſe their Stains,
To make one's boundleſs Pride ſwell t'other's Veins,
While *France* creeps ſlily into *Spain*'s Eſteem,
And *Lewis* is not *KING*, but *Lord Supreme* †.

PARIS.

When threat'ning Foes her Provinces invade,
'Tis Time to look about, and ſeek for Aid;
And where ſhould Kindred but on Kindred call,
T' avert their Ruin, and prevent their Fall?
If then my Monarch, rous'd from Peace's Charms,
Has, for his Grandſon's Sake, Recourſe to Arms;
If he foregoes his Pleaſures to maintain
The ſinking Grandure of declining *Spain*,
Over their Councils he may well preſide,
And, as he is their *Safeguard*, be their *Guide*.

LONDON.

Miſtake him not; but take a nearer Sight,
And lay his Actions open to the Light;
Find, if thou canſt, amidſt his earlieſt Cares,
Ev'n but a Thought not *ſelfiſh* in Affairs;
Int'reſt directs him, and *Ambition* ſhows
The Means by which his Predeceſſors roſe,
And climb'd the Steps where Empire was the Prize,
Seemingly loth, but reſolute to riſe:
His Troops are *Spain*'s Aſſiſtants in Pretence,
And cover *Uſurpation* with *Defence*;
But Times will come, ſhould *German* Armies fail,
And *Injuries* o'er what is *Right* prevail,
When her brave Sons, that have ſo long withſtood
The vain Attempts of *France* and *Bourbon*'s Blood,
Shall wiſh this Friend had been their open Foe,
And feel a ſad Increaſe of Shame and Woe.

* Madam *Maintenon*, who lived openly with the King of *France*, in Defiance of God and his holy Religion. † Sways the Councils of the Court of *Spain*.

As they, at laſt, this juſt Concluſion make,
Lewis turn'd Hypocrite for *Lewis*'s Sake,
And ſtood by the Succeſſion to the Throne,
Not for his *Grandſon*'s Intereſt, but his *Own*.

PARIS.

The Souls of Princes are of Moulds divine,
And from ſuperior Orbs enlighten'd ſhine;
No ſcanty Beings that Confinement bear,
But are enlarg'd as elemental Air,
That knows no Limit, but what Nature bounds,
And fleets about the Globe in endleſs Rounds.
Ambition fires 'em, and Dominion warms,
And ſhoots them forth in Search of Glory's Charms,
As Fame and Greatneſs claims their ſole Regard,
And Conqueſt offers Crowns as their Reward.
Such Thoughts, as theſe, thy Monarch's Breaſt inſpir'd,
And made him nobly ſeek what he deſir'd;
Forc'd him rough Seas and Tempeſts to explore,
And try the Dangers of thy faithleſs Shore,
Elſe had he ſtill, contented with his State,
Forborne to do the glorious Work of Fate,
And ſat at Home, that Burghers might propoſe
Buſineſs for him, that was to Scepters choſe;
And thoſe illuſtrious Chiefs *, who ſwell his Veins
With princely Blood, that Servitude diſdains,
Never had ſhaken off the *Spaniard*'s Chains.
This Godlike Ardor made 'em graſp the Shield,
And run to Vict'ry, as they took the Field,
While they let theſe † that were their *Maſters* ſee,
They durſt revolt, be Conquerors, and be free.
If Acts, like theſe, are worthy of Applauſe,
Why ſhould not Praiſe attend my Sovereign's Cauſe,
If Luſt of Empire boils within his Soul,
And he ſlights Half the Univerſe for the Whole?
In them ſuch daring Thoughts have gain'd Eſteem,
And ought likewiſe to be admir'd in him.

LONDON.

Such are the Thoughts that fill thy Prince's Breaſt,
And turbulently keep him from his Reſt:
Theft, *Murder*, *Violence*, *Fraud*, and *Perj'ry* join,
To puſh him forward to ſome *mean Deſign*,
And prompt him to perform what's ſcorn'd by mine.
'Tis not Ambition wings him forth for Fame,
But a baſe niggard Soul that covets Shame,
That ſtill ſubjects his Reaſon to his Will,
And would be talk'd of, tho' for doing *Ill*;
Deſirous to be known in After-days,
And to employ our Tongues, if not our Praiſe.

* The Prince of *Orange*'s Anceſtors, who delivered *Holland* from the Tyranny of *Spain*.

† *Spaniards*.

When,

When, if you ſearch my *careful* Monarch's Mind,
You'll ſee the noble Paſſions all refin'd,
All of a Piece, *juſt*, *regular*, and *true*,
And fitting for a Prince to have in View;
Well temper'd Thoughts, not over hot, nor cool,
Ready to act, but acting ſtill by Rule;
Wiſdom his Pilot, and *Content* his Guide,
A known *Experience*, and a *Judgment* try'd;
Boundleſs in Wiſhes for his People's Good,
And prodigal of Induſtry and Blood;
For their Sakes, covetous of being known,
But wholly *unambitious* for his own.

PARIS.

With Grief I ſpeak it, and confeſs with Pain,
Could but my *Lewis* like thy *William* reign,
Contract his Wiſhes, and withdraw his Claim
To *univerſal Empire*, and to *Fame*,
No Prince more envied could adorn a Crown,
Or have more fair Pretenſions to Renown.
How would my Sons within theſe Walls appear,
And Gladneſs be ſucceſſive to their Fear;
If Trade could once return into the *Seine*,
Or *Thames* his Riches be exchang'd for mine?

LONDON.

Pleaſe not thyſelf with vain deluſive Schemes,
Nor feed my willing Hopes with empty Dreams;
Who can expect ſuch welcome Joys to ſhare,
When Monarchs fatten on the Spoils of War?
When *in thy Courts no Treaties are of Force*,
And *ſolemn Leagues* are render'd *void* of Courſe;
When Trade's deny'd us that's to others free,
And we muſt loſe th' Advantage of the Sea;
As Edicts break through the moſt ſacred Ties,
And Oaths are trivial Things in Royal Eyes;
As Perjury's an Act of *ſpecial Grace*,
And *James the Third* has *James the Second*'s Place *,
For *England*'s King, within thy Borders own'd,
Though *England* has another Prince *inthron'd*,
Whoſe lawful Title *France* would ne'er oppoſe,
Did ſhe regard the Peace, beyond my Foes.

PARIS.

What has my Prince againſt his Treaties done?
He kept the *Father*, and maintains the *Son*.

* As ſoon as King *James the Second* died at *St. Germains*, *Lewis*, the King of *France*, ordered *James*'s pretended Son to be proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, by the Title of *James the Third*.

Nor

Nor Arms, nor Force, nor Treaſure does he lend,
Juſt only to the Word he gave his Friend *,
Whoſe dying Breath bequeath'd him to his Care,
He ſeeks no Kingdoms, though he's own'd their Heir.
Titles are empty Sounds, and cannot break
Treaties, unleſs he arms for Titles Sake;
Aſſerts his Right, and vindicates his Claim,
Beyond a ſpecious Compliment of Name.
That's all he gives him, and that Gift's no more,
Than what the *Father* was allow'd before;
And ſince that Recognition broke no Vow,
Why is it ſtyl'd the Cauſe of Rupture now?
As for your Commerce, and Decreaſe of Trade,
Ev'n thank *your Senate* † for the Laws they've made;
Their Votes occaſion what my Prince enjoins;
We tax your *Products*, 'cauſe you tax our *Wines*;
Elſe had your Merchants traffick'd on my Coaſt,
And both our Nations gain'd what both have loſt:
Yet may we ſtill thoſe mutual Joys reſtore,
And Plenty ſpread its Wings on either Shore,
Would but your Sons e'en now with mine agree,
And what I'd ſuffer them they ſuffer me.

LONDON

Think not of Peace, nor, with expecting Eyes,
Hope for the Goddeſs that my Courtſhip flies.
Long ſhe can ne'er within thy Walls abide,
While Men for *private Ends* the Publick guide;
While *Modern Whigs* are in my Courts receiv'd,
And thoſe are truſted who the Nation griev'd;
While *O——d* ſtill enjoys his Maſter's Smiles,
Like Beaſt of Prey eſcap'd from Hunter's Toils;
While ſerious *S——*, ſprung from a Saint-like Race,
Adviſes War with a *religious* Grace,
To hide the *Irreligion* of his Place;
And *H——* puff'd up with Pride, and Praiſe,
For making Uſe of *other*'s Means and Ways,
Looks big and pow'rful at the Council-board,
Rais'd from a *Party Poet* to a Lord.
War is their *Theme*, though *Peace* is their *Delight*;
Would Peace with-hold their Crimes from publick Sight,
And ſuffer *Wrong* to take the Place of *Right*.
Thus Pilf'rers paſs with undiſtinguiſh'd Names,
And fiſh for others Goods amidſt the Flames,
While the poor Sufferers their Engines turn
To quench the Fire that in their Houſes burn.
All Hands are buſied to direct its Courſe,
And Houſes are blown up to ſtop its Force,
When, at the laſt, impoveriſh'd by their Stealth,
They ſave their *Dwellings*, but they loſe their *Wealth*.

* He promiſed this to *James the Second*, upon his Death-bed. † Parliament.

PARIS.

PARIS.

I ſee too plainly that your Thoughts are true,
And our old Enmities break out a-new;
Like Wounds ſkinn'd o'er, a-freſh they rage and bleed,
And the moſt ſkilful Artiſts Councils need,
Who timely can the Patients Lives inſure,
And by Inciſion make a perfect Cure.
Since War's the gen'ral Cry, let War be choſe,
My Sons were never us'd to fly their Foes;
Fearleſs in Fight, they cannot Fights refuſe,
And us'd to gain, they know not how to loſe;
Witneſs when *Europe* all contending ſtrove,
Like Giants in a League to conquer *Jove*.
Troops join'd with Troops, and States with States combin'd,
To bring down *Lewis* his exalted Mind;
When ev'ry Nation found it to its Coſt,
That in ten Years he ne'er one Battle loſt.
The ſame Succeſs will ſtill his Arms attend,
And Fortune muſt of Courſe be now his Friend,
Since Kingdoms, when divided, needs muſt fall,
And he muſt conquer Part that conquer'd *All*.
Go —— let your Prince recal his Subjects hence,
And *M*—— ſhew *Manners* like his *Senſe*,
Let *Pouſin* * be return'd us back again,
With all the Marks of Hate, and cold Diſdain,
The Times may come, you may this Action rue,
And wiſh for Peace with me, as I with you,
Since *Wounds* and *Death* are ſtill the *Gains of War*,
And you can be at laſt but what you are.

LONDON.

To be but what he *is*, is all the Claim,
My Prince does make from Empire and from Fame;
Grief ſwells his Breaſt to think of Subjects Wounds,
But *France muſt be with-held within its Bounds*,
And her *falſe King*, who thinks no Crimes amiſs,
Be made what he *is not* from what he *is*.
Look on thy Sons, ſo daring and ſo brave,
And ſee th' † *Italians* climb once more their Grave:
Thro' Rocks of Stone the *German* Paſſage makes,
Levels the Mountains, and dries up the Lakes;
From Hill to Hill the pond'rous Cannon ſlings,
And climbs imperious Cliffs with Eagle's Wings.
As *Eugene* acts the ‡ *Carthaginian*'s Part,
Shewing much more of Induſtry and Art,

* The *French* Ambaſſador.
† As before at the Battle of *Pavia*, where *Francis the Firſt* was taken Priſoner.
‡ *Hannibal*, that melted the *Alps* with Vinegar, according to *Livy*'s Account.

And cuts out Roads, where Nature did intend
Nothing, almoſt, like human ſhould aſcend;
While adverſe Troops, aſtoniſh'd at the Sight,
Leave Floods unguarded to avoid the Fight.
Theſe are the Champions which thy Cauſe maintain,
And vindicate a baſe inglor'ous Reign,
That plead Preſcription from their Father's Pride,
To lord it over all the World beſide.
Nothing, like this, is by *my Prince* * deſign'd,
Juſt are his Thoughts, and right'ous is his Mind;
He fears no Danger, and he ſeeks no War,
Tho' it appears to gather from a-far:
Fleets he provides, and *Armies* he prepares,
To calm our Troubles, and remove our Fears.
Grant, that he ne'er increaſe his large Demains,
And by his Conqueſt *no new Kingdoms gains,*
That *Mexico*, tho' ſav'd from *Gallick* Hands,
Be none of his, nor rich *Peruv'an* Lands,
Eaſe and Content would fill the Monarch's Breaſt,
Were not his Rival † of their Wealth poſſeſs'd:
So the fierce Bull that has in Battle ſtrove
For the Reward of Empire and of Love,
Weary'd with Fight, his Head declining lays,
Joyful to ſee the Prize at Diſtance graze,
While his tir'd Foe alike contented lies,
And views, what he can't ſeize, with longing Eyes,
Paid fully for the Dangers he has run,
Since neither does *poſſeſs* what neither *won*.

* The King of *Great-Britain*.

† *France* and *Spain*.

The Curates Conference: Or, a Diſcourſe betwixt two Scholars; both of them relating their hard Condition, and conſulting which Way to mend it.

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis.

[From a *Quarto*, containing thirteen Pages, printed in the Year 1641.]

WELL met, good Maſter *Needham*.

Maſter *Pooreſt*.

I am heartily glad to ſee you here, how have you canvaſed the Courſe of the World this many a Day, good Maſter *Pooreſt*.

Mr. *P.* Good Sir, take the Pains as to walk into St. *Paul's* Church, and we will confer a little before Sermon begins.

Mr. *N.* With all my Heart, for I muſt not ſo ſuddenly leave your Company, having not enjoyed your Society this long Time.

Mr.

Mr. *P.* Good Sir, tell me, are you reſident in *Cambridge*, in the College ſtill; I make no Queſtion but the Univerſity, and your Merits, have preferred you to ſome good Fellowſhip, Parſonage, or the like good Fortune.

Mr. *N.* Alas! good Maſter *Pooreſt*, this is not an Age for to beſtow Livings and Preferments *freely*; it is now, as it was ſaid long ago: *Si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras.* I tell you, it is a Pity to ſee, how *Juniors* and *Dunces* take Poſſeſſion of Colleges; and Scholarſhips and Fellowſhips are *bought* and *ſold*, as Horſes in *Smithfield*. But I hope you are grown fat in the Country, for there is not ſuch Corruption there, as there is among the *Muſes*.

Mr. *P.* I will deal plainly with you, I ſtaid in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, till I was forced to leave it for *Want* of Subſiſtance. I ſtood for three or four ſeveral Scholarſhips, and, though I was found upon Examination *ſufficient*, yet I do ſeriouſly proteſt, that one Time I was prevented by half a *Buck*, and ſome good *Wine*, that was ſent up, to make the Fellows merry; and, another Time, a great *Lady's Letter* prevailed againſt all Ability of Parts, and Endowments whatſoever; a third Time, the Warden of the College had a *poor Kinſman*, and ſo he got the major Part of the Fellows on his Side, for Fear, and Flattery, that there were no Hopes to ſwim againſt ſo great a Stream; and ſo I was forced to retreat into the Country, and there turn firſt an *Uſher*, and at laſt was made *Curate*, under a great *Prebend*, and a *double-beneficed rich Man*, where I found Promiſes beyond Performances; for *my* Salary was inferior by much to his *Cook*, or his *Coachman*, nay, his *Barber* had *double* my Stipend; for I was allowed but eight Pounds *per Annum*, and get my own Victuals, Cloaths, and Books as I could; and when I told him the Means were *too little*, he ſaid that, if I would not, he could have his *Cure* ſupplied by another, rather for leſs than what I had; and ſo I was yoaked to a ſmall Pittance, for the Space of twelve Years.

Mr. *N.* Is it poſſible there ſhould be ſuch a Concurrence of hard Fortunes? It was no otherwiſe in our * Univerſity, when I ſtood for Preferment; for, at firſt, a Lawyer's Son had the Scholarſhip, becauſe *his Father* had done ſome Buſineſs for the College at Common Law; and a Doctor of Phyſick's Son was preferred in my Place to a Fellowſhip, becauſe *his Father* had cured the Maſter's Wife of a Tympany; and ſo, finding all Hopes gone there, I went Home to my Friends, and, within a While after, I was made a Miniſter, and ſerved a Cure.

Mr. *P.* Where, I pray you, is your Charge?

Mr. *N.* It is in a little poor Pariſh, hard by *Pinchback* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the Churchwarden is ſcarce able to give the Miniſter more than a barley Bag-pudding to his *Sunday*'s Dinner. Where are you placed?

Mr. *P.* I ſerve a Cure hard by *Hungerford* in *Wiltſhire*; where my Allowance is ſo ſhort, that, was it not more for Conſcience to be in this my Calling, I had rather be a Cobler, and ſit and mend old Shoes.

Mr. *N.* I proteſt, I think we Curates are worſe dealt withal by the rich double-beneficed Men, than the Children of *Iſrael* were by the *Ægyptians*; for, though they made them *work hard*, yet they allowed them *Straw*, and *other Materials*, and *good Victuals*; for they longed after the Fleſh-pots of *Ægypt*, which proves they had them a long Time; but *we are forced to work*, and yet can *get nothing*; and yet theſe ſhould be either *Fathers* or *Brethren* to us, but they were Enemies to them; and yet they dealt better with them, than theſe do with us.

Mr. *P.* They deal as bad with us, as they do with their Flocks, I mean their *Pariſhioners*; for they *ſtarve* their *Souls*, and *pinch* our *Bodies*.

Mr. *N.* I wonder how theſe *Lip-parſons* would do, ſhould there be but once a general Conſent of all the Curates to forbear to preach or read Prayers but for one three Weeks, or a Month only, how they would be forced to ride for it, and yet all in vain; for how can one Perſon ſupply two Places at one Time, twenty Miles Diſtance?

Mr. *P.* By my Conſent they ſhould have, for every Benefice, *a Wife*; they ſhould have Variety of Pleaſure, as well as of Profit; but, withal, I think that Courſe would quickly weary their Bodies and Purſes too.

Mr. *N.* Wives! oh ſtrange! no I would not live to ſee that Day, for, if they be ſo fearfully covetous, having but one, I wonder what they would be, having ſo many.

Mr. *P.* Oh, Sir, I tell you, they might by this Courſe in Time ſtand in no Need of Curates, nor Clarks neither; for, if they could ſpeak as much in the Church as at Home, they might

* *Cambridge.*

might ſerve the Turn; and they are all Maſters of Art, to gather up the *ſmall Tithes* and *Eaſter-book*, as well as the Clark.

Mr. *N.* Nay, now ſince we are fallen upon it, I will tell you, our Parſon hath a Living in *London*, as well as here, and his Wife is ſo *miſerably proud*, that both Livings will ſcarce ſuffice to maintain her; inſomuch that ſhe takes out of the *Curates Wages*, as, *half* of every Funeral Sermon, and out of all Burials, Churchings, Weddings, Chriſtenings, *&c.* ſhe hath *half* Duties, to buy *Lace*, *Pins*, *Gloves*, *Fans*, *Black-bags*, *Sattin Petticoats*, &c. and towards the Maintenance of a *puny Servitor* to go before her; nay, ſhe pays half towards the Maintenance of a Coach, which ſhe either gets from her Huſband, or elſe from the Curate, by ſubtracting his Allowance at the Quarter-day; and, what is more, ſhe made her Curate in *London* to enter into Bond privately to her Huſband, to leave the Place at half a Year's Warning; or elſe her Huſband, the Parſon of the Place, would not have granted him a Licenſe for the Place.

Mr. *P.* Oh ſtrange! is it poſſible, that this old Remainder of Popery ſhould be yet upheld by our Clergy, to have ſuch Pope *Joans* to rule the Church. I have heard ſay, there are three Places in which a Woman never ſhould bear any Sway; the Buttery, the Kitchen, and the Church; for Women are too covetous by Nature to keep a good Houſe; and too fooliſh to rule a Church.

Mr. *N.* Alas! Maſter *Needham*, there is a Neceſſity in this, for I think our Parſon hath ſcarce Wit enough to do it; and though he had, yet his Wife's Tongue would put him out of his Wits, if he ſhould not let her have her Will.

Mr. *P.* What care I how ſhe puniſhed him, ſo that ſhe did not intrench upon our Liberties; but, alas! ſhe breaks her Huſband's Back, and pinches our Bellies.

Mr. *N.* Such a Piece of Correction hath our Parſon too; for I bought one new Cloke * in ſix Years, and that Money too was given me in *Legacy* by a good Pariſhioner; and ſhe, oh how ſhe envied my Felicity, and informed her Huſband, that I waxed proud; and adviſed him to get another in my Place.

Mr. *P.* Is it poſſible? and yet our She-Regent is not unlike her; for ſhe frets fearfully to hear that a worthy Gentleman, who lives in the Pariſh, loves me ſo much; it gauls her to the Quick, if the Pariſhioners, out of their Loves, give me any thing to mend my Salary; oh ſhe thinks all is loſt that goes beſide her Hands!

Mr. *N.* Well, but what does your great Parſon with all his Wealth? Does he keep good Hoſpitality? Or is he charitable to the Poor, what's his Name? Dr. *Proud.*

Mr. *P.* Alas nothing leſs; he weareth Caſſocks of Damaſk, and Pluſh, good Beavers, and ſilk Stockings; can play well at Tables, or Gleek, can hunt well, and bowl very ſkilfully; is deeply experienced in racy Canary, and can reliſh a Cup of right Claret; and ſo paſſeth the Time away: What is your great Overſeer's † Name?

Mr. *N.* Dr. *Harding.* What Goodneſs lodgeth in his Corpſe?

Mr. *P.* Little or none, he is worſe than yours; for he never comes to viſit his Pariſh, but, Horſe-leech like, he ſucks them; he loves Preying better than Praying, and forces his Pariſh to Humility, by oppreſſing them; he was a main Projector for two Shillings and nine Pence in the Pound, and looks like a Piece of reeſed Bacon, ever ſince the Plot failed; he is tormented with the yellow Jaundice, and a wanton Wife, which, like two incarnate Devils, will force him to believe a Hell before he comes thither.

Mr. *N.* It is no great Matter; it is but juſt that he, that torments others, ſhould taſte the ſame Sauce himſelf.

Mr. *P.* I will tell you what his Cuſtom is, when he comes amongſt us; he neither prays, nor preaches; the one I think he will not, the other I fear he cannot perform.

Mr. *N.* Oh ſtrange! how came he then by ſuch Livings?

Mr. *P.* Eaſily enough, for it is Money that makes the Parſon's Horſe to go now a-days ‡, for they may ſay to Parſons, as it hath been of old ſaid of Books, *Quanti emiſti hunc?*

Mr. *N.* I will aſſure you, I am afraid he is diſcontented at our Church-government, as well as many other great Parſons; for they force and ſtrictly enjoin their Curates to read *all* Divine Service, which they never do themſelves.

Mr. *P.* It is a ſtrange World, that they ſhould flouriſh and flow in Wealth for doing nothing,

* Gown. † Rector. ‡ Theſe certainly were ſad Days, when the Word of God was ſet to Sale.

and

and the poor Curates, that do all, can get nothing; I will tell you truly, he has not given his Pariſh a Sermon theſe three Quarters of a Year.

Mr. *N.* I wonder how they can anſwer the Canon, which enjoins them to preach once a Month.

Mr. *P.* Piſh, what do you talk to them of the Canons; they, who can make new ones, think they may ſlight the old ones; their Canons are like thoſe Laws which caught Flies, but could not hold Hornets or great Bees; they are the Curates, who are ſet to be *Cannoniers*; theſe endure the Heat of the Day, of this once or twice a-day Preaching; alas! they ſay, as the Prieſts did once to *Judas*, *What is that to us? See you to that.*

Mr. *N.* You ſpeak Truth, and I will maintain it, that our Doctor differs not much from the Weathercock on the Church Steeple; for as it is placed higheſt, ſays nothing, is ſounding Braſs, or ſome ſuch Metal, and turns as the Wind; ſo he rules all the Pariſh, ſeldom preaches, is void of Charity, and turns in his Courſes every Time; for ſometimes he is all for Ceremony, ſometimes indifferent, ſometimes againſt them; he hath made a terrible Combuſtion, where and how to place the *Lord's Table*; it ſtood in the Church, anon it muſt be advanced into the Quire; then it muſt be Eaſt and Weſt, and preſently after North and South, covered, uncovered, railed, without Rails, of this Faſhion, of that, of this Wood, of another; nay, he himſelf, who was the firſt that altered it, hath now, within this Month or two, altered his Opinion, and placed it again in the Body of the Church: Oh fine Weathercock!

Mr. *P.* Oh lamentable! that Curates ſhould be Shadows to ſuch empty Shells; but our great Doctor is of another Strain; he cares not much, I think, whether there was any *Table* or *Communion* at all, ſo that he may receive his *Tithes*; it is not ſo much to him whether it be an *Altar*, or a *Table*, ſo that he can get the Gold that comes from it; he is ſo taken with Covetouſneſs, that, ſo he may get Money, what cares he for either Preaching or Praying? I tell you, he threatened a poor Widow, to put her into the Court; becauſe (as he was told) ſhe had *thirteen* Eggs in a Neſt, and yet gave him but *one* for *Tithe*.

Mr. *N.* Well, our Maſter is as full of Law, as yours can be of Covetouſneſs; he threatened one of his Pariſhioners for Sneezing in Prayer-time, becauſe he hindered his Devotion; nay, he made one jaunt it up a Foot into the Arches * fourſcore Miles, becauſe he deſired to receive the Communion in his Seat; nay, I proteſt, that the Pariſhioners, when they hear he is going away, do uſually make him ſome Feaſt, but it is for Joy, that they ſhall be rid of him till next Summer.

Mr. *P.* What is yours a good able Scholar?

Mr. *N.* Yes, he is Scholar good enough, but *he preaches Chriſt out of Contention.*

Mr. *P.* That is ſomething yet, but, alas! our Parſon is as bad as one of *Saunderſon's* Doctors; for he was made Doctor † in *Scotland*, when our King was there: I will warrant you, that he knows not whether St. *Ambroſe* was a *Greek* or a *Latin* Father.

Mr. *N.* Oh miſerable!

Mr. *P.* Nay, he holds *Greek* for *Heatheniſh*, and *Hebrew* for *Jewiſh* Languages, and *Latin* he ſays is the Language of *Rome*, and ſo holds Ignorance beſt in theſe; he ſcarce knows the Difference betwixt *Annus* ‡ and *Annas* ‖, or betwixt *Anus* ** or *Anas* ††: I have heard him read *Opa. tenebr.* for *Opera tenebrarum*, becauſe they were cut a little ſhort, and ſaid the Printers deſerved to be puniſhed for Curtailing *Latin:* I heard him alſo decline *Senex* for an old Man, *Genitivo Senecis* |||, and was confident that he was right too.

Mr. *N.* Oh! ſuch Doctors had need to pray, that Popery may come in again, for then it was well when the Prieſt could *read* Latin, whether it was right or wrong.

M. *P.* And yet he is *loaden* with no leſs than a good *Parſonage*, a *great Vicarage*, *two Prebendſhips*, and *another* Place worth *fourſcore Pounds* by the Year; it is impoſſible ſure for him to preach, for telling his Money.

Mr. *N.* Any of thoſe Places would ſuffice you, or myſelf, but, alas! *Wiſhes* and *Woulders*, you know how the Proverb runs; theſe *Optative* Moods are meerly poor and beggarly.

Mr. *P.* I deal plainly with you, I was offered a Place in the City of *London*, but the Name of it frightened me; it was at St. *Peter's-Poor* §, and, I thought, I had enough of Poverty already, and ſo I refuſed it.

* The Archbiſhop's Court. † Without doing a proper and regular Exerciſe before the Univerſity, for his Degree. ‡ A Year. ‖ The Father of *Caiaphas* the High Prieſt.
** An old Woman. †† A Duck or Drake. ||| Inſtead of *Sen's.* § In *Broadſtreet.*

Mr. *N.* Juſt ſo was I offered to ſerve a Cure more North by far than this is, but the Name of it ſtartled me, and turned aſide all Reſolution towards it; for it was at a Place called *Sterveling* in *Cumberland.*

Mr. *P.* Nay, I will tell you more, Maſter *Needham*; I thought to have gone up to *London*, had not our Doctor's Curate there, one Maſter *Hand-little*, told me plainly, that moſt Curates in *London* lived upon Citizens Trenchers; and, were it not that they were pitiful and charitable to them, there was no Poſſibility of Subſiſtance; and that, of late, it went harder with them, than before; for, ever ſince the Parſons have ſo enhanced their Revenues, the Citizens have mainly withdrawn their Purſes, ſo that now the Curate muſt live upon his ſet Pittance, or elſe ſtarve.

Mr. *N.* Well, Maſter *Pooreſt*, I do not intend to ſtay longer in the Country, for I will wait here in Town upon Hopes a While.

Mr. *P.* Do as you pleaſe, but you will find the old Proverb true, *London Lick-penny.*

Mr. *N.* I am reſolved upon it, though I go to the Three-penny Ordinary; my Reaſon is, I do hear ſay, that there are great Store of Clarks Places about *London*, that are good Allowances for Scholars, ſome worth Two-hundred Pounds and upwards *per Annum*; I know ſome of the *Pariſh Clarks* are worth ſeven or Eight thouſand Pounds; oh their Fees come in ſleeping or waking; what think you of the Plot?

Mr. *P.* I marry, ſuch Places are worth the While, but how ſhould one catch them?

Mr. *N.* I will aſſure you, it is a Shame, that ſuch *Mechanicks* ſhould live in ſuch State as they do; many of them are as greedy of Funerals, as Vultures of dead Carcaſes; and they are moſt of them in an ill Name, for Exacting moſt groſly in their Fees; hence it is that ſome of them *rule* the whole Pariſh, and Parſon, and all; you ſhall ſee them, upon Feſtival-days, as well cloathed as the chiefeſt Citizens; their Fingers as full of Rings of Gold, as an old *Ale-wife*, that has buried four or five Huſbands; and their Necks ſet as big with a curious Ruff, as any the proudeſt *Dons* in *Spain*; oh what pure rich *Night-caps* they wear, and good Beavers! beſides all this, they can have their Meetings uſually in *Taverns* of three or four Pounds a Sitting, when poor *Curates* muſt not look into a *Red Lettice*, under Fear of a general Cenſure.

Mr. *P.* Oh ſtrange! I think it was well if *Curates* could turn *Pariſh Clarks*; if it be as you ſay, it is the better Courſe by far.

Mr. *N.* Come, come, I tell you, we are bound to look out for ourſelves; and I know no more ſafer Courſe than this, for moſt of the *Clarks* have *Trades* to live upon beſide; but I hope their Charter will fail, and then others may come into their Places.

Mr. *P.* What ſay you, Maſter *Needham*, how ſtrong are you, will you go and ſhew me that pretty *Banqueting-houſe* for Curates, I mean the *Three-penny Ordinary*, for I can go no higher?

Mr. *N.* I, I, with all my Heart, for I am almoſt at the ſame Ebb; but let us hope better; Things will not always ride in this Rack.

Mr. *P.* Sir, I conceive plainly, that we *Curates* are but as the *Stalking-horſes to the Clarks*, for they get Wealth by our Labours.

Mr. *N.* Are you adviſed of that? You would ſay ſo indeed, ſhould you but ſee ſome of their Bills, ſo much for *Burials*, ſo much for the *Knell*, ſo much for the *Grave*; for the Corpſe more, *if coffined*; more yet, if in *ſuch a Church-yard*; more than that, if in *the Church*; higher yet, if it be in the *Chancel*; beyond all theſe, if buried with *Torches*, and *Sermon*, and *Mourning* with *Attendance*; but it is put upon the *higheſt* Strain, if it be a *Stranger*. Beſides, for Marriages by *Banes*, or by *Licenſe*, for making the *Certificate*; ſo for *Churchings*, and divers *other* Ways, and *nothing* to the *Curate* all this While.

Mr. *P.* Well, I conceive it more than ever I did; but now let us leave off Diſcourſe, and fall to our Commons. What a pretty *Modicum* I have here? Sure this Ordinary-keeper has been ſome Cook or Scullion in a College: How dextrouſly the Fellow plays the *Logician*, in *dividing* the Meat? It is an excellent Place ſure, to learn Abſtinence by; I promiſe you, I will viſit this Houſe, as my Stock holds out. *It is* juſt one Degree above Dining with Duke *Humphry*, it is as good as a Preſervative againſt Surfeits.

Mr. *N.* Oh, good Brother, it is as fine a Refreſhment as may be; I hold it wonderous good, for here a Man ſhall be ſure to riſe from his Meat, as many others uſe to ſit down to it, with a Stomach.

Mr. *P.* I will tell you one Thing, which I had almoſt forgotten, I was offered the other Day to go a Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, to be Preacher in a Ship.

Mr. *N.*

Mr. *N.* Excellent well, oh refuſe it not; it is far beyond living a-ſhore, for ten Pounds *per Annum*; I know you will find brave worthy Merchants, you cannot want, if you undertake it.

Mr. *P.* I promiſe you, I had determined to have gone in one of his Majeſty's Ships, upon our narrow Seas; but, if the Voyage be ſo good, I will away (God willing) next Spring.

Mr. *N.* I will tell you what I intend, if I miſs of Hopes this Way here, to ſollicit to be a Preacher to a Regiment of Soldiers, if there be any Service this next Summer; for we cannot be lower than now we are; I would have given you, Maſter *Pooreſt*, one Pint of Wine, but *Ultra poſſe non eſt eſſe* *, as you know.

Mr. *P.* I am as willing to have done the like to yourſelf, not having ſeen you ſo long ſince, but my Purſe denies Ability.

Mr. *N.* I muſt be gone at One of the Clock, to meet with a Gentleman of the Inns of Court; well, good Brother, God bleſs us both, and ſend us better Times, and a happy Meeting. *Farewel.*

* Or, No one can go beyond his Ability.

Propoſals for the Reformation of Schools and Univerſities, in order to the better Education of Youth; humbly offered to the ſerious Conſideration of the High Court of Parliament.

[From a *Quarto*, containing nine Pages, printed in 1704.]

Theſe Propoſals were calculated for the Reformation of Learning in North-Britain, *and though the Individuals, contained in them, are peculiar to* Scotland, *yet the Subſtance of the Whole,* mutatis mutandis, *may not be properly applied to that Part of the Realm, which lies* South *of the* Tweed, *where the ſame Objections are as forcible againſt Schools and Schoolmaſters; the Aſpiring of poor and mechanical Spirits to the Miniſterial Office, and the Admiſſion into holy Orders of thoſe, who either have never been initiated with the advanced Studies of an Univerſity, or, perchance, on Account of their Poverty, have been permitted, after a very ſhort Stay at thoſe Fountains of Learning, to return Home, and ſeek after a Title to Orders, that they may get a* Morſel of Bread *. *Tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that no Nation has produced more learned and pious Divines, than the two famous Univerſities of* England. *But it is wiſhed, that a Method could be found to prevent ſo many Extra-univerſity Men, who, without due Education, creep into the Miniſtry for a Maintenance; and to reform the extraordinary Expences, that are ſquandered away in the Exceſſes of our young Gentlemen, in the great Schools and Univerſities of this Nation.*

THere has been a great Decay of Learning in this Kingdom for many Years: For Inſtance, where we have now one, who can write one ſingle Sheet, an hundred Years ago we had twenty, who could have written Volumes in good Senſe, and good *Latin.* And though the Cauſes of the low Ebb, Learning has ſunk to among us, are very obvious, yet I muſt confeſs, it is no eaſy Matter to put a Stop to the growing Evil. It is hard to make a Scheme of Education which will generally

* See 1 *Sam.* ii. 36.

pleaſe,

pleaſe, and harder ſtill to put it in Execution; it is difficult to alter an old Conſtitution, though full of Errors; and more difficult, in our Circumſtances, to eſtabliſh a new one, though ever ſo juſt and reaſonable. We have been too long purſuing the wrong Road, to be ſet eaſily right. We neither take juſt Meaſures, nor allow ſufficient Time for the Education of our Youth. However, ſince the Encouragement and Improvement of Learning is certainly ſo much for the true Intereſt of the Nation, I ſhall adventure to tell my Opinion frankly, and ſhall be heartily glad, if it can be found of any Uſe or Service; at leaſt, I hope it ſhall excite others of greater Ability, to make farther Inquiries into theſe Matters, ſuch as may convince the Parliament of the *Neceſſity* of Reforming our *Schools* and *Univerſities*, for the Good and Benefit of Learning.

One main Cauſe of the low Eſtate of Learning is, That *it is too eaſily and cheaply purchaſed*; one can make his Son, what now with us paſſes for a *Scholar*, at a much cheaper Rate, than he can breed him a *Shoe-maker* or *Weaver*. For a ſhort Time at the Schools, and three or four Years at the Univerſities, upon little or no Expence, in our Way, is enough to make a *Maſter of Arts*, who immediately gets into the moſt conſiderable Employments, which require the longeſt Study and beſt Qualifications, before he have Years, Senſe, Prudence or Learning: Upon which Account, the Mechanicks, and poorer Sort of People, are encouraged to ſend their Sons to Schools and Univerſities, finding a very little Money, and as little Time, ſufficient to make what we call a Scholar. But, in my Opinion, were theſe put to the Plough and other Trades, it would be better for themſelves (who would be kept within their proper Spheres) and more for the Intereſt of the Nation, which is overſtocked with Scholars, and in extreme Want of People, for *Mechanical* Employments: This is one great Cauſe of the low Condition of Learning. People, who are daily pinched for the Back and the Belly, cannot beſtow much Time upon the Improvement of their Minds, their Spirits are depreſſed under their Poverty; they have not Money to afford them Books, or to bring them into the Converſation of the World: And how, without theſe, a Man can become a good Scholar, paſſes my Comprehenſion.

But it may be ſaid, by debarring the poorer Sort from Learning, ſome good Spirits may be excluded; which as it is the only Objection, ſo it is as eaſily removed.

We have as much Uſe for good Spirits, to be employed in Mechanical Trades and Merchandiſing, as for Learning; and by admitting one, upon the Pretence of good Spirit, we certainly muſt take in an Hundred of low and dull Capacities. And let their Genius be as good as you pleaſe, unleſs you give them Money too, they will never be able to make any tolerable Advance in Learning; and, by the following Scheme for rectifying our Burſaries, a Competency is provided for them, as far as the Funds will go.

Another great Cauſe of the Decay of Learning is, *the bad Methods, which are followed in our Schools and Univerſities, and the Inſufficiency of the Maſters, who are provided for the Government of them.* There are in the Kingdom near One-thouſand Pariſhes, and in moſt of them, *Latin* is pretended to be taught, though not one of Fifty of the School-maſters is capable of teaching it; and no Wonder, for not one of Fifty of them was tolerably taught it, and not one of an Hundred, however capable, has Books to enable him to acquire it by his after Induſtry. At the Univerſities, we beſtow a *few Months*, upon the Study of the *Greek*; whereas that noble Language, and the learned and uſeful Books, which are written in it, may perhaps deſerve our Care and Pains for as many Years. We allow too much Time upon old antiquated *Metaphyſical* Jargon: And as for *Natural* Philoſophy, which, in this and the laſt Age, has been ſo happily brought, from an idle Prattling about Words of no Signification, to a ſolid Science; it requires ſuch a deep Inſight into the moſt profound Parts of the *Mathematicks*, that I am afraid few of thoſe, who profeſs it, are capable of teaching it. We get too haſtily through our Divinity. Hiſtory, Law, and Medicine we have none.

The Cheapneſs of Learning brings it into the Hands of the poorer and meaner People: Their Poverty, the wrong Methods which are taken in Teaching, and the Inſufficiency of the Teachers, unavoidably ſubject them to the greateſt Ignorance. And both together, the Ignorance and the Poverty of our Scholars, infallibly bring Learning itſelf under Diſgrace and Contempt. Poverty deprives them, as of a great many other Advantages, ſo particularly of that due Aſſurance, that Addreſs and that Freedom of Spirit, which are ſo natural to Quality and Gentry. Nay ſometimes under diffi-

cult

cult Circumſtances, to prevent Starving, it forces them upon Courſes unworthy of their Profeſſions, to the no ſmall Scandal of others who ſhould be led by their Examples. And in one Word, the natural Tendency of our preſent Methods is to unfit a Scholar for a Gentleman, and to render a Gentleman aſhamed of being a Scholar. And, till we reconcile the Gentleman with the Scholar, it is impoſſible Learning ſhould ever flouriſh. But was this once done, was Learning taken out of the Hands of the Vulgar, and brought to be as honourable and faſhionable among the Gentry, as it is now contemptible, I think it would be indeed in a fair Way of proſpering. For were the younger Sons of the Nobility and Gentry (who now are idle at Home, or ſent Abroad to be knocked on the Head) kept the due Time at Schools and Univerſities, they being encouraged with all Things proper for Studying, and having their Time in their own Hands for Reading, and and not being forced, out of pure Neceſſity, to enter too ſoon on Buſineſs, would in all Probability make conſiderable Advances in Learning. And when poſſeſſed of Employments, Gentlemen would be as tender of their Character, as they are of their Honour; beſides, that, being generally able to live without them, they would not lie under ſuch Temptations as poorer People do. This, as it would conſiderably add to the Honour of Learning, and Intereſt of the Nation, in General, ſo it would be no diſhonourable Way to diſpoſe of the younger Sons of the Nobility and Gentry. For, beſides what Encouragement they might expect from the Study of the Laws and of Medicine, there are in the Kingdom at leaſt an hundred Places in the Church and Univerſities which yield Two-thouſand Marks yearly, and few of the other Church Benefices are under One-thouſand. Now in my humble Opinion, the younger Sons of even the beſt Families, eſpecially when not ſufficiently provided for, might be as wiſely and honourably diſpoſed of this Way, as by being kept idle at Home, or ſent off to be Soldiers Abroad. It is plain to diſpoſe of them ſo would put them in a Way of being more ſerviceable to God, their Country, and their Kindred, than commonly they are. And, were Matters ordered after this Manner, it is probable the Church Government would not be ſo ambulatory as it has hitherto been in this Kingdom, ſince the Nobility and Gentry, of whom the Parliaments are made up, would not readily make Acts, which ſhould oblige them to take back their Brothers and Sons to their Houſes. And Nothing could contribute more to the Quiet and Peace of the Nation, than that the Government of the Church was at laſt effectually ſecured againſt ſo frequent Changes.

Now, that ſo good a Deſign may take Effect, it is neceſſary to raiſe the Price of Learning, ſo as to diſcourage the poorer Sort from Attempting it, that thoſe only, whoſe Circumſtances enable them to make ſucceſsful Advances in Learning, may have Acceſs to it. To make Learning dearer, the Number of the Schools, at leaſt, muſt be diminiſhed, and the Maſters Salaries and Fees augmented. And the Time and Methods of Teaching in Schools and Univerſities ſhould be regulated according to the following, or ſome ſuch like Scheme.

I think there ſhould be *only one* Grammar-School in a County or Shire, *two at moſt* in the largeſt, and where two leſſer lie together, one may ſerve for both. Theſe Schools ought to be well endowed, and ſome of the beſt Men of the Nation for Prudence and Learning, provided to be Maſters and Uſhers. A Maſter and four Doctors or Uſhers, at leaſt, will be neceſſary for every School. And beſides thoſe publick Schools, at all the Country Churches, I would have the Precentor of the Pariſh (who needs not to be a Maſter of Arts) to teach the Children to read and write *Engliſh*, and the common Rules of *Arithmetick*, which is all the Learning that is needful or uſeful to the *Mechanicks* and *poorer* People. But it may be enquired, Where ſhall Funds be had for maintaining thoſe Schools? I anſwer, That is not my Buſineſs, let the Wiſdom of the Nation conſider it: But perhaps, it would be no difficult Task to find out Funds, if ſome People would apply themſelves a little that Way. There are, for Example, in the Shire of *Fife*, about eighty Pariſhes, and every Pariſh has a Salary, one with another, above One-hundred Pounds *Scots* a Year for a School-maſter: Now, take the one Half of this Salary, and give to the Teacher of the *Engliſh* Language; this with the Advantage of his Scholars, and his Emoluments as Precentor and Seſſion-Clerk, may make him live pretty well; for he has no great Character to maintain. Apply the other Half for the publick Grammar Schools; this will maintain two, being Six-thouſand Marks a Year; to wit, the Maſter of each School ſhould have One-thouſand Marks, and four Doctors, each of them, Five-hundred Marks Salary a Year;

Year; which, with the Benefit of their Scholars (for, becauſe I would have Learning dear, I would have the Scholars pay *much more liberally* than they commonly do) would be a very comfortable and handſome Proviſion for both Maſters and Uſhers.

My deſigned Brevity will not allow me to be very particular in Naming all the Books that ſhould be taught in Schools. I ſhall only ſay in General, they ought to teach ſome *plain* and *ſhort* Grammar in *Engliſh* Proſe; thus they will beſtow leſs Time on Grammar, and have more to employ in Reading Authors; ſome of which they ſhould read, not by Shreds, as is commonly done, but from Beginning to Ending, ſuch as *Juſtin*'s Hiſtory, *Florus*'s Epitome, *Cornelius*'s *Nepos*'s Lives, *Saluſt*, *Curtius*, *Terence*, *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſis*, as being the compleateſt Syſtem of the *Heatheniſh* Mythology, *&c.* Some Odes, Satyres, and Epiſtles of *Horace* may be taught, and ſome particular Places of *Virgil*, and other Poets, at the Maſter's Diſcretion. And perhaps it may be very convenient, if not neceſſary, that Boys, while at School, be taught the Rudiments of *Geography* and *Chronology*, ſo far as they are capable, that they may read their Authors to the beſt Advantage. The laſt Year they are at School (for I would have them, at leaſt fourteen Years of Age before they leave it) they ought to learn the *Greek* Grammar, and ſome eaſy *Greek* Authors, ſuch as *Æſop*'s Fables, *Lucian*'s ſelect Dialogues, *Herodian*, &c. and ſo we bring them to the Univerſity.

At the Univerſity, the Youth muſt be obliged to ſtay *ſix* Years, paſſing *regularly* through all the Claſſes, before they can be made *Maſters of Arts*. For Examinations and Trials, how rigorouſly ſoever deſigned, may be abuſed and ſhammed: But a long Time, and due Exerciſes performed, is the beſt and moſt probable Way to make good Scholars. In *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, which are famous Univerſities for Learning all the World over, none can be made *Maſter of Arts*, until he ſtay *ſeven* Years; none *Doctor of Medicine* or *Law*, till he ſtay *fourteen*; and none *Doctor of Divinity*, till he has been *eighteen* Years about the Univerſity: Yet after all, according to this Calculation, our young Men may commence Maſters of Arts in the twentieth, or twenty-firſt Year of their Age, which I ſuppoſe every Body will think ſoon enough.

In my Opinion, two Univerſities are enough for this Nation *, for there are no more in *England*. But ſince we are to ingraft on an old Stock, we can only conveniently *reform*, not *aboliſh* any of our Univerſities. As I ſaid, the Students ought to ſtay *ſix* Years at the Univerſity, and *three* of theſe Years ſhould be employed in Reading *Greek* and *Latin* jointly: Such of the *Latin* and *Greek* Hiſtorians and Orators as they have not read at School, with the *Art of Rhetorick*, will be Employment enough for *two* Years. The *Poets*, with the *Art of Poetry*, may furniſh more than enough for the *Third*.

Though one cannot find any great Difficulty, in chuſing the fitteſt Authors that are to be taught; yet, for preventing all poſſible Miſtakes, and preſerving *Uniformity*, in all the Colleges within the Kingdom, it is highly convenient, that ſome Perſons of good Reputation for Learning, and who underſtand the Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms of foreign Univerſities, ſhould be appointed to meet, and particularly determine what Books, and in what Order, they are to be read.

Perhaps it might be proper to read together *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, who write on the ſame or the like Subject: For Example, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, and the three firſt Books of *Livy*, the third Book of *Polybius*, and the twenty-firſt of *Livy*, *Appianus Alexandrinus*, and *Cæſar de Bello Civili*; the Orations of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, the Paſtorals of *Theocritus* and *Virgil*, *Heſiod* and *Virgil*'s *Georgicks*, *Homer*'s *Ilias* and *Virgil*'s *Æneis*, *Pindar* and *Horace*, &c.

A great many of the beſt *modern* Books of all Sorts, and on all Subjects, being written in the Stile of the modern Schools; it would ſeem neceſſary, that ſhort Compends of *Logicks*, *Ethicks*, and *Metaphyſicks* ſhould be printed and taught in the *fourth* Year. The Profeſſor may likewiſe recommend as a private Task *Ariſtotle*'s Ethicks and Politicks; ſome ſelect Dialogues of *Plato*, *Xenophon*'s *Apomemoneumata*, ſome of *Plutarch*'s Moral Treatiſes, *Hierocles in Aurea Carmina*, *Tully*'s Philoſophick Works, ſome Books of *Seneca*, &c. and one Day of the Week may be appointed for Enquiring into the Diligence of the Students, and Reſolving their Doubts.

And ſeeing all the ancient Orators and Poets and even Hiſtorians; nay, and Fathers of the

* *Scotland.*

Church

Church too, have been addicted to the Hypotheſis and Principles of ſome one or other of the Philoſophical Sects, and often reaſon from their Notions, and uſe their Terms and Phraſes: It would ſeem proper (beſides the Recommending of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Eunapius*, &c. to be diligently read and conſidered by the Students) that ſome learned Perſon or Perſons ſhould compile a clear and diſtinct, but compendious Hiſtory of all the ancient Philoſophies, diſtinguiſhing their Hypotheſis judiciouſly, digeſting their Principles methodically, explaining their Terms of Art and Phraſes, and putting their Notions in as clear Light as poſſible: This would mightily facilitate the Underſtanding of the ancient Learning.

During theſe *four* Years, the Students ſhould be alſo taught *Arithmetick*, *Geography* and *Chronology*, to greater Perfection, the firſt ſix, with the eleventh and twelfth Books of *Euclid*, the Elements of *Algebra*, the Plain and Spherical *Trigonometry*.

The *two laſt* Years are to be ſpent in Learning *mixt* Mathematicks, or *Natural* Philoſophy, *viz.* the Laws of *Motion*, *Mechanicks*, *Hydroſtaticks*; *Opticks*, *Aſtronomy*, *&c.* and *Experimental* Philoſophy.

All along, from their firſt Going to School, till they leave the Univerſity, the Students ought carefully to be taught and inſtructed in the *Principles of Religion*; Nothing being more certain than that, where there is not a well directed Conſcience, Men are rather the worſe than the better, for being learned in any Science.

In every Univerſity, there muſt be, at leaſt, three Profeſſors of *Greek* and *Latin*, one of *Logick*, *Ethicks*, and *Metaphyſicks*, two of *Mathematicks*, and *Natural Philoſophy*, one of *Divinity*, one of *Civil Hiſtory*, another of *Eccleſiaſtical*, and one of *Hebrew*, and other *Oriental Languages*. Where Scholars are numerous, the Number of Profeſſors ought to be augmented in Proportion: For I would have many Maſters, and few Scholars. One Maſter who pretends to teach eight or nine Score of Scholars (as we commonly ſee done) may as well undertake to teach eight or nine Thouſand. One Maſter ſhould not have above thirty Scholars: And according to our Scheme of making Learning dear, let each of them pay 5 *Lib. Sterling* yearly to his Maſter, at which Rate Thirty will afford 150 *Lib. Sterling*, which, with a ſmall Salary, may maintain the Profeſſor handſomely enough.

Beſides this *private Teaching*, I would have every Profeſſor to have, once a Week, one *publick Lecture* in the common School, that who pleaſes may come and hear him. Thus we may have one or more ſuch Lectures every Day, and on different Subjects, according to the Number and Profeſſions of the Lecturers: Nothing can contribute more, than this, to the Honour and Advancement of Learning.

There is Nothing more deſerves the Conſideration of the Parliament, than that our Youth are obliged to *travel Abroad*, to ſtudy Phyſick and Law, and carry ſo much Money out of the Kingdom; ten or twelve thouſand Pounds Sterling, by modeſt Calculation, is every Year ſpent Abroad this Way. Now, would the Parliament, but for once, give two Months Ceſs, which is but about what is ſpent in foreign Univerſities in one Year, the Intereſt of it might eſtabliſh Profeſſions of Law and Phyſick at Home, where our Youth might learn more in one Year, than they can do Abroad in three. For they are generally ſent Abroad about the twentieth Year of their Age, which is the niceſt Part of it: Then their Paſſions are ſtrong, and they have little Senſe to govern them, and they are juſt let looſe from their Parents and Tutors; ſo that *they acquire neither Virtue nor Learning*, *but Habits of all Sorts of Debauchery*, as we are taught by every Day's Experience. I would have the Profeſſions of Law and Phyſick eſtabliſhed in the Univerſity of *Edinburgh*, where the Students of Law may have the Advantage of excellent Libraries for the Civil Law, and Opportunity to hear the Pleadings, and learn the Form of the Houſe, which our young Men who ſtudy Abroad, for all the Money they have ſpent, are altogether ignorant of. And the Phyſicians can have no Subjects nor Rooms for Anatomy, nor Laboratories for Chymiſtry, nor Gardens for Botany, but at *Edinburgh*.

I would have none entered into the Houſe of Advocates, but ſuch as have Certificates, from the Profeſſors of Law, that they had ſtudied four Years with them, after they had paſſed the Univerſity; and none made Doctors of Medicine but ſuch as have Certificates, from the Profeſſors of Phyſick, that they had ſtudied four Years, with them; and none allowed to practiſe, but ſuch as are graduated in our own Univerſities. And their Paying liberally to their reſpective

Maſters every Year (and thereby Saving ſo much from being ſquandered away Abroad) with ſome Salary, might prove a very good Allowance to the Profeſſors. This might alſo hold concerning the Students of Divinity, that they ſhould not be admitted into the Church, without Teſtimonials from the Profeſſors of Divinity, that they had been a competent Time (perhaps four Years may be too little) at their Lectures.

I do not deſign by this to diſcourage the publick or private *Donations* of Charity for Educating the Children of honeſt Parents, who ſhall be found to have good Spirits. I would only have them regulated: For Example, our Burſaries *, as we call them, are commonly but One-hundred Marks or One-hundred Pounds †, which cannot maintain any Perſon. I would therefore adviſe to caſt four or five of them together, which, beſides that it would abridge the Number of Pretenders to Learning, might furniſh ſufficient Funds for handſomely maintaining ſome few, and providing them with Neceſſaries for proſecuting their Studies; neither ought this to be thought contrary to the Intentions of thoſe who made the *Donations*, ſince, perhaps, at the Time when they were firſt beſtowed, an hundred Marks might have gone further than *now* Four-hundred can do. The genuine Deſign therefore being ſtill purſued, it is to be preſumed, that it was the Will of the *Donators* that ſuch Alterations ſhould be made, when they ſhould be found neceſſary.

One Thing I forgot relating to *Funds:* Perhaps, were the Funds, belonging to ſome Univerſities, *carefully and narrowly enquired into*, ſome of them might be found not *ſo uſefully applied*, as they might be, and others yet unbeſtowed, which might help to erect new Profeſſions, where they are wanting.

* Scholarſhips, or Donations for providing for Scholars in a College. † *Scotch.*

Παιδεία Θριαμβός, the Triumph of Learning over Ignorance, and of Truth over Falſehood; being an Anſwer to four Queries:

Whether there be any Need of Univerſities?
Who is to be accounted an Heretick?
Whether it be lawful to uſe Conventicles?
Whether a Lay-man *may* preach?

Which were lately propoſed by a *Zealot*, in the Pariſh Church at *Swacy* near *Cambridge*, after the ſecond Sermon, *October* 3, 1652: Since that enlarged by the Anſwerer, *R. B.* B. D. and Fellow of *Trinity* College, *Cambridge*.

TALMUD.

מרבה ישיבה מרבה חכמה *Qui auget* Academias, *auget Sapientiam & Sapientes.*

IGNAT.

Τὲς τὰ σχίσμα[α ποιέν]ας φεύγετε ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν.

ROM. xvi. 17.

Mark them which cauſe Diviſions, and avoid them.

ROM. x. 15.

How ſhall they preach, except they be ſent?

[From a *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages, printed at *London*, in 1653.]

The Author of this Pamphlet, Robert Boreman, *Brother to Sir* William Boreman, *or* Boureman, *Clerk of the* Green-Cloth *to King* Charles the Second, *was Fellow of* Trinity *College in* Cambridge, *afterwards Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of St.* Giles's in the Fields, *near* London, *and very probably of the Family of the* Boremans *in the* Iſle of Wight. *He publiſhed ſeveral other ſmall Pieces, and a Sermon on* Phil. iii. 20. *and died at* Greenwich *in* Kent, *about the latter End of the Year* 1675.

It appears by this Piece, that he was a Man of both Learning and Piety; for, I doubt not, but the Reader will preſently ſee, that he had not only read much, but was bleſſed

with a happy, methodical, and impartial Talent, whereby he confutes, without depreciating his Adverſary; and, throughout the Whole, there runs a ſenſible Vein of Compaſſion, and ſincere and hearty Prayer for the Converſion of thoſe that are miſled, and for the Subſiding of all Diſputes in Matters of Faith.

The Subjects, here treated of, are not only well handled, but are ſuch as, at that Time, were moſt neceſſary to be explained, when Ignorance *was, under the Power of the Sword, triumphing over* Learning; *when Sectaries increaſed daily, and every opinionated* Cobler, *or* Taylor, *uſurped the Miniſterial Office, and gloried in his endleſs Capacity of dividing the Church of* Chriſt; *when* private *Aſſemblies in* Rooms *or* Garrets, *after the Manner of our* Modern Schiſmaticks, *the Diſciples of* Weſtly *and* Whitefield, &c. *who, had they the ſame Power, are of no leſs turbulent and aſpiring Spirits, were preferred to the Worſhip of God's Houſe, the publick Prayers and Preaching in the Church, and* Lay *Teachers and Preachers were ſubſtituted in their private Meetings, in Oppoſition to their ſtated and lawful Miniſters. But our Author's Reaſons will beſt appear from his own Preface, as follows:*

To all ſincere and true-hearted *Chriſtians*, Lovers of *Learning*, *Truth*, and *Peace*.

The Jews *have a Saying, not more ſhort than ingenious, that* Truth ſtands upon two Legs, and a Lye upon one * : *Their Meaning is, that as* Falſhood *and* Hereſy *fall at the Length of themſelves, without any Contradiction, ſo* Truth *is, and ever was firm, ſtable, and laſting, getting Ground, Growth, and Strength, by Oppoſition. By this Means, many Queſtions, which lay hid, and, as it were, buried in the Grave of Silence, are raiſed, diſcuſſed, and evidenced even to vulgar Capacities.*

St. Auguſtine, *in his* 18*th* Lib. de Civ. Dei. Cap. 51. *treating of* Hereticks, *and proving that the* Catholick *Faith is ſtrengthened and confirmed by heretical Diſſenſions, ſays thus of falſe Teachers,* Habentur in exercentibus inimicis, &c. *i. e.* They are to be put into the File or Number of thoſe Enemies who exerciſe the Gifts and Graces of God's *Servants; who, like the Stars that ſhine brighteſt in the cold Nights of Winter, are, in Times of Oppoſition, more active than ever in Zeal, more vigilant and circumſpect in their Lives (as thoſe* † religious *Men were, in the Days of* Apollinaris, *who laboured to outſhine him in Strictneſs of Life, knowing that, by this, his Opinions thrived and prevailed.)* Laſtly, *more earneſt in their Devotion and Prayers to the* Father of Lights, *that the* Seduced *may be undeceived, and the* Seducers *convinced of their Errors. This (not to be ſeen in* Print, *which is a poor Piece of ambitious Pride) is the Scope of my Pen, and the Aim of my unworthy Endeavours: Eſpecially now, that* ‡ little Birds, *ſcarce fledged, or hatched, flying with their Shells upon their Heads, and having only a Feather or two of Boldneſs in their Faces, ſhall dare, and that in the Boſom of their* Nurſe, *or* Mother, *preach, or rather prate againſt Learning, which they never had, and inveigh againſt* Univerſities; quà tales, *ſimply as* Univerſities, *of which they never deſerved to be Members.*

* *Talmud.* † *Dabant operam per inculpatos mores ut illius dogmata non plus valerent.* Sozom. Lib. 6. Cap. 27. Jam. i. 17. ‡ *Hujus furfuris (ne dicam farinæ) eſt Burtonus iſte, heſternæ diei homullus, cui doctrinam & pietatem audaciæ inauditæ parem optamus.*

It

It is an ill Bird, *&c. Every* Engliſhman *knows what follows in the Proverb. There are no ſuch Enemies to* Learning, *as the Malicious and Ignorant.*

It was my Happineſs, of late, to meet with ſome Adverſaries, *not, perhaps, ſo knowing, yet more candid than the former,* Declaimers *againſt* Academies, *and Men of more* Chriſtian *Spirits, not (as St.* Auguſtine * *writes of the* Donatiſts) pertinaciâ inſuperabiles, *invincible and pertinacious in their Opinion; but ſuch, whoſe Minds were tuned to that* Obedience *and* Meekneſs, *that they, after a mild and long Debate, yielded, with thankful Acknowledgments, and Proteſtations of Love, to my Reaſons. And hereby declared plainly, before the* Congregation, *that they were free from that whereof they were falſely ſuſpected,* i. e. Hereſy: *Agreeable to that of the learned and moſt profound* Auguſtine †; Qui ſententiam ſuam quamvis falſam atque perverſam nullâ pertinaci animoſitate defendunt, ſed veritatem cautâ ſolicitudine quærunt, corrigi parati cùm invenerint, nequa quàm ſunt inter hæreticos deputandi. *The Meaning of which Words, in brief, is this, that* He only is to be counted an *Heretick,* who perſiſts, with Obſtinacy, in an Opinion, which is againſt the *Word*; not *he,* who errs, yet is ready to forſake his Error, and yield to the *Truth,* ſo ſoon as he is convinced of it.

This pious and humble Temper was in thoſe my Antagoniſts; *for whoſe farther Confirmation, and Satisfaction to their modeſt Deſires, together with the reſt of that populous Pariſh of* Swacy, *I have publiſhed the Diſcourſe, with ſome Enlargements, hoping that it will meet with as good Succeſs (by* God's *Bleſſing on it) in the Conviction of thoſe by whom it ſhall be peruſed, whoſe Judgments, perhaps, have been formerly perverted by* falſe Teachers, *who* beguile unſtable Souls, having Hearts exerciſed *(or overcome)* with Covetouſneſs; curſed Children *(they are Children for their Ignorance)* who, forſaking the Way of all Righteouſneſs, have gone aſtray, following the Way of *Balaam,* that made *Iſrael* to Sin ‡. *Such blind Guides as theſe have been the Cauſe of many poor* Souls *falling into the Ditch of* Hereſy, *which (if backed with Obſtinacy) is a Bar that ſhuts Men out of all Hope of Glory. This, hereafter, ſhall be proved, in my Anſwer to the ſecond Doubt.*

May the infinite Goodneſs (*to whoſe only Glory I humbly deſire to devote myſelf, and all my weak Endeavours*) *make them as uſeful and beneficial in the* confirming *and* reforming *of weak deceived Souls, as they are well meant and intended to the Church's Good, by the unworthieſt of his Servants: Who am, likewiſe,* Chriſtian Reader,

Thine in *Chriſt Jeſus,*

R. BOREMAN.

* *Ep.* 167. † *Ep.* 162. ‡ 2 *Pet.* ii. 14. 15. *Jude* ver. 11. *Numb.* xxv. 2. xxxi 16.

A ſhort

A ſhort Vindication of the Uſe and Neceſſity of *Univerſities*, and other *Schools* of *Learning*; being an *Anſwer* to the firſt *Query*:

What Need is there of Univerſities?

IT is truly obſerved by a learned* Writer, that the *Pope* of *Rome*, and that *Church*, never flew higher in Power, never ſunk deeper into Error, than when *Ignorance* prevailed, and *Learning* was ſuppreſſed. We may as ſafely, and with as much Truth, aſſert, That where the Purity of *God's Word* is corrupted, and not preſerved in its Integrity, that *Kingdom*, *Church*, or *State* cannot but fall into Ruin, and moulder away into Diviſions, cauſed by the Multiplicity of falſe Opinions, which, being joined with *Schiſm*, do often (as they have now done) engender and beget a Monſter, the Subverter of all Government, and the Diſturber of Peace, the Nurſe of *Religion*. *This* and *Learning* we may fitly reſemble to the great Luminaries of Heaven, the *Sun* and *Moon*, both for their Light and Influence. And, as for the Preſerving the intire Luſtre of the *Moon*, there is required a continual Emanation of Light from the *Sun*; ſo *Learning* borrows its true Light from *Religion*; without which a Man having a learned Head, and an unſanctified Heart, is the fitteſt Agent and beſt Inſtrument for the *Devil* to do Miſchief with; but now, here is the Difference between that leſſer Luminary and *Learning*, in that Reſemblance: The *Moon* repays no Tribute, confers no Benefit to the *Sun*; but *Learning*, by Way of Reflexion, conduces much (if not to the Being preciſely taken, at leaſt) to the happy and well Being of *Religion*. Theſe two, like *Eros* and *Anteros* in the Fable of the Poets, are ſick and well both at a Time. † *Julian* the Apoſtate underſtood this well, when he put down by a publick Edict the *Schools* where the Children of Chriſtians were to be educated; ſo did Pope ‡ *Paul the Second*, when he abſurdly pronounced thoſe Hereticks, that did either in Jeſt or Earneſt but uſe the Word *Academy* in their Tongues or Writings. The *Jeſuits* and their Factors, Men ſubtle in their Generations, and active in their miſchievous Intentions, they know the ſame, and therefore endeavour now to effect (what of late one vauntingly ſaid in the Ears of a good Proteſtant would be done) that is, To deſtroy the *Univerſities*, and with them the *Miniſtry* and *Religion*.

That the *Univerſities* ſo called, as ‖ one explains the Term, becauſe the Circle of all the Arts and Sciences is in them expounded or taught to young Students and others of all Sorts, Degrees, and Callings whatſoever; that theſe *Univerſities* and other *Schools* of *Learning* (Seed-plots and Nurſeries ſubordinate to them) are not only profitable to the *Church*, but alſo neceſſary for the Maintenance of *Religion*; ſo neceſſary, that, without them, neither the Doctrine of the *Goſpel* can be preſerved pure and uncorrupted, nor the *Church*, wherein we live, ſtand ſure upon its Foundation, but will certainly be deſtroyed; this I ſhall endeavour to prove by a familiar Climax or Gradation, propoſed to vulgar Capacities by Way of Queſtion:

Firſt, By what Means can the *Church* be pure and free from *Hereſies*, without the Guidance and Light of the pure *Word of God*, the holy *Scriptures?*

Secondly, How can that Word be preſerved in its Purity without the *Miniſtry?*

Thirdly, How can there be a *Miniſtry* without able and fit *Miniſters* to explain and publiſh that *Word* purely without Corruption? Whoſe Office it is to act the Parts of *Truth's Champions*, to defend it againſt ſeducing *Hereticks*, who (as § *Tertullian* well notes, '*evermore alledge Scripture to back and bolſter out their abſurd Opinions, and by this their Boldneſs they move ſome, tire out thoſe that are ſtrong by their reſtleſs Diſputes, take the Weak in their Nets, and as for thoſe of a middle Temper, theſe they ſend away full of Doubts and Scruples.*' And whence do Here-

* *Gentilet.* Exam. Concil. Trident. Lib. 1. Sect. 7, 8. *Ignorantiam & Romanæ ſedis autoritatem ſimul auctam, &c. Viciſſimque ut bonarum artium & literarum inſtauratione faceſſere cœpit ignorantia, ita & Pontificis autoritas paulatim imminui & labaſcere viſa eſt.*

† *G. Naz.* Orat. 3. ‡ *Platin.* in Vita ejus. ‖ *Fab. Soranus* in Theſauro.

§ *Tertul.* Lib. de Præſcript. *Scripturas obtendunt & hac ſua audacia quoſdam movent, &c.*

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ſies ariſe, but from this (as St. * *Auguſtine* obſerves) *dum Scripturæ bonæ intelligantur non bene, & quod in eis non bene intelligitur etiam temere & audaciter aſſeritur? &c. i. e.* 'Whilſt the good 'Word of God is not well underſtood, and that 'which is not well underſtood is raſhly and bold-'ly aſſerted for Truth, *&c.*'

Now, in the *Fourth* Place, How can ſuch ſtout *Champions*, learned and faithful Paſtors, be had without *Schools* of Learning, the *Univerſities?*

It will follow then by a neceſſary Illation or Conſequence that without *Univerſities*, out of which ſuch learned, wiſe, orthodox, and pious Men may be called and produced how to govern particular Congregations, and to ſit at the Helm of the *Church*, this cannot be preſerved ſecure and intire from Hereſies, but will be, like the † *Ship* wherein our *Saviour* was aſleep, *i. e.* battered with Tempeſts, and beaten with the Waves of contrary Opinions.

For this Cauſe we find in antient Records, that not only among the People of *God*, the antient *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, but alſo even among the *Gentiles* evermore in all Ages, great Care and Diligence was uſed to ordain and maintain *Schools* of Learning, and to place in them holy and knowing Men, whom they encouraged with large Stipends, *by* whoſe Pains and Parts the liberal Arts and Sciences, together with the Doctrine of their Religion, might be taught and faſtened in the People's Memories.

To omit the *Schools* of the *Gentiles*, as of the *Ægyptians* (‡ to whom Learning and Arts were derived from the *Jews*) likewiſe thoſe of the *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, all which (to the Shame of *Chriſtians* in theſe Times) had learned and Men of Wiſdom in high Eſtimation, eſpecially Profeſſors and Aſſertors of their Religion; ſuch were their *Magi*, their *Gymnoſophiſts*, their *Philoſophers*, their *Augurs*, or *Soothſayers*; omitting theſe, I ſhall make a plain Diſcovery of the *Schools* erected by the People of God, as well before as after *Chriſt*, and then leave it to the Judgment of diſcreet and moderate Judges, whether a Want of Love to Religion, and the Fear of God, does not diſcover itſelf in the profane Practices of thoſe Men who labour to pull down the *Miniſtry* (which is now the *Jeſuits* main Deſign) by doing as the ‖ *Philiſtines* did by the Wells of *Abraham*, *i. e.* by ſeeking to ſtop the Springs and Fountains of Learning, into which they have thrown Dirt and Stones, by undeſerved Slanders, and reproachful Infamies.

If we traverſe the Story of the *Old Teſtament*, we ſhall find that there were (and this not without the Preſcript or Command of God) in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, Schools conſtituted and opened to publick Uſe; in ſome whereof were placed *Levites*, in others *Prophets*, to teach and explicate the Law of God, to train up Diſciples or *Scholars*, who afterwards ſhould teach either in the Temples or Synagogues, and propagate the Doctrine of the Law to ſucceeding Generations. For, who were the Sons of the *Prophets*, of whom there is ſo often Mention made in the *Books of the Kings* §; but thoſe that were Students, educated and brought up in thoſe *Schools*, whereof the Prophets were Heads and Governors? This was the Intent or Meaning of the Prophet *Amos*, when he ſaid, ** *I am not a Prophet, nor the Son of a Prophet, i. e.* never brought up in the *Schools* of the learned Prophets.

What was the Reaſon that the Lord †† commanded forty-eight Cities with their Suburbs to be aſſigned to the *Levites*, above their Brethren of the other Tribes? Was it not for this, that in the Land of *Iſrael* there might be *Schools* and *Colleges*, in the which the *Levites* might teach and inſtruct young Novices, their Pupils, in the Law of *God*, and thereby fit them for the Offices of the Sanctuary?

Over theſe *Schools* or *Colleges* there were ever placed Men renowned for their Piety, Learning, Prudence, and Gravity of Manners, and thoſe choſen out of the *Prophets* and *Levites*. Thus ‡‡ *Samuel* was the Prefect or Governor of the *School* which was at *Naioth* in Mount *Ramah*; where were a School and Scholars in the Reign of *Aſa*, if we may believe the *Talmudiſts*, who ſay, ‖‖ that he was therefore puniſhed *with Lameneſs in his Feet*, 'becauſe he compelled all the wiſe 'Men or Doctors of that Place, together with 'their Diſciples or Scholars, to leave their Stu-'dies and to take up Arms for his Aid againſt 'Baaſha, King of *Iſrael*.' This they collect

* *Aug.* Tract. 18. in Evang. *Joh.* Encycl. Scholaſt. Heurn. primord. Philoſoph. 2 *Kings* ii. 3. 7. 15. ** *Amos* vii. 14.
‖‖ Vid. *Buxtorf* in אגנדיא 2 *Chron.* xvi. 12.
† *Luke* viii. 23. ‖ *Gen.* xxvi. 18. †† *Numb.* xxxv. 2.
‡ *Alſted.* Lib. 24. c. 13. § 1 *Kings* xx. 35. ‡‡ 1 *Sam.* xix. 18.

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(how truly I will not determine) out of 2 *Kings* xv. 22. where it is ſaid, that *Aſa made a Proclamation throughout all* Judah *(none was excepted) and they took away the Stones of* Ramah, &c. *i. e.* when the Scholars were all warned out by the King's Edict.

Elias * was the *Præpoſitus* or Maſter of the *School* at *Jericho*; in his Place ſucceeded his Diſciple *Eliſhah*, and ſo others after him in ſucceeding Ages.

In 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 22, we read of a College in † *Jeruſalem*, wherein *Huldah* the *Propheteſs* dwelt, when *Hilkiah* went unto her with a Meſſage from *Joſiah*. Doubtleſs, ſhe dwelt by herſelf in one of the Courts remote from the Prophets and their Sons, who were taught in the other. For Colleges, indeed, ought to be (what a Name that is given them by *Euſebius* does import) τὰ σεμνεῖα, Places of Gravity and Severity, which cannot well ſtand with a Mixture of both Sexes in one and the ſame Place. But to return from this ſhort Digreſſion:

To this End and Purpoſe it likewiſe was (I mean for the Maintenance of *Schools)* that the *Levites*, under the Law, had ſuch large Incomes by God's Appointment; they had well nigh (as hath been proved by me in another ‡ Treatiſe) the fifth Part of the *Jews* Revenues, which large Allowance was given them, that, being free from all Cares (to which the Miniſters of the Goſpel are too ſharply expoſed) they might, with the leſs Diſtraction, and more Freedom of Spirit, devote themſelves wholly to their Studies, and their Miniſterial Functions.

Again, we find that the *Jews* themſelves ever in after Ages endeavoured (even when they were diſperſed amongſt the *Gentiles)* to retain their Schools which are called, ſometimes, *Synagogues*, although in a ſtrict Senſe a *School* and a *Synagogue* differ. *Philo* (as he is cited by *Grotius* on St. *Matth.)* uſes ‖ the Names promiſcuouſly, and calls thoſe Synagogues διδασκαλεῖα §, for that they did both pray and preach in them, and withal (as they do now where they are) train up their Youth, and exerciſe themſelves by Diſputes and polemical Diſcourſes, concerning the Holy Scriptures; whereby they find out many hidden Truths. This is the Practice of Colleges in the Univerſities, by which Means the Students learn to whet their Tongues in Diſputes againſt the Truth's Adverſaries, thoſe of *Rome*, together with other Hereticks.

In the ſecond Place, That there were Colleges, Places of publick Concourſe even under the Goſpel, in the Time of the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, we may collect or gather out of the *Acts*: *And there were dwelling at Jeruſalem Jews, devout Men, out of every Nation under Heaven* **.

St. *Luke* records †† concerning our Lord Chriſt, that when he went into the Synagogue, that is, the ‡‡ School, *there was given to him*, as to a Doctor, *the Book of the Scriptures*, that he ſhould explain a Portion or Piece of them, which he accordingly did to the Amazement and Conviction of thoſe that heard him. The ſame Apoſtle likewiſe reports, that, when he was twelve Years of Age, he diſputed ‖‖ with the Doctors of the School with great Admiration. There were then Scholars, Colleges, and Doctors in our Saviour's Time; how then dare any diſallow of thoſe which Chriſt himſelf did approve of, ſo, as to go often into them, which he did ſurely to demonſtrate and ſhew their Neceſſity and Uſe. They who ſpeak and act, by a bold Oppoſition, the Contrary, by Denying their Uſe, to ſuch I may aptly retort, what St. *Auguſtine* did once in another Caſe to the *Donatiſts*, the true Pictures of our *Separatiſts*, *Chriſtianos vos eſſe dicitis, & Chriſto contradicitis*, *i. e.* '*you ſay you are Chriſtians, and contradict* '*Chriſt in your Words and Actions* §§'; this cannot ſtand with Chriſtianity, which admits of no ſuch Contradictions.

In *Acts* vi. 9, there is Mention of the Synagogue or College of the *Libertines*, *Cyrenians*, and *Alexandrians*, and of them of *Cilicia* and *Aſia*, who diſputed with the Protomartyr St. *Stephen*.

The ſame Author *** tells us how that St. *Paul* came from *Tarſus* of *Cilicia* unto *Jeruſalem*, where he was *inſtructed in the Law of the Lord at the Feet of Gamaliel*. It was the Faſhion or Cuſtom then of the Scholars, to ſit

* 2 *Kings* ii. 5.
† It is called there משנה, which is as much as *a double Houſe*, ſo called by Reaſon of its two Courts.
‡ The Church's Plea &c. *Sect.* 10. *p.* 23. printed at *London*, in 1651, 4*to*.
‖ *Grot* in *Matt.* iv. 23. § Places of Inſtruction. ** *Acts* ii. 5.
†† *Luke* iv. 15. 17. ‡‡ חומרש.בחרת. ‖‖ *Luke* ii. 42, 46.
§§ *Aug.* Ep. 171. *** *Acts* xxii. 3.

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at the Feet of the Doctors; whence thoſe are called by the *Rabbins* * *Pulveriſantes*, from the Duſt which they received thus ſitting below their Teachers. The forenamed *Gamaliel* was a Doctor or Teacher of the Law in the Academy of *Jeruſalem*, and Diſciple of that old *Simeon*, who took our Saviour, being then a Child, in his Arms, and then ſung his *Nunc Dimittis*, &c. his Swan-like Song, † *Lord, now letteſt thou*, thy Servant, *depart in Peace, for mine Eyes have ſeen thy Salvation, i. e.* The Lord *Chriſt*, who is Mercy and Salvation cloathed in Fleſh.

That *School* or *College* of *Jeruſalem* had many famous *Doctors*, one after another ſucceſſively in after Days, amongſt whom, was *Rabbi Hillel*, who lived an hundred Years before the Deſtruction of the *Temple* by *Titus*; of which *Hillel* we find ſo many rare and pious Sayings in the *Pirk Avoth*, a Book famous amongſt the *Jews*, for choice Proverbs, and grave Counſels.

We read likewiſe of St. *Paul*, that, after his Converſion, he went often into the *Synagogues* or *Schools* of the *Jews*, and mightily *convinced them, that* Jeſus *was the* Meſſias (or the *Chriſt*) *and perſuading the Things concerning the Kingdom of God* ‡.

There is Mention in the *Acts* ‖ of the *School* of one *Tyrannus*; it was erected by one, who was ſo called, by his proper Name, as *Beza* proves by many Teſtimonies againſt *Eraſmus*, and others, and with him, in this, the *Syriack* agrees; which, as *Salom Glaſſius* notes §, is the fitteſt to determine any Doubt or Controverſy bordering upon a Word or Phraſe in the New Teſtament, as the *Chaldee Paraphraſe* in the Old.

To omit that famous *School* in *Aſia* at *Epheſus*, erected by St. *John* the *Apoſtle*, in which *Polycarp* and *Irenæus* were Scholars, with many other famous Biſhops and Martyrs for the Truth of *Chriſt*.

Likewiſe that in *Paleſtine* of *Cæſarea*, in which *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neocæſarea* was brought up.

Alſo that in *Alexandria*, the moſt famous in the whole World, where (as St. *Jerom* atteſts) from the Days of St. *Mark* the Evangeliſt, many and great Doctors flouriſhed, as *Pantænus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Heraclas*, *Dionyſius*, with many others.

To the forenamed we might add that of *Byzantium* ** in *Greece*, where St. *Baſil*, that †† *Demoſthenes* amongſt the Fathers (for his ſublime Elegancy ſo called) was educated; he was Brother to that learned *Nazianzen* who (being indeed, a Magazine of all Kind of Learning) is worthily called, ὁ θεόλογος, i. e. *the Divine*.

To this of *Byzantium* might be adjoined that of *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, by the Lake of *Genneſareth* ‡‡, ſo famous for the *Maſorites*, thoſe laborious Textuaries and Cabaliſts among the *Jews*.

But omitting the farther Diſcuſſing and Opening of theſe *Schools* or *Colleges* (whereby I might farther evince by demonſtrative Arguments the Neceſſity of *Learning*, and learned Men; as ſo many Pillars, to ſuſtain the vaſt Fabrick of a *Church*, *Kingdom*, or *State*, from crumbling into Duſt, and mouldering into Ruin) I ſhall only ſubjoin what now follows, by Way of a concluding Pareneſis, or Exhortation to Men of vulgar Conceits, and miſled Fancies.

Let them run back in their Thoughts, and look upon the Story of our *Church* in former Ages. Who were they that gave *Pope*, and his Factors, their deadly Wounds, ſtabbing them at the Heart with the ſharp Weapons of their acute Arguments? Who did this glorious Work, but firſt a *Jewel* |||, a Biſhop? Who was the firſt, that, in a Sermon at *Paul's Croſs*, made a publick Challenge to all the *Papiſts* in the World, to produce but one clear and evident Teſtimony out of *Scripture*, or any *Father*, or other famous Writer, within ſix-hundred Years after *Chriſt*, for any one of the many Articles which the *Romaniſts*, at this Day, maintain againſt us; and upon good Proof, of any one ſuch good Allegation, he promiſed to yield them the Bucklers, and reconcile himſelf to *Rome*. And although *Harding* §§, and ſome others, undertook him and entered into the Liſts with him, about the Twenty-ſeven controverted Articles, yet they came off poorly, and *Jewel* on the Contrary, with triumphant Victory, having ſo amazed and confounded them with a Cloud of Witneſſes in every Point, that (as Biſhop *Godwin* *** reports of him, 'Dici *non po-*

* מתאבק. † *Luke* ii 28, 29. ‡ *Acts* xviii, 28. ‖ *Acts* xvii. 8. § *Glaſſ.* Phyſiol. Sac. ** Or *Conſtantinople*, anciently called *Byzantium*. †† Vid. *Poſſevin.* in Vita *Baſil.* ‡‡ Vid. *Buxtorf* in Tiberiad. ||| Biſhop *Jewel*. *Godwin.* in Vita ejus, p. 403. §§ A *Romiſh* Prieſt. *** Page 410.

'*est quantum hæc res Pontificiorum apud nos* '*vires fregerit, existimationem minuerit, nec* '*præsertim postquam Hardingi frigida respon-* '*sione errorum ab illis recensitorum novitas pa-* '*tuerit*'. i. e. It cannot be said how this Thing broke the Hearts, and weakened the Force of the *Pontificians* *, with the Loss of their Esteem and Credit in these Parts, especially, when, after the frigid or cold Answer of *Harding*, the Novelty of their Opinions was plainly discovered.

This glorious *Champion* of *Truth*, for his rare and admirable Parts and Gifts, both natural and supernatural, did every Way correspond to his gracious and precious Name; he was a rich *Jewel* consisting of many Gems, shining as well in his Life, as his incomparable Writings: *Lord*, adorn and inrich thy *Church* continually with such *Jewels*, deck her Cheeks with Rows of such Rubies, her Neck with such glorious Chains, &c. He was born in *Devonshire*, bred up at *Oxford* †, and if it lay at my Mercy, to save or destroy it ‡, I should spare it, because it bred such a *Pillar* of *Truth*, and the Scourge of *Rome*, as the Conqueror spared *Syracusa*, because he found in it an *Archimedes*.

With him we may parallel our famous *Whitgift*, who was contemporary with him; for the former died, *Anno* 1571; this latter was installed Bishop of *Worcester*, *Anno* 1577, and afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury* 1583. He was born in *Lincolnshire*, bred here at *Cambridge*, first in *Pembroke Hall*, afterwards Fellow of *Peter-house*, and not long after, he being of rare and eminent Parts, was made President of *Pembroke Hall*, next Master of *Trinity College*, in which Time he was first the *Margaret*, then the *King's Professor* of Divinity. This matchless Patern of Prudence and Patience did stand as stoutly, as the former, in the Defence of the Truth, against our Home-bred *Innovators*, who (as our learned *Cambden* says in his *Annals*) trampled on all Government, and making *Fancy*, the Mistress of their Judgment, Pride and a zealous Ignorance being their Guides, they inveighed against the ‖ *Queen*'s Authority, and herein spake the Language of *Ashdod*; acted highly for the *Jesuits*, denied Uniformity in Divine Worship, although established by the Authority of *Parliament*, severed the Administration of the Sacraments from the Preaching of the Word §: *Novos ritus pro arbitrio in privatis ædibus usurpabant*, &c. ** They neglected and despised the Sacraments (forgetting that God will not save us without the Use of Means.) They refused to go to *Church*, thus making a dangerous *Schism*, and rending the seamless Coat of Christ, *Pontificiis plaudentibus, multosque in suas parte trahentibus, quasi nulla esset in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ unitas*; i. e. Hereby they made our Adversaries to rejoice and triumph over us, and were the Cause of many weak ones turning *Papists*, upon this Ground, that there was no Unity in our *Church*. (I fear our *Separatists* †† have now caused the like, if not worse, Mischief, in the Revolt of many Thousands from us.) Those *Chams*, Men of hot and fiery Spirits, who inveighed against their *Fathers*, and uncovered their *Mothers* Nakedness; those *Scindentes* (as ‡‡ *Irenæus* well calls them) to which he joins *elati & superbi*; those proud, high-minded, daring *Schismaticks*, that reverend, learned, and most patient *Whitgift* quelled, and suppressed in a short Time by his discreet Meekness, and gentle Exhortations to Peace; first stopping, by Arguments, the Mouths of their *Antesignani*, their Leaders (as *Cartwright* and others); this he did by Disputes and mild Persuasions to Peace, and at last having, by a patient Courage, overcome many strong Oppositions from the *Nobles* and their Adherents, Abettors in that Schism, by God's Blessing he restored the Church to Unity and Concord both in *Doctrine* and *Discipline*. Who, but a Man of great Learning and Grace, could have done this, and been the Instrument of settling in a distracted *Kingdom* an universal Peace

Let me add to these one, though of a lower Rank in the Church, yet not much inferior in Gifts of Nature, and Grace, the renowned *Whitaker*, first Scholar, and after Fellow of *Trinity College*, famous for his admirable Skill in the Arts and Tongues; as for his Excellency in the Knowledge of *Divinity*, his famous Works now extant, his Confutation of *Campian*, *Sanders*, *Duræus*, *Raynolds*, *Stapleton*, nay

* Or *Papists*. † First in *Merton*, afterwards in *Corpus Christi* College. ‡ Alluding to the Danger in which *Oxford* was then, for refusing to submit to the Rump Visitors. ‖ *Elisabeth*.
§ *Sacramentorum administrationem à verbi divini prædicatione sejungebant*. Cambd. ** The abused new Rights in private Houses, &c. †† The confused Number of Sectaries, which sprang up in the Time of the Civil Wars. ‡‡ Aug *l. de Civit. Dei*, 16. *c.* 2. *comparat Chamo hæreticos*, *l.* 4. *c.* 43.

of

of *Bellarmine* himself, with whom, then living, this our *Champion* encountered; he confounded the former, proving the *Pope* to be *Antichrist*, and maintaining the Authority of the *Scriptures* above the Church; and at last singling out the * *Cardinal* himself, the *Goliah* of *Rome*, he stunned him so, with the Strength of prevailing *Truth* and Reason, in his Controversies concerning the Church, *Scriptures* and *Councils*, &c. that the Cardinal (it seems, first convinced by his Argumentations) having him in high Estimation, procured his Picture, and hung it in his Study among the Portaitures of other noted Men, and was heard to say, *That, though he was an Heretick, yet he was a learned one.* Never any Saying had more of *Falsity* and *Truth* in it. When he confessed him to be *learned*, it was all one, as if he had acknowledged that he was by him confuted. What firmer Testimony than that, which falls from the Lips of a professed Enemy?

To these forenamed Worthies, I might add the late right reverend *Davenant*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; the now living and most knowing Prelates *Armagh* † and *Morton*, true nursing *Fathers* of the Church, fed with their *Doctrine*, and defended by their Pens, which they have with great Success dipped in the Ink of Confutation, against *Jesuits* and *Heetricks*. *The Lord hath done great Things by these* Benaiahs ‡, and *wrought great Victories* by Means of their painful Works against our Adversaries.

Could these famous, useful, and Church-preserving Acts, with many hundred more which have been effected by Men of Parts, could these mighty Things have been done without Learning; could this have been attained without the Help and Furtherance of publick Schools and Universities? I suppose no Man is so wanting to Truth and Modesty as to say it. This made *Alphonsus*, King of *Arragon*, bear an open Book in his Escutcheon ‖, to testify thereby to the World his high Esteem of Learning, as being the Prop of *Religion*, and the Pillar of a State and Kingdom. And therefore *Charles* the Great, whersoever he erected a Church, there he ever annexed a School of Learning to it. Oh then let not the undermining and crafty *Jesuits* (who now swarm amongst us) blow any longer this Poison into your Ears; believe not the Voice of these ** *Hyæna's*, who may speak like Men nay, like *Angels*, but within are ravening *Wolves* and savage Beasts. Their common Trade and Work now is to cry down Learning, and the Fountains of it, the *Universities*: They know that their Cause cannot thrive so long as Learning does flourish: These †† *Solifugæ* hate that confounding Light: These Frogs love to croak in the black Night of Ignorance, they ever dig their Mines in Darkness. The Traitor *Vaux*, ‡‡ and his dark Lanthorn, was the true Emblem of a *Jesuit*, who has some Light within which makes him sin against his Conscience; yet that Light wrapped up and obscured by Malice, which forces him to act in Defence of the Catholick Cause, and contrive any bloody Wickedness.

And now is his Harvest, who loves to fish in troubled Waters; he hath put forth the Sickle of his undermining Policy to cut down the *Clergy* and the *Universities*, witness the late Petitions against *Tithes*, and that other from some mistaken ones in the County of *Bedford*, who little dream that they are now plowing with the *Jesuits* ||| *Heifer*, who have closely contrived those Petitions, and incensed the *Countrymen* against *Churchmen* and *Scholars*. For Shame, work not any longer in this bloody Field; be not *Daysmen* to these Men of *Darkness*, what they have covertly contrived, do not thou attempt openly and in publick. Believe it, if the *Pipes* be cut from the two Fountains, if the Revenues and Means which flow from the Springs of Benefators for Learning's Maintenance, if they be taken away (which God I hope will prevent by his merciful and over-ruling Providence) then (I trust this then will never be) then we shall see (I hope we shall never see it) these *** *wild Boars* coming out of *Rome*'s Wood and Wilderness; these *Foxes* †††, *deceitful Workers*, *Ministers of Satan* ‡‡‡ *Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing* ‖‖‖; they will, when they meet with no Opposition, when the Walls and Watchmen are gone, break with Violence into the Vineyard, destroy its pleasant Branches, devour its Grapes, and (like those *Wolves* in the Fable, when the Dogs at their Persuasion were sent away) they will prey upon the poor *Sheep*, tear their Fleece from their

* *Bellarmine.* † Archbishop *Usher.* ‡ 2 *Sam.* xxviii. 12. 20. ‖ *Middlecorp.* l. de Academ. 1. p. 104. ** De his vid. *Franzii* Histor. S. p. 1. c. 20. †† De his vid. *Solinum.*
‡‡ *Guy Faux*, who was found with a Dark Lanthorn ready in the Cellar under the Parliament-House, to set Fire to the *Gun-Powder*, intended to blow up the King, Lords, and Commons, &c. ||| *Judg* xiv. 18.
*** *Psal.* viii. 14. ††† *Cant.* ii. 15. ‡‡‡ 2 *Cor.* x. 13. 15. ‖‖‖ *Mat.* vii. 15.

Backs,

Backs, devour their Fleſh: In a Word, when they want their *Guard* and *Watch*, i. e. orthodox *Paſtors* and ſound *Doctors* or *Teachers*, the one to inſtruct the Churches, the other to train up Students in the *Schools*: Then will the People be left as a Prey to *Hereticks*, *whoſe Doctrine will eat like a Gangrene* *, i. e. ſpeedily, incurably, mortally. They will infect their Souls with poiſonous Opinions, and (as they have begun) with *damnable Hereſies* † (to ſpeak in St. *Peter*'s Language) which St. *Paul* reckons amongſt *the Fruits of the Fleſh* ‡, and exclude Men from the heavenly Inheritance. Of this Opinion was *Ignatius*, a Scholar of the *Apoſtles*, who ‖ aſſures us that both *Seducing* and *Seduced* Hereticks ſhall periſh for ever, and that with as good Reaſon as Thieves among Men are put to Death. *Hereticks* rob Men's Souls of *God* and the *Truth*, they ſhut Men out of *Heaven*, and drive them into *Hell*. To prevent all theſe fatal Miſchiefs, drain not (but rather increaſe with Augmentations) the *Fountains of Learning* and *Religion*; if theſe be once dried up, a Drowth of *Truth* will follow, and a Deluge of Miſeries, when *Barbariſm* and *Atheiſm*, with other horrid Impieties, ſhall abound in this Land, and overthrow the *Church*, ** whoſe Welfare is contained (together with the Common-wealth's) in the Preſervation of *Learning*, *Arts*, and *Sciences*, which I could prove more at large, did I not fear to load the Preſs, and tire the Reader's Patience.

I ſhall conclude this firſt *Query* with an open Confeſſion, that, in theſe tumultuous, *diſordered Times*, ſome Dirt has gotten into our *Fountains* ††, and mingled itſelf with our pure Streams; but what was ever in all Ages, we hope, will not with Aggravations be charged upon us, as the only Fault of ours. And I truſt that thoſe *Bedfordians* (who clamour againſt the *Univerſities*) will be laid aſleep, and ſilenced by *higher Powers*; neither doubt we, but that thoſe, who have made ſuch loud Cries and Proteſtations for *Truth*, will not now at length (after Spilling ſo much Blood in the Defence of the *Goſpel*, as was pretended) give themſelves the Stab of a Lye, by doing that which will overthrow and lay *Truth* in the Duſt, and ſetting up *Falſhood* with a painted Face, coloured with Shews of Piety, and Pretences of Godlineſs. *Quod averruncet Deus.* As for my Part, I ſhall ever beg of *God* (and it is a Piece of my daily Devotions) that he would open the Eyes, and mollify the Hearts of the *Seduced*, and obdurate *Seducers* in this Age, that, being reduced to the ſaving Knowledge of the *Truth*, they may have good Wills joined with their great Power to preſerve the *Keriotſepher*, the *Univerſities*, and other *Schools*, that from thence may come knowing Men of ‡‡ ſound Opinions, and incorrupt Lives, whereby they may outſhine *Hereticks*, and be able to refute and ſtop the Mouths of *Hereſies*. Men well learned, of good Lives, and lawfully ordained *Miniſters*, have a ſpecial Call to ſo great a Work, they have a Bleſſing promiſed ‖‖ on their Labours; and may ſuch be ever bleſſed who are Lovers of *Peace*, and *Truth*'s Defenders.

The Second QUERY.

Who is an Heretick, and What is an Hereſy?

Amongſt many convincing Arguments to prove the Greatneſs of the Evil and Danger of *Hereticks*, ſome have been drawn from the great Pains, and Coſt, which the Primitive *Church* employed, and ſpent to extinguiſh the Flame or Fire of *Hereſies*, whereſoever and whenſoever it was unhappily kindled: This is atteſted by the learned *Chamierus* in an Epiſtle to *Armandus* ***. Thus from the great Care and Sollicitude of the *Phyſician*, from the Price and Coſt of the *Phyſick*, or Remedies, we may judge of the Grievouſneſs and Danger of the Diſeaſe.

Again, another Argument, to prove the Greatneſs of this Evil, may be reduced from the raging Anger, and impatient Wrath, which ever appeared, and broke forth in theſe ancient *Chriſtians*, who were Patterns of Humility, and rare Examples of Meekneſs; yet, being falſly accuſed of *Hereſies*, and branded with the Name of *Heretick*, could not with any Patience hear and endure it. We read in the ††† Lives of the Fathers, of one *Agatho*, whoſe Name ſpeaks him, as he was, a *good Man*, and moſt devout,

* 2 *Tim.* ii. 17. † 2 *Pet.* ii. 1. ‡ *Gal.* v. 40. ‖ *Ignat.* Ep. ad Epheſ. Οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι, &c. ** Vid. *Middendorp.* de Accademiis l. 1. c. 4. & 8.
†† Univerſities. ‡‡ ὁ βίῳ συμφωνῶν τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τὰ δόγματα βίῳ, *Chryſ.* ‖‖ *Mat.* xxviii. 20. *I am with you.* *** Scimus quantis olim ſudoribus Epiſcopi Catholici Hæreticos redarguerint, & quantis ſumptibus orthodoxi Imperatores eos repreſſerint. Apiſt. 3. ad *Armand. Jeſuit.* ††† Part. 2. de Patient. & Humilit.

that

that, having held his Peace, in Imitation of his meek Saviour, at the Propoſal of many Crimes falſly objected and maliciouſly laid to his Charge, yet at the Name of *Hereſy* (being called *Heretick*) he was very much moved, and moſt wrathfully diſpleaſed.

This made *Ruffinus* (as he is cited by * Biſhop *Jewel*, ſay, *Non eſt Chriſtianus, qui notam Hæreſeos diſſimulat*, i. e. He is no *Chriſtian*, that can endure to be called *Heretick*. To this Purpoſe is that of St. *Jerom* †, *Nolo in ſuſpicione Hæreſeos quemquam eſſe patientem.* It becomes every one with the greateſt Care and Induſtry to avoid the very Suſpicion of *Hereſy*.

Thus a mere Imagination, and falſe Apprehenſion of being reputed and named *Hereticks*, exaſperated of late the Spirits of ſome well-meaning *Chriſtians*, and moved them to break through all Bounds of Modeſty, by a publick Demand of me, before the Congregation ‡, (in *Swacy* near *Cambridge*) to deliver my Thoughts concerning *Hereſy* and *Hereticks*. To whom (after a ſhort Preface to our enſuing Conference) I thus replied with great Affection to their Souls, and (in Obedience to the Apoſtle's Command ‖) with as much Meekneſs as I could, leſt that, in the Flame of Paſſion and Heat of Contention, Truth ſhould ſindge her Wings (as too oft ſhe hath done) and take her Flight, leaving the Parties wholly unſatisfied.

Firſt, to avoid all needleſs Queſtions, and endleſs Diſputes, we muſt diſtinguiſh between theſe two Things, to be an *Heretick*, and to embrace an *Hereſy*, or an Opinion that is erroneous.

For not every one, whoſe *Opinion* is *Heretical*, is to be reckoned and liſted in the black Roll of *Hereticks*, but only he, who, having been baptized in the *Chriſtian Faith*, ſhall *ſtiffly* maintain, and *obſtinately* defend an Untruth againſt it. By the *Chriſtian Faith*, we are not to underſtand in general the Word of *God* in its whole Latitude, *viz.* The *Prophetical* and *Apoſtolical* Doctrine contained in the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; for not every falſe Interpretation of any one Place of Scripture, nor every Opinion, reſulting from that Place ſo interpreted, falls under the Name and Notion of *Hereſy* (as St. *Jerom* ſeems to aſſert it in his Commentary upon the *Galatians*) but, by the *Chriſtian Faith*, we mean thoſe *Four Principles* of our Faith, which are the four Kinds of Fundamentals, the Denial and Oppoſing any one whereof with Pertinacy intitles a Man to the Guilt of *Hereſy*, and the Name of *Heretick*.

The *Firſt* of thoſe Fundamentals is placed in the *Apoſtles Creed*.

The *Second*, in the *Decalogue* or *Ten Commandments*

The *Third* in the *Lord's Prayer*.

The *Fourth* is the *two Sacraments* and the *Lord's Supper*.

Thus the reverend and learned Biſhop *Davenant* determines the Caſe, in that moſt judicious and Schiſm-confounding Work of his, intituled, *ad Pacem Adhortatio* §. 'So then, he 'that ſhall *perverſly* deny any Article of the 'Creed, which is *Chriſtianorum fidei & ſpei* 'formula Veritatis ſumma ac fundamentum (to 'uſe the Terms of the *Tridentine Catechiſm*) 'the Form of a *Chriſtian*'s Faith and Hope; 'the Epitome and Foundation of Truth'; he that ſhall likewiſe *wilfully* err, *in principiis moralibus*, i. e. *in the Principles of Manners, or good Living*; he that ſhall believe or maintain the Contrary to any Precept or Moral Command, as, that *ſimple Fornication* is no Sin, which is the Opinion of the ** *Jews* and *Papiſts*; that it is lawful to worſhip an Image, the Works of Men's Hands, or the like; he that ſhall overthrow the Doctrine of the *Sacraments*, either denying the Exerciſe or Uſe of the *Sacrament* of *Baptiſm*, or not baptizing, according to the Tenor of Chriſt's †† Injunction, *In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, or not celebrating the *Euchariſt* according to our *Saviour*'s Inſtitution, by denying the Cup to the People, or the like: *Laſtly*, He or they that err in the *fundamental* Doctrine concerning *Prayer*, making their Addreſſes to any one, but *God* alone, through the Mediation of *Chriſt* his Son, by Faith in whom, and being knit to them in Love, we are bold to call *God Our Father*, &c. He that ſhall *obſtinately* perſiſt both in Opinion and Practice againſt any Precept or Doctrine in theſe four Kinds of *Fundamentals*, he cannot be exempted from

* Par. 1. c. 6. Defenſ. Anglic. Eccl. † Ep. 6. ad *Pammach.* ‡ *Octob.* 3d. 1652.
‖ Gal. vi. 1. *Ye which are ſpiritual, reſtore*, &c. § An Exhortation to Peace. ** Vid. *Kimchi* in *Pſal.* †† *Mat.* xxviii. v. ult.

the

the Number of *Hereticks*, whoſe Names are not regiſtered in the Book of Life, into which none ſhall enter that *work Abomination, or make a Lie*, Rev. xxi. 27. Such Workers of Miſchief are thoſe ἀπωλείας ἐργάται, as * *Cyril.* rightly tells them, Men that are *Leaders* and *Abettors* of an *Hereſy*. Such Men, whom we may call *Dæmonice Meridiana* (as St. † *Jerom* once called *Arius*) Men blown up with Pride, and infected with a diabolical, daring Spirit, you muſt decline, as you would thoſe that have the Leproſy or Plague. *Hereſy* is a catching Diſeaſe, and hard to be cured; it enters into the Soul by the Eye and Ear (when you either read the Books, or hear the Sermons of *Hereticks*) and, entering thus in, it brings Death and Deſtruction, as its Attendants, with it. St. *Paul* was not ignorant of this, as appears by his wholſome and ſeaſonable Exhortation for theſe Times. *Rom.* xvi. 17. *I beſeech you, Brethren* (obſerve the Apoſtle's earneſt Supplication, grounded upon the Danger of *heretical* Infection) *mark them which cauſe Diviſions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.* Verſe 18. *For they, that are ſuch, ſerve not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own Bellies.* They are commonly covetous and luxurious Perſons, given over to their Appetites. They are diſſembling Hypocrites, for, as it follows there, *with fair Speeches and Flatteries they deceive the Hearts of their ſimple* Followers and Auditors. *If there come any ſuch unto you, and bring not the Doctrine of Chriſt* (but that which is contrary to it) *receive him not into your Houſe, neither bid him God ſpeed*, 2 John 10. *i. e.* Have nothing to do with him, neither ſhew him any Sign of Familiarity or Reſpect, leſt, under the Guiſe or Fleece of a Lamb-like Teacher, you meet (in the Concluſion, with devouring *Wolves*, proud *Anabaptiſts*, or Soul-murdering *Jeſuits*; who now, like their great Maſter, the *Prince of Darkneſs*, *go about, ſeeking whom they may* deſtroy with their Anti-ſcripture, Antichriſtian, infectious Tenets or *Hereſies*. None, more than theſe grand *Impoſtors*, are Pleaders for *Conventicles*, that ſo they may with more Security open the Fardal of their *Maſs* (that Maze ‡ of Idolatry) among themſelves, and draw poor deceived Souls from the Love of the *Church*, and their *Miniſters*. Σκοπεῖτε, mark with Diligence, thoſe that preach this Doctrine, and conclude with yourſelves, that they are either immediately ſent from *Rome* that Antichriſtian Synagogue, or ſeduced by the *Romiſh Agents*, whoſe only Aim in theſe Times is, to blow the Coal of Diviſion (uſing the *Separatiſts* ‖ as his Bellows for this very Purpoſe) and to draw Men's Minds from the Love of the *Truth* and *Learning*, knowing full well, that the Fabrick of their Superſtition and idolatrous Worſhip relies only upon the rotten Pillar of Ignorance, the only Prop too of the *Pope*'s Greatneſs.

For (as § that Examinator of the *Council*, or rather *Conventicle*, of *Trent* ſays well) *ut bonarum literarum inſtauratione faceſſere cœpit ignorantia*, &c. *i. e. So ſoon as the Cloud of* Ignorance *was diſpelled by the bright Beams of* Learning, *the Authority of the* Pope *began preſently to fail and ſuffer a great Diminution.* Therefore I exhort you again, σκοπεῖν, to mark thoſe who are Sowers of *Diviſion*, who endeavour to disjoin your Hearts from the Love of thoſe, whom *God* hath placed over you, to be your *Guardians* and *Watchmen* **, ſuch among the reverend *Fathers* of the *Church* are now (*God* be bleſſed for it) yet living, to the Terror and Grief of our Adverſaries; ſuch likewiſe yet breathe (though with much Diſcouragements) amongſt the inferior *Miniſters*, who are more famous for the *Pulpit* and *Schools*, than for the *Preſs*, and are able to wield the *Sword* of Argumentation, to the Confutation and Confounding of *Rome*'s Factors; who deal by us, as the *Hereticks* of the former Age by thoſe *propugnatores fidei*, Defenders of the Faith, *Baſil, Nazianzen, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Jerom*, &c. whom (as †† *Lindanus* notes) the others impudently called, *Hereticks*, *Hæretici Hæreticos appellabant*, ſo they undeſervedly and moſt uncharitably term us. To whom I ſhall only reply in the Words of St. *Auguſtine* ‡‡ to the *Pelagians: Impetremus, ſi poſſumus, à fratribus noſtris, ne nos inſuper appellent Hereticos, quod eos talia diſputantes nos appellare poſſumus fortaſſe, ſi vellemus*, &c. *i. e. We wiſh that we might obtain this Favour of our Brethren, that they would not call us Hereticks, which we might (if we were ſo pleaſed to break the Rule of Charity, which loveth Peace* ‖‖)

* *Cyril.* l. 1. in *Joh.* cap. 4. † *Hieron.* Apol. adverſus *Ruffin.* Lib. 2. ‡ So called in the Confutation of the Papiſts Catechiſm, *Pag.* 29. ‖ Doctor *Crakanthorpe*, in his Defence of our Church, does call them fitly, *Flabella Jeſuitarum.* § *Gentillet.* ** *Ezek.* liii. 17, 18, 19. †† Præfat. in Panopliam. ‡‡ *Aug.* contr. *Pelag.* ‖‖ 2 *Cor.* xiii. 7.

rightly

rightly call them, &c. as might be evidenced and proved by the former Definition of *Hereſy*, and Deſcription of an *Heretick*. To all which I ſhall ſubjoin this, to ſtrengthen my Aſſertion, That, as an Error, *in fundamento*, in any one of the forenamed *Fundamentals*, ſo, one that is *circa fundamentum*, about, or bordering upon the *Foundation* joined with *Conviction* (after the Teſtimony of the whole *Church*, in Word or Writing to the Contrary) and that *Conviction* backed with *Contumacy*, theſe do conſtitute an *Heretick*.

He that comes boldly in a Man's Face, and cuts his Throat, and he that ſteals behind his Back, and knocks him on the Head, are both equally guilty of Murder (and would be found ſo, were they to be tried.) So he that directly and manifeſtly deſtroys a fundamental Truth, and he that obliquely does it, teaching, or obſtinately maintaining thoſe Things, which, if they be granted, by a neceſſary Conſequence overthrow the Doctrines of Faith, both theſe *Antiſcripturiſts* are to be reckoned amongſt *Hereticks*, although the former are far worſe than the latter.

Thus the *Hereſy* of the * *Marcionites*, and *Manichees*, who deſtroy the human Nature of *Chriſt*, by allowing him only a phantaſtick Body, is ſomewhat worſe than that of the *Popiſh* Tranſubſtantiators, who, by Conſequence, do that which is directly intended by others: For that, with the Defence of this their abſurd Opinion, the Articles of the *Incarnation*, *Aſcenſion*, and *Seſſion* of our Lord *Chriſt*, at *God*'s Right-hand, all theſe will fall to the Ground, as the reverend and moſt learned Biſhops, † *Morton*, *Hall*, and *White*; alſo, the judicious *Crakanthorpe*, in his elaborate Defence of our Church againſt *Spalatenſis* ‡, prove at large.

You may hereby collect what great Boldneſs hath ſeized upon the Tongues and Pens of the proud *Romaniſts*, who dare throw that Dirt upon us, which covers their own Faces, whilſt they, with as much Audacity as Falſity, ſtile us (what they are, indeed, themſelves judged by the Learned to be) *i. e. Hereticks*. Thus the *Arians* dealt by the *Chriſtians* in the primitive Times, as we find in *Salvian*, who complains thus of them: *In tantum ſe Catholicos eſſe judicant, ut nos titulo hæreticæ pravitatis infament*; which Words would rightly fit our Tongues in Reference to our *Romiſh* Adverſaries, who (ſpeaking and writing a mere Contradiction) call themſelves *Catholicks*, when, indeed, they are not truly ſo: It is a Term proper only to the univerſal Church of Chriſt, diſperſed and ſcattered over the Face of the whole Earth. They are a particular Church, and therefore, whilſt they ſtile themſelves (indeed, it is *ſtilo novo*) *Catholicks*, they ſpeak as much, or, in Effect, as if a Man ſhould ſay, a *particular Univerſal*, or *univerſal Particular*, which is abſurd, and againſt the Rules of Logick. Therefore, in that, they appropriate to themſelves the Name of *Catholicks*, they do this as falſly, as when they faſten upon us the Name of *Hereticks*, which is a Term diſgraceful and odious.

Lord, open their Eyes, that they may ſee the Truth, and inflame all our Hearts with a greater Love of it, that, knowing what we believe, and practiſing what we know, we may, at the laſt, be crowned amongſt thoſe, who, with that invincible ‖ *Athanaſius*, have *contended earneſtly for the Truth*, even to the Loſs of their Lives and Liberties. This is enjoined by St. *Jude*, ver. 3. and a clear Deſcription of ſuch an heroick Spirit we find, *Heb.* xi. 37. *It.* c. x. 34. *Which Things were written for our Inſtruction*, that we, *being compaſſed about with ſo great a Cloud of Witneſſes*, ſhould § *reſiſt even unto Blood*, and ſtrive againſt *Hereſy* and *Hereticks*, *Men of corrupt Minds*, and deſtitute of the *Truth*; *from ſuch ſeparate yourſelves*, 1 *Tim.* vi. 5. Converſe not with ſuch peſtilentious Perſons. This, too, was the wiſe Counſel of the bleſſed Martyr *Ignatius*, who (as we read in ** *Euſebius*) uſed to go from Houſe to Houſe, through all the Churches in the Dioceſe, admoniſhing and intreating the Chriſtians to abſtain from the Society of known Hereticks, who, like †† Pitch, defile the Weak, with the leaſt Touch of private Conference.

‡‡ *Beware of falſe Prophets*, &c.

* De his vid. *Epiphan.* *Aug.* Philaſt. de Hæreſibus. *Cranmer.* adv. Hæreſ.

† Ep. *Mort.* contra Miſſam. Lib. 8. Cap. 2. *Hall* in his Treat. called *Rome irreconcil.* *White* againſt *Fiſher*, Q. 19. Dr. *Crakanthorpe*, Cap. 48. *Num.* 23. ‡ *Antonio de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalato* in *Italy*. *Salv.* Lib. 5. de Guber. Dei. ‖ *Athanaſius* cont. *Mundum.* *Raimund* cont. *Athanaſium.* vid. *Ribadin.* in Vitâ ejus. § *Heb.* xii. 1. & 4. ** *Euſeb.* Lib. 3. Cap. 30. †† *Eccl.* xiii. 1. ‡‡ *Mat.* vii. 15.

The

The Third QUERY.

Whether it be lawful (or allowable by the Word) for any to frequent Conventicles, *forſaking the publick Meetings of* Chriſtians *in* Churches?

AS there is a peeviſh Induſtry in *Wickedneſs*, to find or make *Aſſociates*, ſo * it is a commendable and induſtrious Piece of *Virtue* or *Goodneſs* to oppoſe the Attempts of *Wickedneſs*, eſpecially thoſe of *Schiſmaticks*, who, not contenting themſelves with the Bounds of their own Impieties, never reſt till they have corrupted others with the Poiſon of their ungodly *Tenets*. And I cannot but grieve to ſee the once brave Spirits of our Nation (ſhewed in the Subduing the *Geneviſing Scots*) ſuck in with Greedineſs the Poſitions of the *new Jeſuitiſing Englandians*, who are infected with the Venom of old Moth-eaten *Hereſies*, which have lain aſleep for a long While, but are now awakened and revived by *the Prince* of Darkneſs, and tranſported into our Church.

The Ground (as I humbly conceive) of all the Enormties and looſe Opinions amongſt us, is, the Diſcountenancing and Diſcouraging of the *publick Miniſtry*, and the Crying down of *Churches (Vox Diabolum ſonat, non Deum certè)* as if there were none other, but thoſe, that are *Spiritual* when, as we find upon Record, both in the † *Word* and in ancient *Writers*, there were *material Churches* ‡, *Houſes* built and ſet a-part for the publick Worſhip of *God*, wherein the *Chriſtians* ſolemnly met at the leaſt once a Week; this was the Practice of the *Primitive* Times, even in the Days of the *Apoſtles* ‖, and continued from them to us through all Ages by uninterrupted Succeſſions.

There is a *Fable*, amongſt the *Mythologiſts*, of a *Maiden*, and a *Lion*, who fell in Love with her, and ſhe promiſed out of Fear to yield to his Deſires, on Condition that ſhe might firſt knock out his *Teeth*; which he preſently yielded to, and was by her immediately deſtroyed.

Thus the only Aim of the *Devil*, and his *Aſſociates*, is not only to pluck out the *Teeth* of Diſcipline (the Wall) but even the *Tongue* of ſound *Doctrine*, which is the *Heart* of the *Church*. This he now endeavours, by Stopping the Mouths of *God's lawful Miniſters*, and Sending out his § *Shemaiahs*, *Nehelamites*, his *dreaming Chaplains*, who dream of a Form of Government never thought of, nor intended by *Chriſt*, and, having no Commiſſion to preach, thruſt themſelves into *Conventicles*, where they vent their Dreams, and propagate their Fancies, to the Deſtruction of many poor well-meaning *Chriſtians*.

Concerning the Unlawfulneſs of which *private Meetings* (congregated by Men, who have no Calling to teach, and in Oppoſition to the *Unity* and *Uniformity* of our *National Church)* I ſhall now, in all Love and Tenderneſs to the Souls Good of the Unlearned, enlarge my Thoughts, and deliver my Opinion, which I truſt will be embraced by thoſe, who ſhall peruſe this ſhort *Treatiſe* without a partial Prejudice; which, like a *Curtain* drawn before a Window, ſhuts out the Light of *Truth*, and keeps Darkneſs in; it harbours Errors and Miſtakes, which breed Hatred and Diſſenſion.

Firſt, take a *Conventicle*, for a Meeting of Men and Women in a private Houſe upon the *Lord's-day*, then when they ſhould join with the People of God in a Church appointed for God's publick Worſhip and Service; thus to convene and meet (though in Times of Reſtraint) without a lawful Miniſter to head that Body, and by enjoined *Prayers* and *Preaching* to ſanctify the Work, is held utterly unlawful: Which I ſhall prove both by the Word of *God*, the Practice of *Chriſt*, together with the Authority of *Fathers*, and *Interpreters* of the *Holy Scriptures*, as alſo by Arguments drawn from Reaſon, which commonly (if not perverted) is a ſure Guide, and a good Judge.

Firſt, then, if we weigh the *Truth*, in the Balance of the *Sanctuary*, if we look into the Scriptures, we ſhall find a flat Prohibition to the Contrary, as *Heb.* x. 24, 25. *Let us conſider one another to provoke to Love and good Works*, not forſaking τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν, the *Congregation, as the Manner of ſome is, but let us exhort one another*, &c. Upon which Place *Eſthius* (a moderate and learned Interpreter **) hath this Gloſs.

* *Si Pertinacia inſuperabiles vires habere conatur, quantas debet habere Conſtantia?* &c. *Aug.* Ep. 167. *Feſto.* † 1 *Cor.* xiv. 35. ‡ xi. 22. ‖ *Vide* a full and learned Diſcourſe of this, in Mr. *Mede's* Diatribæ. § *Jer.* xxix. 24, *Jude* 8. ** *Qui conventibus Eccleſiaſticis per faſtum et ſuperbiam ſeſe ſubtrahunt, proximi ſunt graviori ruinæ. Eſt.* in Loc.

on,

Qui conventibus Eccleſiaſticis, &c. Or, *they, that withdraw themſelves from the publick* Congregation, *are in Danger of an unavoidable and fearful Ruin; for that thereby they make a* Schiſm *in the* Church *(the Doing whereof is moſt dangerous and diſpleaſing to* God*) and ingender* Sects: (ſo *Eſthius* on the Text.) Whereby they do worſe by Chriſt; than the perſecuting *Jews*, they divide his ſeamleſs Coat, and give an Occaſion to the *Adverſary*, of Rejoicing and Triumphing over the *Church*.

Therefore *Ignatius* in his Epiſtles exhorts *, and that with much Earneſtneſs, the *Chriſtians* to frequent the *Church*, to be often preſent and ſeldom abſent from the Meetings of *God*'s People there, leſt that, by their continued Abſence, they fall at length from *the Faith*, having firſt loſt their *Love* to God and his *Saints:* Which *Love* is commonly chilled by the cold Breath of *Conventicles*, where Hatred and Malice (againſt thoſe of a contrary Judgment) with Sedition is commonly hatched and fomented, as hath been found by ſad Experience in this ſinful Nation.

I might here accumulate the *Teſtimonies* of other *Interpreters* upon this Place, to confirm this *Truth* concerning the Unlawfulneſs of *Conventicles*.

Cornelius à Lapide writes thus upon this Text, much to our preſent Purpoſe: The Apoſtle (ſays he) by this Word ἐπισυναγωγὴ, *intelligit Cœtus Eccleſiæ & Conventus Fidelium ad ſacram Synaxim, & ad Verbum Dei Preceſque publicas*, &c. i. e. *He underſtands the Meeting of the Church in publick Prayer, in Receiving of the Holy Sacrament, and to hear the Word.* Hos ergo Conventus Apoſtolus vult frequentari, &c. *Therefore the Apoſtle would have theſe publick Meetings frequented, that ſo Men and Women may make a clear and open Profeſſion of their Faith, which is a great Means to beget mutual Love and Affection in thoſe, who agree in the ſame Faith with us* †. By this open Profeſſion we likewiſe encourage and incite others to profeſs the ſame *Faith*, to worſhip the ſame *God* in that Manner, and after that Way as it is done by us, who hereby ſhew ourſelves to be an Example of good Works. And Examples we know are more prevalent than Words or Precepts. They have a greater Influence upon Men's Practice in a Way of Conformity and Obedience.

Beſides the forenamed *Ignatius* amongſt the Fathers, *Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* interpret this Text in the ſame Senſe with *à Lapide* and *Eſthius*; who, indeed, light their Candle at thoſe bright burning *Tapers*, whom God did ſet up for the Good of his Church, to enlighten it, and to direct it in the Ways of Truth. And ‡ he that deſpiſeth them (with the reſt of the ancient Fathers) deſpiſeth God who ſent them.

The ſecond Scripture Proof againſt private Meetings, as before were defined, is this, *Mat.* xxiv. 26. *Wherefore, if they ſhall ſay unto you, Behold, he is in the Deſart, go not forth; behold, he is in the ſecret Places,* ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις, *believe it not.* Moſt of the ancient Fathers (therefore, now deſpiſed, becauſe they are Enemies to Hereſies) as *Origen*, *Auguſtine*, and others interpret this Place of the private Corners of *Schiſmaticks* and *Hereticks*, who labour to draw the People's Minds from the Love of the public Congregation, and engage them to their private Meetings, whereby they commonly intangle them in their Errors and Hereſies. Therefore if they ſay, as the *Donatiſts* ‖ once did, that Chriſt is only amongſt them in their Crypts and Conventicles, *believe them not*, for they do contrary to the Precept and Practice of Chriſt; he wills or enjoins us to § confeſs him and his Truth before Men, i. e. to make an open Profeſſion of our Faith, both in Times of Perſecution and Peace. He himſelf ever ** taught publickly, as he witneſſed of himſelf before *Pilate*; he †† did ſo teach us this Leſſon, that Truth ſeeks not Corners, but loves the Light (therefore it is ſometimes called Light in the Holy Scriptures. *Eph.* v. 8. *Walk as Children of the Light.* Vid. *Act.* xxvi. 18. But they, that ‡‡ hate the Truth, delight in Darkneſs, dare not ſay that in an open Congregation, which they ſpawn and vent in a Conventicle or private Meeting. Therefore avoid them, join not with them, beware of making a Schiſm in the Church or making that Rent wider, which was firſt begun of late by the *Preſbyterians*; adhere not to

* *Ignat.* in Ep. ad Epheſ. & Smyrnenſes. † *Illi publici cœtus et mutui congreſſus mire fovent fidem et charitatem, quæ in ſeceſſu et ſeparatione diuturniori langueſcit*, &c. Cornel. a Lap.
‡ *Luke* x. 16. ‖ Vide *Auguſt. Ep.* 48. § *Luke* xii. 8. ** *John* xviii. 19, 20.
†† *Luke* iv. 15. 44. ‡‡ *John* iii. 19. Men love Darkneſs rather than Light, becauſe their Deeds are evil.

Schiſmaticks, whoſe Portion, without a deep Repentance for ſo great a Sin, as Wounding *Chriſt's Church*, ſhall be after Death in the Land of Darkneſs, becauſe they loved Darkneſs rather than Light. I never read that Saying of *Auguſtine* *, but with Horror and Dread, when I conſidered the common Guilt: *Foris ab Eccleſiâ conſtitutus & ſeparatus à Communione Unitatis, & Vinculo Caritatis, æterno Supplicio punireris, etiamſi pro Chriſti Nomine vivus comburereris*, i. e. 'He, or ſhe, that out of Pride or Peeviſhneſs, 'ſeparates himſelf from the Body of the Church,' (whoſe Members are knit together by the Ligaments of one Faith and Bond of Love) 'that 'Man ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting Tor-'ments, although he ſhould die in the Flames, 'and be burnt for the Name of *Chriſt*.' Such biting Truths as theſe are the Cauſe, why *Schiſmaticks* and *Hereticks* love not to read the Fathers, nor vouchſafe ſo much as to name them in their Sermons or Writings. *Therefore let no Man deceive you with vain Words, for, for ſuch Things, cometh the Wrath of God upon the Children of Diſobedience. Be not then Companions with them: For ye were ſometimes Darkneſs*, but are now *Light in the Lord, walk as Children of Light. Eph.* v. 6, 7, 8. And conform yourſelves to the † Example of our Lord and Maſter *Jeſus*, who ‡ preached in the Synagogues and the Temple, notwithſtanding they were Places full of Diſorder and Corruption. He ‖ called the Temple a *Den of Thieves*, and are there not too many in ours? § The Doctrine of the Law was then corrupted by the διαλεξώσεις, the falſe Gloſſes of the Scribes and Phariſees, and is not the Doctrine of the Goſpel as much corrupted by ours? Beſides all this, they were looſe and wicked in their Lives, witneſs that Charge of our Saviour, to his Followers and Auditors, againſt the *Jewiſh* Doctors, *Do not after their Works*, &c. **. Notwithſtanding all theſe Corruptions and Deformities in the *Jewiſh* Church, yet our Saviour Chriſt made *no Separation* from it, but came and preached in thoſe Places of publick Concourſe, where the Seducers and falſe Teachers were.

If this Example and Practice of our Saviour will not convince and ſtartle into Fear and Obedience the *Separatiſts* of our Age (both Teachers and Diſciples) I know not what will do it. If *Chriſt* ſhould have trod in their Steps, been led by their fond Opinion, he would have made a *Separation*, and fled from the *Society* of the *Jews*, and not ſo much as once gone into the *Temple*, or taught in their *Synagogues*, but he did otherwiſe; and from what he did we may conclude, that the Practice of thoſe *Phanaticks*, who ſeparate themſelves from all Aſſemblies, or publick Places of God's Service, pretending either a Want of Gifts, or a Defect of Holineſs in the *Miniſters*, I ſay, the Practice of ſuch Men doth ſpeak them to be thoſe *Antichriſts*, which the Apoſtle St. *John*, mentions in his firſt Epiſtle, *Now there are many Antichriſts, whereby we may know it is the laſt Time: They went out from us*, &c. †† i.e. They turned *Separatiſts*, and therefore *Antichriſts*, becauſe they went flat againſt the *Practice* and *Precept* of Chriſt, who commands us by his *Apoſtle* ‡‡, *to be of one Heart, and of one Mind, to think and ſpeak, and do the ſame Thing* (in Good) *to love as Brethren*, who forſake not one another's Company, and deſert not their Family, when they diſcover any Infirmity in their *Father*, or any Deformity in their *Mother*, but keep cloſe to both in Obſervance and humble Duty. We may have Communion or Fellowſhip with Men's Perſons in Publick Worſhip, and not partake in the Guilt of their Sins. *Ille communicat malis, qui conſentit factis malorum: He communicates with the Wicked, that conſents to their Wickedneſs* ‖‖; abhor and forſake his Sin, then mayeſt thou without Fear or Danger communicate with a wicked Man. *Si malos odiſtis, vos ipſi mutamini à Scelere Schiſmatis. Si malarum permixtionem timeretis, Opatum inter vos in apertiſſima iniquitate viventem per tot annos non teneretis.* Thus *Auguſtine* beſpeaks the *Donatiſts*; ſo may I the Men of our Times; if you hate the Ungodly, ſhew your Hatred towards yourſelves by repenting and turning from your *Schiſm* and *Hereſies*; and, if you fear the Mixture or Company of the Wicked, ſhun the Society, and abhor the Perſons of your Leaders by whom you are ſeduced and corrupted.

A *Third* Argument, againſt ſuch Meetings in private on the Lords-day, may be deduced from the Intent and Scope of the fourth Commandment, whoſe *Morality*, in the Judgment of all both Fathers and modern Writers, conſiſts in this, that *God* be worſhiped in the Congregation with publick Service in an open Confeſſion of

* *Aug.* Ep. 204. † *Chriſti Actio noſtri debet eſſe Inſtructio.* Aug. ‡ *Luke* xix. 47.
‖ *Mat.* xxi. 13. § xv. 3. ** *Matthew* xxiii. 23. †† 1 Ep. *Joh.* c. 2. v. 18, 19.
‡‡ *Phil.* i. 27. ii. 2. ‖‖ *Aug.* Ep. 171.

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our Faith, and a Profession of our Love and Thankfulness to him for all his Mercies and Blessings, those which concern our *Souls*, and those which respect our *Bodies*, &c. But to wave this and other Arguments, which might be produced to confirm my former *Thesis*, I proceed to Reasons against Conventicles.

First, Reason suggests this Truth to our Spirits; that our *Souls*, being, as it were, so many *Sparks of the* **Deity*, the *Breath of God*, are more † precious than our *Bodies*, which are Clods of Earth, and by Nature Cages of Uncleanness; by so much greater ought our Care to be towards those than these mortal Bodies. Now no Man, that hath a Treasure of Jewels or Gold about him, will venture alone into a Place which is a Receptacle of Thieves and Robbers: None that is found in Health will thrust himself, boldly without Fear or Wit, into the Company of those who are infected with the Plague, or some other noisome Disease: Oh then how do they at once betray their *Religion*, and forfeit their *Reason*, who mingle themselves with *Hereticks*, and resort frequently to the Company of *Schismaticks*, who are Thieves and Robbers, for that they steal the Truth out of Men's Hearts ‡, and rob their high-born *Souls* of the Love of God and Goodness; whose Opinions likewise are worse than the Plague in the Event and Consequence; for, as they incurably infect the Soul, so, being embraced and followed, they debar Men from ever coming to the Kingdom of God. See *Gal.* v. 19. Witness likewise that of ‖ *Ignatius*, which (did our Separatists understand his Language) they would read with a Trembling in their Joints, like that great Prince in *Daniel*, c. v. v. 6. when he read his Doom on the Wall. The Words of *Ignatius* in *English* are these: § *They that join themselves in a Faction, and adhere in Affection to such who separate and divide their Hearts from the Truth, such Men shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. They, who shun not the Company of false Teachers, shall be condemned to everlasting Torments.* For as with *David* we must *hate the Congregation of the Wicked* **, for Evil-doers, such are perverse *Schismaticks*; so must we delight in the Company of the Saints, who are such not only in Name, but also in Practice; being pure in their Opinions, holy in their Lives, *not carnal, nor sensual; they despise not Government, neither speak Evil of those who are set in Authority* †† over them by God, but are spiritual, heavenly-minded, meek and obedient; these are אדורי, *those that excel in Virtue*, commended by holy *David* ‡‡ for our choice Respect and Company.

Again, *in the second Place*, as Reason fetches an Argument against them from the Danger of such Meetings, where the Devil may seize upon thee, (as he did once upon that Woman in the Theatre as *Tertullian* ‖‖ records) so my Reason tells me (thus should every one argue with himself) that it is a Shame and Disgrace for a *Christian*, a Brother of *Christ*, to follow such a Teacher, to make him his Master, who is κοιλιοδοῦλος, a Servant to his own Belly, and a Slave to his Lusts; the Subserviency to which hath ever been the Original of *Heresies*, as *Theophylact* notes well upon that Place of the Apostle §§, *They serve not the Lord* Jesus, *but their own Bellies*. This is spoken of *Schismaticks*, whose private Meetings end commonly in Belly-cheer, in Luxury and Wantonness: This is too well known to be true in these Truth-denying Times; and this too was confessed of late to me by a Taylor here at *Whethamstead* to be the Cause of his Revolt from such private Meetings, and coming again to our Church; it was (as he ingenuously said) their Disorder and unseemly Carriage in their Conventicles, that moved him, a Man of a tender Spirit, to forsake their wicked Company, and return to God.

Oh therefore be persuaded in Time, before you meet with Destruction, to avoid such Teachers and their *Meetings* in *dark Cells* and *Corners*: They are Nurseries of Sin and Corruption. *Though* Israel *play the Harlot, let not* Judah *offend: Come ye not to* Gilgal, *neither go up to* Beth-aven, *Hos.* iv. 15. Give not up your Names to be those Men's Disciples, who, for aught ye know, may be the *Pope*'s Legates, who broach new Opinions contrary to those you have received, and repugnant to the Scriptures; such Men are not *Doctores*, but *Seductores*, not *Doctors* but *Seducers*, not *Pastors*, but *Impostors* ***: Therefore shun their Company, come not into their

* *Gen.* ii. 7. † *Mark* viii. 37. *Matt.* xvi. 26. ‡ *John* x. 8. ‖ *Ignat.* Epist. ad Philod. § Εἴ τις χίζοντι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσει, &c. *Ignat.* ibid. ** *Psal.* xxvi. 4. †† *Jude*, ver. 8. ‡‡ *Psal.* xvi. 3. ‖‖ *Tertul.* cap. 26. lib. de Spectaculis, These he calls Conventicles, *Diaboli Ecclesias*, &c. §§ *Rom.* xvi. 18. It was on the First of *April* last, 1651, on which Day I baptized two of his Children in the open Congregation, one newly born, the other of the Age of two Years and a half. *** *Bernard.* Non Pastores, sed Impostores.

private Assemblies, lest you be defiled with their Pollutions, corrupted by their *Heresies*, which ever end in Schism; both which break the Bones and bruise the Flesh of *Christ's Church*, his * *Spouse*. And he that lives and dies in a *Schism*, cannot hope to be saved, being severed from that Body whereof *Christ Jesus* is the Head, which Body is quickened by that Spirit, whereby we shall be raised. *If the Spirit of him, that raised up* Jesus *from the Dead, dwell in you, he, that raised up* Christ *from the Dead, shall also quicken your mortal Bodies*, &c †. If then that Spirit dwell not in you, you shall not be glorified: As a Member that is cut off from the Body dies, and by no Art can be quickened, or have Life put into it, being severed from the influential Virtue or Activity of that Soul which gives Life to the Body, whereto, whilst it was joined, it lived and moved. I will conclude this third Query with that Exhortation of the Apostle, *Keep the Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Peace* ‡, that is, in Love and Charity.

If this heavenly Fire burns and glows in your Christian Breast, you will not, from that which I have delivered, deduce this *uncharitable* and *mistaken* Inference, as some once did, but are now better informed of my Intentions, that I am an Enemy to all *Kinds of Meetings* of God's Saints and Servants; I am not, I exhort them often to meet, but when? Not when they should be at Church. What to do? Not to take upon them the Ministers Office to preach, but to repeat what they have heard from the Mouths of their orthodox Teachers, or to read the Scriptures to the Unlearned, or to do as *David* did, *i. e. Tell what God hath done for their Souls* ‖, the Manner of their Conversion, the Method and Means God used to comfort them in their Tribulation, or to pray together *for the Peace of Jerusalem* **, for the Restoration of the poor distressed Church, for a Blessing upon the Persons and Labours of their honest Ministers; let this be the End of your *House-Meetings*, and my Soul shall meet with you in Commendation of your holy Practice, and in Prayer for a Blessing on your pious Exercise; but if you do otherwise, *i. e.* forsake the Church, the Place where God's People, his Servants, do congregate, I fear that it will happen to you, as it doth to the silly Sheep that strays from the Flock, which becomes a Prey to the devouring Wolf; or as it did to *Dinah*, the Daughter of *Leah*, who, leaving her Father's House to see the Daughters of the Land, was met, and ravished by *Shechem* ††. So they that forsake their Ministers, and out of Curiosity resign and devote themselves to be Followers of those, who are none, they must expect to be defloured of their Faith and Manners by such Seducers, who are spiritual Adulterers and Murtherers, who corrupt Men's Judgments, and feast it with the Souls of their simple Disciples, whom they grind with the ‡‡ Teeth of Error, and poison with that Cup which they themselves have drunk of, a gilded Cup of *Heresies*, *full of* ‖‖ *Abomination and Filthiness*. The Lord prevent us with his Grace, and preserve us from these Corruptions.

S. *Augustine*, in his fourth Book *de Doctrinâ Christianâ*, notes, that the Word in *Latin*, which signifies a *Conventicle* or Place of *private Meeting* (it is *Conventiculum & tantùm singulariter dicitur*) is only used in the singular Number, improperly in the Plural; as if by *God's Spirit* (the prime Author of Words in the Hearts and by the Tongues of Men) this was thereby intended to be implied, that there must not be more Places than one, for God's People to meet in, in their several Parishes, that is, each particular Church, the only Place allowed and appointed by *God*, for his publick Worship and Service. *Oh that Men would therefore praise the Lord for his Goodness, and declare his wonderful Works before the Sons of Men! That they would exalt him in the Congregation of the People* ***, leaving their *Conventicles*, wherein God cannot be so highly praised, nor so much honoured as in a Place of publick Concourse, a Church.

I must, for a Close of this *third Query*, freely vent my Thoughts, which have been ever in my Breast.

The Classical Presbyters made Way for these Abuses and Corruptions in our Church, by making an unhappy Breach in it, when they brought in their *Motly Directory* into the Church, by which Means, they drove many out of it into *Conventicles*, and, like the Sons of *Eli* †††, by their unjust Usurpation *made Men*

* *Cant.* iv. 9, 10. † *Rom.* viii. 11. ‡ *Eph.* iv. 3. ‖ *Psal.* lxvi. 18. ** *Psal.* cxxii. 6.
†† *Gen.* xxxiv. 2. ‡‡ Δαπανῶσι τὰς τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ψυχὰς, τῆς ἀπάτης ὀδοῦσιν συτρίβοντες. *Cyril.* in *Hos.*
‖‖ *Rev.* xvii. 4. *** *Psal* cvii. 31, 32. ††† 1 *Sam.* ii. 17.

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to abhor the Offering of the Lord, and cauſed the People to treſpaſs, ver. 14.

They too by their uſurping the Power of Ordination, contrary to the Rule of *Chriſt*, and the eſtabliſhed Order of the Church, were the Cauſe that others (in Oppoſition to them) did and do now preach without Orders.

By this we ſee, what good Friends and Servants, how dutiful Sons the Preſbyters have been to their Mother, the Church. All the Hurt that I wiſh them is this, that they were confined and doomed *Scotorum pultibus ſaginari*, * to be Fellow-Commoners, live, repent, and die amongſt their wretched Brethren the *Scots*, the firſt Fomentors of our Diviſions, and Authors of our Miſeries.

Heavenly Father forgive them. They know not what Miſchief they have done.

The Fourth QUERY,

Whether it be lawful for a Lay-man *to preach?*

I Remember a Saying of *Iſocrates*, ἐν ἀρμόζει περὶ τῶν φανερῶν πολλὰ λέγειν, It is not proper for an *Orator*, or any one, to ſpend many Words about a Buſineſs or *Theme*, that is clear and common. Therefore ſeeing that the *Query* is not attended with any great Difficulty, and hath been ſo much diſcuſſed by the Pens of the Learned, I ſhall not ſpend many Words about it. Only this I ſhall ſay, for the Benefit and Conviction of the Unlearned, to whoſe Capacity I deſire to fit my Diſcourſe, and ſuit my Phraſe.

If by Preaching we underſtand (as we are to do) the † *Dividing of the Word aright*, i. e. The Applying of it (according to the Diverſity of Perſons, Times, and Places) to the Conſciences of the Hearers in publick; which Application of it implies a Reproving of Sin in a judicial authoritative Way, and a Denouncing of Judgment againſt Sinners; and *laſtly*, a Laying forth or Unfolding of ſweet Promiſes of the Goſpel, of Pardon and Forgiveneſs to the Faithful and Penitent, who renounce their own, and rely upon Chriſt's Merits: To affirm, that to do this, in a conſtituted or ſettled Church, is lawful for a Lay-man, is as incongruous, and carries with it as great an Abſurdity, as to ſay (which is impious) that St. *Paul* was miſtaken, and did not ſpeak from Chriſt, when he enjoined *every one to abide in that Calling, to which he is called* ‡. *For one to invade the proper Duty of a Miniſter, without a ſpecial Calling from the Church, is altogether unlawful*; ſo ſays *Ameſius* himſelf, *Lib.* iv. *de Caſ. Conſc. Cap.* 25.

Secondly, He that can maintain it lawful for a common Soldier (becauſe he hath good Skill at his Weapon and in the Feats of War) to challenge the Place of a Colonel or chief Commander, without the Conſent of the ſuperior Officers; he that can prove it that *Korah* and his two Confederates ſinned not in riſing up againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron* ‖, and uſurping the Prieſts Office. (*Moſes* I am ſure checked their Boldneſs thus §, *Ye take too much upon you*, &c. it was ſo much, and ſo weighty a Burthen, their Uſurpation ſo great a Sin, that the Earth could not bear them, but opened and ſwallowed up them, and all their proud Aſſociates.)

Thirdly, He that can convince my Judgment, that ** *Uzzah* ſinned not in touching the *Ark*; that the Men of ††*Beth-ſhemeſh* did not offend by looking boldly into it; that ‡‡ *Saul* and ‖‖ *Uzziah* did not commit a great Treſpaſs in taking upon them the Prieſts Office. *Thou haſt done fooliſhly*, ſo ſaid *Samuel* to *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* xiii. 13. He loſt his Kingdom by it, as appears *ver.* 14. *Now the Kingdom ſhall not continue*, &c. they are the Words of the *Prophet*. *** Azariah *the Prieſt, and with him fourſcore Prieſts of the Lord, valiant Men*; *they withſtood* Uzziah *the King, and ſaid unto him, It belongeth not to thee*, Uzziah, *to burn Incenſe* unto the *Lord, but to the Prieſts, the Sons of* Aaron, *that are conſecrated for to offer Incenſe*; *go out of the Sanctuary, for thou haſt tranſgreſſed, and thou ſhalt*

* *Voſſius* Hiſt. *Pelag.* ſays of *Pelagius*, that he was *Socotorum pultibus ſaginatus*.

† 2 *Tim* ii. 15. 1 *Cor.* vii. 29.

‡ Art thou then called to be a Weaver, a Taylor, or a Cobler? Deſert not thy Calling, and truſt not thyſelf into that which belongs to another.

‖ *Num.* xvi. 3. § Ver. 17. ** 2 *Sam.* vi. 6. †† 1 *Sam.* vi. 19.
‡‡ 1 *Sam.* xiii. 11. ‖‖ 2 *Chr.* xxvi. 18. *** 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 17, 18.

have

have no Honour of the Lord thy God. You may read, *ver.* 19. How that he was punished with *Leprosy*, a foul Disease, for his foul Fact, and that in the Forehead, the Seat of Impudence, he was too bold. His open Sin was punished with open Shame. 'Though his Zeal 'seemed to be good, and also his * Intention, 'yet, because they were not regulated or guided 'by God's Word, he did wickedly, and was 'therefore both justly resisted [by the Priests] 'and punished [by God.'] This Note you shall find in the Margin of your *English* Bibles, which I wish were well observed by our too forwards *Zealots*, who flatter and deceive themselves with their good Intentions, when the Means they use are not lawful but unrighteous.

Fourthly, He that can prove it by any plausible Argument (as I am sure none can, though he were as powerful in Invention, and witty in Arguing, as † *Perronius*, once a Cardinal of *Rome*) that it was lawful under the old Law for any Butcher, because he had Skill in killing of a Beast, to slay the Sacrifice, which was only proper to ‡ the *Levites*. And he that shall demonstrate to my Understanding, that he is not guilty of great Presumption, and much Pride, who shall first think himself fit for that Office, which St. *Paul* so admired, and trembled at, that he brake forth into a τίς ἱκανός ||, *Who is sufficient for it?* He that thinks himself so, is most insufficient; especially when he shall want all those Gifts, which are usually seen and required in Ministers, as, Skill in the Languages, Fathers, Councils, School-men, Church-histories, with other modern Writers; together with the Arts and Sciences.

Fifthly, He that shall clear this Point unto me, That the Practice of Christ and his Apostles, together with the whole Church, for Sixteen-hundred Years and upwards, is not to be allowed of; especially, when that Practice is confirmed and ratified by Precept in the Holy Scriptures, where we find § Directions to the then Bishops for the Laying on of Hands upon those who were then, and now are to be admitted into holy Orders.

And, *Lastly*, He that can evince it, That besides the inward Testimony of a Man's own Conscience **, there is not, upon the former Grounds required the outward Call or Testimony of the Church, to whom he is to give Trial of his Gifts, and then receive the Church's Blessing, with solemn Prayers to God to prosper the Work which he is going about, *i. e.* that he may convert Souls, and thereby enlarge the Kingdom of Christ.

He, that is able (as I am sure none ever was, or will be) to prove all these Particulars, shall subdue my Reason, and bring me to a Confession, that it is lawful for a Lay-man to preach.

Till this be proved (as it never can be expected) I shall with the Authority of God's Word, the Consent of all Antiquity, and the Practice of all Reformed Churches, conclude and stand firmly to this Position:

That no Man ought to take upon him this sacred Function, or Office, *but he that is called as* Aaron *was* ††, *i. e.* by God. The Voice of the Church is the Voice of God; *ergo*, Lay-men that call themselves by a bold Intrusion, we may lawfully call Usurpers of the Priests Office, of the Stock of *Korah*, of the Race of *Jeroboam*'s Priests. *He made, of the lowest of the People, Priests of the high Places, which thing became a Sin to the House of* Jeroboam, *even to cut it off and destroy it from the Face of the Earth* ‡‡.

And unless the Divine Justice shall speedily stop the Mouths of the Apron-rabbies, and Russet-Levites, *by some strange Judgment*, and so cut them off who have kindled a Flame in State and Church (that hath blasted all good Order, consumed all God's Ordinances, and caused a general Ebb of Devotion and Piety amongst us) who also have crept in like Thieves into the Church by Back-ways, have secretly insinuated themselves into the Society

* To a lawful act there is required not only a good End, but also good Means. A good Intention, if the Means be bad, not bring a Man to Heaven. Many with this Mistake have gone to Hell. *Bonum benè* is the Rule in Divinity.

† *Persuadebit nobis quicquid volet*, ita de *Perronio Paulus Sanctus*, in Vita *Perronii* Opusculis ejus præfixa.

‡ *Levit.* i. 4. He shall kill the Bullock. || 2 *Cor.* ii. 16.

§ 1 *Tim.* iv. 14. v. 22. *Tit.* i. 5. *Acts* xiv. 23. &c.

** That he is both willing and able to discharge the Office of a Minister.

†† *Heb.* v. 4. ‡‡ 1 *Kings* xiii. 33.

of God's People; profeſſing themſelves to be Teachers of the true Faith, but are, indeed, the Deſtroyers of it, and Diſturbers of our Peace, *ungodly Men, who were of old* προγεγραμμένοι, *ordained* *, appointed (as if it had been ſet down in a Book) *to this Condemnation, or to this Judgment*, to be *flagellum Eccleſiæ*, to try, to † exerciſe and moleſt the Church by their falſe Doctrine; and, when they have done their worſt, to receive for a Recompence, or Reward of their Impiety and Wickedneſs, Damnation.

Till theſe Incendiaries be ſuppreſſed and ſilenced, we cannot expect but this our now diſtracted Nation, which was once the Scourge of others, and the Praiſe of all the World, ſhall become the Scorn of all Nations; whilſt, as the *Jews* ‡ once did, we deſtroy ourſelves at Home by our multiplied Diviſions, and ſo prevent the miſchievous Malice of our foreign Enemies; which thing will make us a Deriſion to thoſe that are round about us, to the Men of *Gath* and *Aſkalon*, the uncircumciſed *Philiſtines*, bloody *Jeſuits* and *Papiſts*: Which God avert, for his Mercies ſake, and the Merits of his Son *Chriſt Jeſus*.

Pray for the Peace of Jeruſalem, *Pſalm* cxxii. 16.

The Author's Prayer to God, for the Suppreſſing of Hereſy, *and happy Compoſing of our unhappy Diviſions.*

'O Thou who art one and infinite in 'Power, the Center of Perfection, and 'the God of Love, collect our ſcattered 'Thoughts from perverſe Diſputes, and world-'ly Diſtractions; draw in our Hearts from 'hunting after Vanities; confine them to thine 'Heaven, and to thyſelf, who art the Heaven 'of that Heaven. Make us to love thy Truth, 'which is the Brightneſs of thy everlaſting 'Light, the undefiled Mirror of thy Majeſty, 'and the Image of thy Glory. And, becauſe 'there is but one Heaven, and one Way to it, 'that living Way of Faith and Obedience, oh 'let the bright Beams of thy Grace ſhine in 'the Hearts of thy People, who are now turn-'ed to the By-ways of Error, and wander in 'the Deſarts of Sin and Hereſy; reduce them, 'good Father, into the Way of Truth, that 'with one Heart, and one Mind, they may 'ſerve thee, the only true God, through Jeſus '*Chriſt* our Lord. *Amen.*

Trin-uni Deo ſit Honos, Laus, & Gloria.

* *Jude* iv.

† Idcirco doctrinam Catholicam contradicentium obſidet impugnatio, ut fides noſtra non otio torpeſcat, ſed multis exercitationibus elimetur. *Aug.*

‡ See *Joſeph.* Hiſt.

An

An Eſſay on *Writing*, and the Art and Myſtery of *Printing*. A Tranſlation out of the Anthology.

Quiſquis erat, meruit ſenii tranſcendere metas, &c.

[From a Broad Side, printed at *London*, in the Year 1696.]

WOrthy that Man to 'ſcape Mortality,
And leap that Ditch where all muſt plunging lie,
Who found out *Letters* firſt, and did impart,
With dext'rous Skill, *Writing's* Myſterious Art,
In *Characters* to hold Intelligence,
And to expreſs the Mind's moſt hidden Senſe.
The *Indian* Slave, I'm ſure, might wonder well,
How the dumb *Papers* could his Theft reveal.
The ſtupid World admir'd the ſecret Cauſe
Of the Tongue's Commerce, without Help of Voice;
That merely by a *Pen* it could reveal,
And all the Soul's abſtruſeſt Notions tell:
The *Pen*, like Plough-ſhare on the *Paper's* Face,
With black and Magick Tracks its Way does trace,
Aſſiſted only by that uſeful *Quill*,
Pluck'd from the Geeſe that ſav'd the *Capitol*.

Firſt *Writing-tables Paper's* Place ſupply'd,
Till *Parchment* and *Nilotick Reeds* were try'd:
Parchment, the Skin's of Beaſts, well ſcrap'd and dreſs'd,
By theſe poor Helps of old, the Mind expreſs'd:
But after Times a better Way did go,
A laſting Sort of *Paper*, white as Snow,
Compos'd of Rags well pounded in a Mill,
Proof againſt all but Fire, and the Moth's Spoil.
What poor Beginnings theſe! The Silk-worm there
Had nought to do, no Silken-threads were here;
But Rags, from Doors pick'd Part, from Dung-hills Part,
Maſh'd in a Mill, gave Riſe to this fine Art;
Which in an Inſtant gives a ſpeedy Birth
To *Virgil's* Books, the rareſt Work on Earth.

But ſtill an Art from Heaven was to come,
(From thence it came) this Matter to conſume;
Which could tranſcribe whole Books without a Hand;
Behold the *Preſs*! ſee how the Squadrons ſtand!
In all his Fights the *Roman* Parricide,
With half the Skill, ne'er did his Troops divide;

Nor

Nor *Philip*'s Son, who with his Force o'er-run,
And mow'd the Countries of the riſing Morn:
Not the leaſt Motion from their Poſt, but all
Work hard, and wait the welcome Signal's Call;
The *Letters* all turn'd Mutes, in Iron bound,
Never prove vocal, till in *Ink* they 're drown'd:
The lab'ring *Engines* their ſtill Silence break,
And ſtraight they render up their Charge and ſpeak:
Now, drunk with the *Caſtalian* Flood, they ſing,
Arma Virumq; Gods, and God-like Kings:
Six hundred Lines of *Maro*'s, quick as Thought,
Beyond the nimbleſt Running-hand are wrought;
Much fairer too the *Characters* do ſhow;
For Grace, fam'd *Cockquer*'s *Pen*, its Head muſt bow.
Three-thouſand Births at once, you ſee, which ſoon
O'er ev'ry Country ſcatter'd are, and thrown,
In ev'ry Tongue with which Fame ſpeaks are known:
Theſe Types immortaliſe where-e'er they come,
And give learn'd Writers a more laſting Doom.
Court Rites, *Galenick* Precepts, *Moſes*' Rules,
Are printed off, the Guides of learned Schools:
What Wonders would Antiquity have try'd,
Had they the Dawn of this Invention 'ſpy'd?
The *Offices* of *Tully* were the firſt
That came abroad in this new-faſhion'd Dreſs.
Imperial *Mentz* herſelf would Author prove;
And *Venice* cries, ſhe did the Art improve;
Not antient Cities more for *Homer* ſtrove.
Goddeſs! Preſerver from the Teeth of Time,
Who keeps our Names ſtill freſh in youthful Prime;
What Man was he whom thus the Gods have grac'd,
Worthy among the Stars to have a Place!
Like Head of *Nile* unknown, thy bubbling Riſe
Is hid, for ever hid, from mortal Eyes.

The Natural Hiſtory of *Coffee*, *Thee*, *Chocolate*, and *Tobacco*, in four ſeveral Sections; with a Tract of *Elder* and *Juniper-Berries*, ſhewing how uſeful they may be in our Coffee-Houſes: And, alſo, the Way of making *Mum*, with ſome Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the beſt Phyſicians, and Modern Travellers.

[From a *Quarto*, containing thirty-nine Pages, printed at *London*, for *Chriſtoper Wilkinſon*, at the *Black Boy*, over againſt St. *Dunſtan*'s Church in *Fleetſtreet*, 1682.]

The Natural Hiſtory of Coffee.

SECT. I.

COFFEE is ſaid to be a Sort of *Arabian* Bean, called *Bon*, or *Ban*, in the *Eaſtern* Countries; the Drink made of it is named *Coava*, or *Chaube*, over all the *Turkiſh* Dominions. *Proſper Alpinus* * (who lived ſeveral Years in *Ægypt*) aſſures us, that he ſaw the Tree itſelf, which he compares to our Spindle Tree, or Prick-wood, only the Leaves were a little thicker, and harder, beſides continually green †. This Tree is found in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, in ſome Parts of *Perſia* and *India*, the Seed, or Berry, of which is called by the Inhabitants *Buncho*, *Bon*, and *Ban*, which being dried, and boiled with Water, is the moſt univerſal Drink, in all the *Turkiſh*, and ſeveral *Eaſtern* Countries, where Wine is publickly forbid; it has been the moſt antient Drink of the *Arabians*, and ſome ‡ will have the *jus nigrum Spartanorum*, i. e. *The black Broth of the* Spartans, to have been the ſame with our *Coffee*: The *Perſians* at this Day do tipple as much *Coffee* off, as the *Turks* themſelves. *Tavernier* ‖ in his Deſcription of *Iſpahan* (the Metropolis of *Perſia*) is very jocoſe and merry, when he comes to deſcribe the famous Coffee-houſe of that City; he ſays, that the wiſe *Sha Abas*, obſerving great Numbers of *Perſians* to reſort to that Houſe daily, and to quarrel very much about State-affairs, appointed a *Moullah* to be there every Day betimes to entertain the Tobacco-whiffers, and Coffee-quaffers, with a Point of Law, Hiſtory, or Poetry; after which, the *Moullah* riſes up, and makes Proclamation, that every Man muſt retire, and to his Buſineſs; upon which they all obſerve the *Moullah*, who is always liberally entertained by the Company. *Olearius* does alſo ſpeak § of the great Diverſions, made in the Coffee-houſes of *Perſia*, by their Poets, and Hiſtorians, who are ſeated in a high Chair, from whence they make Speeches, and tell Satyrical Stories, play-

* *Alpinus* de Plant. Ægyptiac. p. 26. † This Tree is now very common in Gentlemen's Green-Houſes in the South of *England*; and *Ebenezer Muſſel*, Eſq; of *Bethnal Green*, near *London*, has two of the largeſt and healthieſt, perchance, in the Nation. ‡ Dr. *Mundy* de Potulentis, p. 351. ‖ *Tavernier*'s Travels, p. 1. § *Olearius*'s Ambaſſadors Travels of *Perſia*, Book 6. p. 224.

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ing in the mean Time with a little Stick, and the ſame Geſtures, as our Jugglers, and Leger-demain-men, do in *England*.

As for the Qualities and Nature of *Coffee*, our own Countryman, Dr. *Willis*, has publiſhed a very rational Account *, whoſe great Reputation and Authority are of no ſmall Force; he ſays, that in ſeveral Head-achs, Dizzineſs, Lethargies, and Catarrhs, where there is a groſs Habit of Body, and a cold heavy Conſtitution, there *Coffee* may be proper, and ſucceſsful; and in theſe Caſes he ſent his Patients to the Coffee-houſe, rather than to the Apothecary's Shop; but where the Temperament is hot, and lean, and active, there *Coffee* may not be very agreeable; becauſe it may diſpoſe the Body to Inquietudes, and Leanneſs. The Doctor makes one unlucky Obſervation of this Drink, which I am afraid will cow our Citizens from ever meddling with it hereafter, that it often makes Men paralytick, and does ſo ſlacken their Strings, as they become unfit for the Sports and Exerciſes of the Bed, and their Wives Recreations; to confirm which, I will quote here two Precedents, out of the moſt learned *Olearius*, who ſays †, that the *Perſians* are of an Opinion that *Coffee* allays their natural Heat, for which Reaſon they drink it, that they may avoid the Charge and Inconveniences of many Children; nay, the *Perſians* are ſo far from diſſembling the Fear they have thereof, that ſome of them have come to the *Holſtein* Phyſician of that Ambaſſy, for Remedies to prevent the Multiplication of Children; but the Doctor, being a merry, bold *German*, anſwered the *Perſians*, that he had rather help them to get Children, than to prevent them. This moſt famous *Olearius* (that made ſo many curious and accurate Obſervations in his Travels) tells us of a *Perſian* King, named *Sultan Mahomet Caſwin*, who reigned in *Perſia* before *Tamerlane*'s Time, that was ſo accuſtomed to Drinking of *Cahwa*, or *Coffee*, that he had an unconceivable Averſion to Women, and that the Queen, ſtanding one Day at her Chamber Window, and perceiving they were about gelding a Horſe, aſked ſome Standers-by, why they treated ſo handſome a Creature in that Manner; whereupon Anſwer was made her, that he was too fiery and mettleſome, therefore they reſolved to deprive him of his generative Faculty: The Queen replied, That Trouble might have been ſpared, ſince *Cahwa*, or *Coffee*, would have wrought the ſame Effect, the Experiment being already tried upon the King her Huſband. This King left a Son, called *Mahomet*, after him, as our moſt grave and faithful Traveller ‡ does aſſure us, who, being come to the Crown, commanded that great Poet, *Hakim Fardauſi*, to preſent him with ſome Verſes, for every one of which, the Sophy promiſed him a Ducat; the Poet, in a ſhort Time, made ſixty Thouſand, which, at this Day, are accounted the beſt that ever were made in *Perſia*, and *Hakim Fardauſi* eſteemed the Poet *Laureat* of the *Eaſt*; the Treaſurers, thinking it too great a Sum for a Poet, would have put him off with Half; whereupon, *Fardauſi* made other Verſes, wherein he reproached the King with Avarice, and told him, he could not be of Royal Extraction, but muſt be rather deſcended from a Shoemaker, or a Baker; *Mahomet*, being nettled, made Complaint to the Queen his Mother, who, ſuſpecting that the Poet had diſcovered her Amours, ingenuouſly confeſſed to the King her Son, that, his Father being impotent, through his exceſſive Drinking of *Cahwa*, or *Coffee*, ſhe fancied a Baker belonging to the Court, and ſaid, if it had not been for the Baker, the young King had never been what he was; ſo, leſt the Buſineſs ſhould take Wind, the Poet got his full Reward. But let us return a little into our old ſerious Road.

Coffee is ſaid to be very good for thoſe, that have taken too much Drink, Meat, or Fruit, as the learned *Schroder* ‖ will inform you; as alſo againſt Shortneſs of Breath, and Rheum; and it is very famous in old Obſtructions, ſo that all the *Egyptian*, and *Arabian* Women, are obſerved to promote their monthly Courſes with *Coffee*, and to tipple conſtantly of it, all the Time they are flowing; for which we have the undoubted Authority of *Proſper Alpinus* §, who ſpent ſeveral Years amongſt them. It is found to eaſe the running ſcorbutick Gout, or Rheumatiſm, as *Mollenbroccius* has affirmed **.

As for the Manner of preparing *Coffee*, it is ſo eaſy, and ſo commonly known, that we need not mention it; only we may obſerve, that ſome of the *Aſiatick* Nations make their *Coffee* of the Coat, or Huſk of the Berry, which they

* *Dr. Willis* Pharmaceut. Rat. p. 1. † *Olearius*'s Ambaſſadors Travels through *Perſia*, Book 6. ‡ Idem Ibid. p. 240. ‖ *Schroder*'s Append. p. 24. § *Proſp. Alpinus*, de Med. Ægyptor. l. 4. de Plant. Ægyptiac. ap. 118. ad. p. 122. ** *Mollenbrock*, de Arthrit. baga ſcorbul. p. 114.

look upon to be much ſtronger, and more efficacious, than the Berry itſelf, ſo that they take a leſs Quantity of it; but the *Europeans* do peel and take off the outward Skin of the Berries, which, being ſo prepared, are baked, burnt, and afterwards ground to Powder; one Ounce of which they mix commonly with a Pint and a Half of hot Water, which has been boiled Half away; then they are digeſted together, till the are well united.

The *Laplanders* * prepare a very good Drink out of *Juniper-Berries*, which ſome prefer before either *Coffee*, or *Thee* †, of which Berries, we will diſcourſe in a Tract at the End of theſe Sheets.

* *Hiſtory of* Lapland. † Or *Tea*.

The Natural Hiſtory of Thee, *or* Tea.

SECT II.

THIS Herb, *Thee*, is commonly found in *China*, *Japan*, and ſome other *Indian* Countries; the *Chineſe* call it *Thee*, the *Japonians*, *Tchia*: That of *Japan* is eſteemed much the beſt, one Pound of it being commonly ſold for One-hundred Pounds, as *Tulpius* informs * us from ſeveral great Men, that have been Ambaſſadors and Reſidents in thoſe Parts; ſo that moſt of the *Thee*, which is brought into *Europe*, comes from *China*, and that too of the worſt Kind, which cannot but decay in ſo long a Voyage; for the *Dutch* have been obſerved to dry a great Quantity of Sage, whoſe Leaves, being rolled up like *Thee*, were carried into *China* by them, under the Name of a moſt rare *European* Herb; for one Pound of this dried Sage, the *Dutch* received three Pounds of *Thee* from the *Chineſe*, as *Thevenot* informs † us. There is a great Controverſy amongſt the Herbaliſts, to what Claſſis this *Thee* may be reduced: *Bontius* ‡ compares it to the Leaves of our wild Daiſy; for which *Simon Pauli* is very angry with him ‖, and gives very ſtrong Arguments, that *Thee* is the Leaves of a Sort of Myrtle, for, out of the Leaves of Myrtle, a Liquor may be made, reſembling *Thee* in all Qualities; therefore, the Jeſuit *Trigautius* is of Opinion §, that ſeveral of our *European* Foreſts and Woods do abound with a true *Thee*, it being obſerved to grow in great Plenty in *Tartary* (which lies under the ſame Climate with many Countries of *Europe*) from whence, ſome learned Men think, it came originally, for it has not been long known to the *Chineſe* **, they having no ancient Name, or hieroglyphick Characters for *Thee*, and *Cha* being an ancient *Tartarian* Word: Beſides, it is known to ſeveral Merchants, that a great Quantity of *Thee* is brought yearly out of *Tartary* into *Perſia*; and we are all acquainted with the ſeveral great Conqueſts †† which the *Tartars* have made in *China*, ſo that the *Chineſe* have had ſeveral Opportunities of learning the Uſe of *Thee* from the *Tartars*, in whoſe Country it is obſerved to be in great Plenty, and of little Value; yet the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan* have a great Eſteem and Opinion of it, where they are as much employed, and concerned for their Harveſt of *Thee* (which is in Spring) as the *Europeans* are for their Vintage, as ſeveral Jeſuits inform us in their Obſervations of *China* ‡‡: For the Noblemen, and Princes of *China* and *Japan*, drink *Thee* at all Hours of the Day; and, in their Viſits, it is their whole Entertainment, the greateſt Perſons of Quality boiling and preparing the *Thee* themſelves, every Palace and Houſe being furniſhed with convenient Rooms, Furnaces, Veſſels, Pots and Spoons, for that Purpoſe; which they value at a higher Rate than we do Diamonds, Gems, and Pearls, as *Tulpius* ‖‖ aſſures us, from the Relations of ſeveral great *Dutchmen*, who travelled *China* in the Quality of Ambaſſadors, and made great Obſervations of thoſe rich Stones, and Woods, out of which the aforeſaid Materials were made.

* *Nicol. Tulpii* Obſervat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60. † *Oldenburg*'s Philoſ. Tranſact. N. 14. ‡ *Bontius* de Medicina Indor. lib. 2. p. 97. ‖ *Simon Pauli*, de Thee, p. 19, 20. § *Trigautius*, de Regno Chinæ, lib. 3. ** *Simon Pauli*, de Thee, p. 25. †† *Olearius*'s Ambaſſadors Travels in *Perſia*, p. 241. ‡‡ Philoſ. Tranſact. N. 49. ‖‖ *Nicol. Tulpii* Obſervat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60.

As

As for the Qualities and Vertues of *Thee*, these few following Observations may give Satisfaction; that it makes us active and lively, and drives off Sleep, every Drinker of it cannot but be sensible. The great Jesuit, *Alexander de Rhodes*, always cured himself of a periodical Pain of his Head by *Thee* *, and having often Occasion to sit up whole Nights in *China*, to take the Confessions of dying People, he found the great Benefit of *Thee* in those great Watchings, so that he was always as vigorous and fresh the next Day, as though he had rested all Night; nay, he says, that he sat up six Nights together, by the Assistance of *Thee*. *Kircher* himself took Notice of *Thee* for clearing the Head and opening the urinary Passage †; and it was observed by those concerned in the *Dutch* Ambassy to *China*, that the *Chinese* did spit very little, and were seldom subject to the Stone and Gout, which their Physicians imputed to their frequent Drinking of *Thee* ‡. It is a common Proverb in *Japan*:

Illene sanus non sit? Bibit de optima Tsia?

"What is he not well? He drinks of the best "*Thee* ‖."

I know some that celebrate good *Thee* for preventing Drunkenness, taking it before they go to the Tavern, and use it also very much after a Debauch, *Thee* being found so friendly to their Stomachs and Heads; several Ambassadors find the Advantage of it in preserving them from the Accidents and Inconveniences of a bad foreign Air; but that, which gives the greatest Commendation to *Thee*, is the good Character which our famous Countryman, Mr. *Boyle*, gives of it in his *Experimental Philosophy* §, where he says, that it deserves those great Praises which are commonly bestowed upon it. Yet *Simon Pauli* exclaims ** against the Use of *Thee*, as a great Drier, and Promoter of old Age, and as a Thing unnatural, and foreign to the *European* Complexions. But *Schroder* †† answers *Pauli* very mildly, supposing him to speak only of the Abuse and extravagant Management of *Thee*; for otherwise *Rhubarb*, *China*, *Sassafras*, and *Saunders* should be banished, from our Shops, by the same Reason, they being Driers, and foreign to us *Englishmen*; therefore, we may conclude *Thee* innocent and beneficial.

The *Chinese* gather the Leaves in the Spring, one by one, and, immediately, put them to warm in an iron Kettle over the Fire; then, laying them on a fine light Mat, roll them together with their Hands; the Leaves, thus rolled, are again hanged over the Fire, and then rolled closer together, till they are dry; then put up carefully in tin Vessels, to preserve them from Moisture; thus they prepare the best Leaves, that yield the greatest Rates; but the common ordinary ones are only dried in the Sun, yet in the Shade is, doubtless, much better (as the ingenious Author ‡‡ of *Vinetum Britannicum* does well observe) the Sun having a great Power to attract the Vertue out of any Vegetable after its Separation from its Nourisher, the Earth. One Spoonful of this prepared *Thee* is enough for one Quart of boiled Water.

There are several Ways and Methods for preparing *Thee* ‖‖. The *Japonians* powder the Plant upon a Stone, and so put it into hot Water. The *Chinese* boil the Leaves with Water and a little Sugar. Some *Europeans* make Tinctures, Infusions, Conserves, and Extracts of *Thee*. The *Tartars* are observed to boil their *Thee* in Milk with a little Salt, which Way they think is the very best §§.

The Inhabitants of *Carolina* prepare a Liquor out of the Leaves of an *American* Tree, which is very like *Thee*, and equal to it in every Respect. Dr *Mundy* observes ***, that the Inhabitants of *Florida* have an old Custom, before they go into the Field to War, of drinking a Liquor in a great publick Assembly, which he that vomits up, is judged unfit for that warlike Expedition, and is condemned to stay at Home in Disgrace; but, when he has learnt to carry off the Liquor, then he is admitted to be a lawful Soldier; Now *Thee* itself, when given in a large Dose, and in a strong Decoction, does often prove vomitive, as I myself have observed several Times.

* *Alexander de Rhodes* Voyages & Missiones Apostoliques. † *Kircheri* China illustrata, Lib. 4.
‡ *Thevenot* Histor. Legat. Batavor. in China, Tom. 3. Philosoph. Transact N. 14.
‖ *Varenius* Descript. Regni Japon. c. 23. p. 161. § *Boyle*'s Exper. Philos. p. 94.
** *Simon Pauli* de Thee, p. 67. †† *Schroderi* Append. ad Pharmacop p. 28.
‡‡ Vinet. Britan. p. 140. ‖‖ *Nicol. Tulpii* Observat. Med. Lib. 4. c. 60.
§§ *Thevenot* Histor. Legat. Belgic. ad Sinensium Regem. *** Dr. *Mundy* de Potulentis, p. 353.

Some

Some make Decoctions of the Roots of *Avens*, *Galanga*, *Coriander*, *Anniſeeds*, *Sarſa*, *China*, *Saunders*, of the Leaves of *Sage*, *Betony*, *Roſemary*, which they do extol above *Thee* or *Coffee*.

The Natural Hiſtory of Chocolate.

SECT. III.

HAving given a ſhort Natural Hiſtory of two Things, which are ſo univerſally uſed in the Eaſtern Parts of the World, we now come to treat briefly of two more, which are generally uſed in the Weſtern. Firſt, of *Chocolate*, of which the *Cocoa*, or *Cacaw-nut*, being the principal Ingredient, a ſhort Account of it cannot be improper: This Nut, or rather the Seed, or Kernel of the Nut, as Mr. *Hughes* obſerves *, is of the Bigneſs of a great Almond; in ſome of theſe Fruits there are a Dozen, in ſome twenty, in other thirty, or more of theſe Kernels, or Cocoa's, which are well deſcribed by the ingenious and learned Dr. *Grew* †; when theſe Kernels are cured, they become blackiſh, and are compared to a Bullock's Kidney, cut into Partitions; there is great Variety in them, by Reaſon of the Difference of Soils and Climates where they grow. The Tree is ſaid to be as large as our *Engliſh* Plum-trees, the Leaves ſharp-pointed, compared by ſome Travellers to the Leaves of Cheſnut; by the curious *Piſo* to the Leaves of an Orange ‡; the Flower of a Saffron Colour, upon the Appearance of which, the Fruit appears upon the Branches as Apples; this Tree grows in ſeveral Parts of *America*, as in *Nicaragua*, *New Spain*, *Mexico*, *Cuba*, and in *Jamaica*, eſpecially at Colonel *Barrington*'s Quarters, or Plantations ‖; they proſper beſt in low, moiſt, and fat Ground, and are as ſquarely and orderly ſet, as the Cherry-trees in *Kent* or *Worceſterſhire*; they commonly bear within ſeven Years, and then twice every Year; the firſt Crop between *January* and *February*, the other between *May* and *June*. The Inhabitants have ſo great a Value for them, that they ſecure them with the Shades of Plantain and Bonona-trees, againſt the Injuries of their fiery Sun, and do uſe the Kernels inſtead of Money, both in their Traffick, and Rewards; as the great Jeſuit, *Joſephus Acoſta*, obſerved, when he was ſent into *America* §: The *Indians* look upon their *Chocolate* as the greateſt Delicacy for extraordinary Entertainments. *Montezuma* is ſaid to have treated *Cortez* and his Soldiers with it; and you can ſcarce read an *American* Traveller, but he will often tell you of the magnificent Collations of *Chocolate*, that the *Indians* offered him in his Paſſage and Journies through their Country; as Mr. *Gage* (who travelled many Years in *America*) informs us, the *Spaniards* do conſtantly drink *Chocolate* in their Churches at *Mexico* and *Chiapa*, of which they, being once forbid, did mutiny, and commit great Outrages, till their Cuſtom was reſtored them **. The *Indians* and Chriſtians, in the *American* Plantations, have been obſerved to live ſeveral Months upon Cocoa Nuts alone, made into a Paſte with Sugar, and ſo diſſolved in Water; I myſelf have eat great Quantities of theſe Kernels raw, without the leaſt Inconvenience; and have heard that Mr. *Boyle* and Dr. *Stubbs* have let down into their Stomachs ſome Pounds of them raw without any Moleſtation; the Stomach ſeems rather to be ſatisfied than cloyed with them, which is an Argument they are ſoon diſſolved and digeſted. The *Spaniards* do not ſcruple to eat them upon their great Faſt-days.

The *Indians* at firſt made their *Chocolate* of the Nut alone without any Addition, unleſs ſometimes Pepper, and Maiz, or *Indian* Wheat; and in *Jamaica* at this Day, as Mr. *Hughes* obſerves ††, there is a Sort of *Chocolate*, made up only of the Paſte of the Cocoa itſelf; and this he eſteems to be one of the beſt Sorts of *Chocolate*. Dr. *Stubbs* ‡‡, who was a great Maſter of the *Chocolate* Art, did not approve of many Ingredients beſides the Cocoa Nuts; that *Chocolate*, which the Doctor prepared for his Ma-

* *Hughes*'s *American* Phyſician, p. 115.
‡ *Piſo* in Hiſtor. Nat. Indiæ utriuſque.
§ *Joſ. Acoſta* Indor. Hiſtor. Lib. 4. c. 22.
†† *Hughes*'s *American* Phyſician, p. 11.
† Dr. *Grew* Muſ. Reg. Soc. Angl. p. 204.
‖ *Hughes*'s *American* Phyſician, p. 112.
** *Gage*'s Survey of the *Weſt-Indies*, Chap. of *Chocolate*.
‡‡ Dr. *Stubbs*'s *Indian* Nectar.

jeſty,

jeſty, had double the Quantity of the Cocoa Kernel to the other Ingredients: In the common Sort, the Cocoa Nuts may take up half the Compoſition, according to *Piſo* *; in the worſt, a third Part only. As to the other Ingredients for making up *Chocolate*, they may be varied according to the Conſtitutions of thoſe that are to drink it; in cold Conſtitutions, *Jamaica* Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Cloves, *&c.* may be mixed with the Cocoa-nut; ſome add Muſk, Ambergreaſe, Citron, Lemon-peels, and odoriferous Aromatick Oils: In hot conſumptive Tempers you may mix Almonds, Piſtacho's, *&c.* ſometimes China, Sarſa, and Saunders; and ſometimes Steel and Rhuburb may be added for young green Ladies. Mr. *Hughes* gives us very good Advice †, in telling us, that we may buy the beſt *Chocolate* of Seamen and Merchants, who bring it over ready made from the *Weſt-Indies*; his Reaſon is none of the worſt, which is this: Let the Cocoa Kernels be never ſo well cured in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſtowed never ſo carefully in the Ship, yet, by their long Tranſportation, and by the various Airs of Climates, they are often ſpoiled, their natural Oilineſs tending much to Putrefaction; from whence I have heard ſeveral complain in *England*, that their *Chocolate*, made up here, does often prove muſty, and will ſettle much to the Bottom of the Diſh; which is a certain Sign, ſays the learned Dr. *Stubbs* ‡, that the Nuts are either faulty, or not well beaten and made up. The beſt Cocoa-nuts are ſaid to come from *Carraca*, or *Nicaragua*, out of which Dr. *Stubbs* prepared *Chocolate* for the King; yet the Doctor commends the Cocoa-nuts of *Jamaica*, which were firſt planted there by the *Spaniards*. That you may know how to prepare your *Chocolate*, I will give you a ſhort Direction, if you intend to make it up yourſelf; conſult your own Conſtitution and Circumſtances, and vary the Ingredients according to the Premiſes, for I cannot give a Receipt to make up the Maſs of *Chocolate*, which will be agreeable and proper to all Complexions; yet, in the Compoſition of it, you muſt remember to appoint the Cocoa Kernel for the fundamental and principal Ingredient; as for the managing the Cocoa-nut, Dr. *Stubbs* ‖, and Mr. *Hughes* §, have publiſhed moſt excellent Inſtructions, how you muſt peel, dry, beat, and ſearce it very carefully, before you beat it up into a Maſs with other Simples. As for the great Quantity of Sugar which is commonly put in, it may deſtroy the native and genuine Temper of the *Chocolate*, Sugar being ſuch a corroſive Salt, and ſuch an hypocritical Enemy to the Body. *Simon Pauli* ** (a learned *Dane*) thinks Sugar to be one Cauſe of our *Engliſh* Conſumptions; and Dr. *Willis* †† blames it as one Cauſe of our univerſal Scurvies; therefore, when *Chocolate* produces any ill Effects, they may be often imputed to the great Superfluity of its Sugar, which often fills up half its Compoſition. For preparing the Drink of *Chocolate*, you may obſerve the following Meaſures: Take of the Maſs of *Chocolate*, cut into ſmall Pieces, one Ounce; of Milk and Water well boiled together, of each half a Pint; one Yolk of an Egg well beaten; mix them together, let them boil but gently, till all is diſſolved, ſtirring them often together with your Mollinet, or Chocolate-mill; afterwards pour it into your Diſhes, and into every Diſh put one Spoonful of Sack.

As for the Vertues and Effects of the Cocoa-nut, or *Chocolate*, all ‡‡ the *American* Travellers have written ſuch Panegyricks, and ſo many experimental Obſervations, that I ſhould but degrade this Royal Liquor, if I ſhould offer at any; yet, I think, two or three Remarks upon it cannot be unſuitable to this little Hiſtory; ſeveral of theſe curious Travellers and Phyſicians do agree in this, that the Cocoa-nut has a wonderful Faculty of quenching Thirſt, allaying hectick Heats, of nouriſhing and fattening the Body. Mr. *Gage* acquaints us ‖‖, that he drank *Chocolate* in the *Indies*, two or three Times every Day, for twelve Years together, and he ſcarce knew what any Diſeaſe was in all that Time, he growing very fat; ſome object it is too oily and groſs, but then the Bitterneſs of the Nut makes Amends, carrying the other off by ſtrengthening of the Bowels. Mr. *Hughes* informs §§ us, that he lived, at Sea, for ſome

* *Piſo.* Nat. Hiſtor. Indor.
† *Hughes*'s *American* Phyſician, p. 111.
‡ Dr. *Stubbs*'s *Indian* Nectar.
‖ Id. Ib.
§ Mr. *Hughes*'s *American* Phyſician.
** *Simon Pauli* Quadripart. Botan.
†† Dr. *Willis* de Scorbuto.
‡‡ *Joh. de Laet.* Hiſtor. Indor. *Piſo* Nat. Hiſtor. Indor. Herbar. Mexican. *Benzonus* Hiſtor. Indor. Occident &c.
‖‖ *Gage*'s Survey of the *Weſt-Indies*, Chap. of *Chocolate*.
§§ *Hughes*'s *American* Phyſician, p. 147.

Months

Months on nothing but *Chocolate*, yet neither his Strength nor Fleſh were diminiſhed; he ſays, our *Engliſh* Seamen are very greedy of it, when they come into any *Indian* Ports, and ſoon get plump Countenances by the Uſe of it. Mr. *Hughes* himſelf grew very fat in *Jamaica*, by Vertue of the Cocoa-nut; ſo he judges it moſt proper for lean, weak, and conſumptive Complexions; it may be proper for ſome breeding Women, and thoſe Perſons that are hypochondriacal and melancholy. The induſtrious Dr. *Mundy* gives a notable Example of the Effect of *Chocolate*; he * ſays, that he knew a Man in a deſperate Conſumption, who took a great Fancy for *Chocolate*; and his Wife, out of Complaiſance drank it often with him; the Conſequence was this, the Huſband recovered his Health, and his Wife was afterwards brought to Bed of three Sons at one Birth.

The great Uſe of *Chocolate* in Venery, and for Supplying the Teſticles with a Balſam, or a Sap, is ſo ingeniouſly made out by one of our learned Countrymen already, that I dare not preſume to add any Thing after ſo accompliſhed a Pen; though I am of Opinion, that I might treat of the Subject without any Immodeſty, or Offence. *Gerſon*, the grave *Roman* Caſuiſt, has writ *de Pollutione Nocturna*, and ſome have defended Fornication in the Popiſh Nunneries; hyſterical Fits, hypochondriacal Melancholy, Love-Paſſions, conſumptive Pinings away, and ſpermatical Fevers, being Inſtances of the Neceſſity hereof, natural Inſtinct pointing out the Cure. We cannot but admire the great Prudence of *Moſes*, who ſeverely prohibited that there ſhould be no Whore among the Daughters of *Iſrael*, yet that moſt wiſe Legiſlator took great Care for their timely Marriage; upon theſe very Accounts the Caſuiſts defend the Proteſtant Clergy in their Marriages. And *Adam* is commanded in Paradiſe to increaſe and multiply, therefore I hope this little Excurſion is pardonable, being ſo adequate to this Treatiſe of *Chocolate*; which, if *Rachel* had known, ſhe would not have purchaſed *Mandrakes* for *Jacob*. If the amorous and martial *Turk* ſhould ever taſte it, he would deſpiſe his Opium. If the *Grecians* and *Arabians* had ever tried it, they would have thrown away their Wake-robins and their Cuckow-pintles; and I do not doubt but you *London* Gentlemen, do value it above all your Culliſſes and Jellies; your Anchoves, *Bononia* Sauſages, your Cock and Lamb-ſtones, your Soys, your Ketchups and Caveares, your Cantharides, and your Whites of Eggs, are not to be compared to our rude *Indian*; therefore you muſt be very courteous and favourable to this little Pamphlet, which tells you moſt faithful Obſervations.

The induſtrious Author † of the *Vinetum Britannicum* makes a Query, Whether the Kernel of the Walnut may not ſupply the Defect of the *Cocoa*, if well ground? Dr. *Grew* thinks ‡, that for thoſe that drink *Chocolate*, at Coffee-Houſes without any Medicinal Reſpect, there is no Doubt, but that of Almonds finely beaten, and mixed with a due Proportion of Spices, and Sugar, may be made as pleaſant a Drink as the beſt *Chocolate*.

* Dr. *Mundy* de Potulentis, p. 350. † Vinet. Britan. p. 139. ‡ Dr. *Grew's* Muſ. Reg. Soc. p. 205.

The Natural Hiſtory of Tobacco.

SECT. IV.

TOBACCO is reckoned by the beſt Herbaliſts to be a Species, or Sort of *Henbane*, proper to the *American* Regions, as *Dodonæus* and *Simon Pauli* *; yet ſome Botaniſts will have it a Native of *Europe*, and reduce it to ſeveral of our Claſſes: But I will not trouble you with this Controverſy, only we may take Notice, that *Thevet* did firſt bring the Seed of *Tobacco* into *France*, though *N.* the *French* Ambaſſador in *Portugal* (from whom it is called *Nicotiana*) was the firſt that ſent the Plant itſelf into his own Country. *Hernandes de Toledo*, who travelled *America*, by the Command of *Philip the Second*, having ſupplied Spain and *Portugal*

* *Dodonæus* Herbal. *Simon Pauli* Quadripart. Botan. & Lib. de Tobacco.

tugal with it before *. Sir *Francis Drake* got the Seed in *Virginia*, and was the firſt that brought it into *England* †; yet ſome give Sir *Walter Rawleigh* the Honour of it; ſince which Time it has thriven very well in our *Engliſh* Soil; a great Quantity of it grows yearly in ſeveral Gardens about *Weſtminſter*, and in other Parts of *Middleſex*. It is planted in great Plenty in *Glouceſter*, *Devonſhire*, and ſome other *Weſtern* Countries; his Majeſty ſending every Year, a Troop of Horſe to deſtroy it, leſt the Trade of our *American* Plantations ſhould be incommoded thereby: Yet many of the *London* Apothecaries make Uſe of *Engliſh Tobacco* in their Shops, notwithſtanding the vulgar Opinion that this Herb is a Native of *America*, and foreign to *Europe:* Yet *Libavius* aſſures us, that it grows naturally in the famous *Hercynian* Foreſt of *Germany*. If this was true, we would no longer call it *Tobacco* from the Iſland of *Tobago*. The Names of it are ſo various, as they would glut the moſt hungry Reader. The *Americans* ſtile it *Picielt*; in *nova Francia*, *Petum*; in *Hiſpaniola*, *Cozobba*; in *Virginia*, *Uppuvoc*; at *Rome*, *Herba Sancta Crucis*; in ſome Parts of *Italy*, *Herba Medicea*; in *France*, *Herba Reginæ*, as you may read in *Magnenus* and *Neander* ‡: But, let it be of what Name or Kind it will, I am confident, that it is of the poiſonous Sort, for it intoxicates, inflames, vomits, and purges; which Operations are common to poiſonous Plants, as to Poppies, Nightſhades, Hemlocks, Monks-hood, Spurges, and Hellebores, that will produce the like Effects: Beſides, every one knows, that the Oil of *Tobacco* is one of the greateſt Poiſons in Nature; a few Drops of it, falling upon the Tongue of a Cat, will immediately throw her into Convulſions, under which ſhe will die. This Dr. *Willis* aſſures ‖ us to be true; the Experiment ſucceeded, when it was tried before the Royal Society, as the Learned Dr. *Grew* has affirmed §; beſides, I can ſpeak it upon my own certain Knowledge, having killed ſeveral Animals with a few Drops of this Oil. Yet that moſt ſagacious *Italian*, *Franciſco Redi*, obſerves **very well, that the Oil of *Tobacco* kills not all Animals, neither does it diſpatch thoſe, it kills, in the ſame Space of Time; there is a great Difference between the *Tobacco* of *Braſil*, and that of St. *Chriſtophers*, as to this Effect: *Varino* and *Braſil Tobacco* being almoſt of the ſame Quality and Operation, whereas that of St. *Chriſtophers*, *Terra Nova*, *Nieve*, and St. *Martin*, has very different Effects.

If we run over thoſe Countries, where *Tobacco* is made Uſe of, we may obſerve the various Manners of uſing it; ſome *Americans* will mix it with a Powder of Shells, to chew it, ſalivating all the Time, which, they fancy, does refreſh them in their Journies and Labours; others in *New Spain* will dawb the Ends of Reeds with the Gum, or Juice of *Tobacco*, and, ſetting them on Fire, will ſuck the Smoke to the other End. The *Virginians* were obſerved to have Pipes of Clay before ever the *Engliſh* came there ††; and, from thoſe *Barbarians*, we *Europeans* have borrowed our Mode and Faſhion of Smoaking. The *Moors* and *Turks* have no great Kindneſs for *Tobacco*; yet, when they do ſmoak, their Pipes are very long, made of Reeds, or Wood, with an earthen Head. The *Iriſhmen* do moſt commonly powder their *Tobacco* ‡‡, and ſnuff it up their Noſtrils, which ſome of our *Engliſhmen* do, who often chew and ſwallow it; I know ſome Perſons, that do eat every Day ſome Ounces of *Tobacco*, without any ſenſible Alteration; from whence we may learn, that Uſe and Cuſtom will tame and naturaliſe the moſt fierce and rugged Poiſon, ſo that it will become civil and friendly to the Body. We read of a *French* Ambaſſador |||, that, being in *England*, was ſo indiſpoſed, that he could never ſleep; upon which he would often devour whole Ounces of *Opium* without being concerned: And the *Turks* are often obſerved to ſwallow great Lumps of it, a tenth Part of which would kill thoſe that were not accuſtomed to *Opiates*. I know a Woman in this City, that, being uſed to take both the Hellebores, will often ſwallow whole Scruples of them without the leaſt Motion, or Operation; ſo that Cuſtom and Converſation will make the fierceſt Creature familiar.

* *Hernandez* Hiſtor. American. † *Purchas*'s Voyages into *America*.
‡ *Magnenus* de Tobacco. *Neander* Tabacalog. ‖ Dr. *Willis* Pharm. Rat.
§ Dr. *Grew*'s Muſ. Reg. Soc. p. 352. ** Philoſ. Tranſact. *Oldenburgh* N. 92.
†† *Purchas*'s Voyages to *America*. ‡‡ Obſerve the Original of that nauſeous and unwholeſome Cuſtom of taking Snuff. ||| Ephem. German. An. 2.

As for the Culture, Harveſt, Preparation, and Traffick of *Tobacco*, I will recommend you to *Neander*, where, if you are curious, you may meet with Satisfaction *. I cannot omit one Story out of *Monardus* †, who tells us, that the *Indian* Prieſts, being always conſulted about the Events of War, do burn the Leaves of *Tobacco*, and, ſucking into their Mouths the Smoke by a Reed, or Pipe, do preſently fall into a Trance, or Extaſy; and, as ſoon as ever they come out of it, they diſcover to the *Indians* all the ſecret Negotiation, which they have had with the great *Dæmon*, always delivering ſome ambiguous Anſwer.

As for the Qualities, Nature, and Uſes of *Tobacco*, they may be very conſiderable in ſeveral Caſes and Circumſtances; though King *James* himſelf has both writ, and diſputed very ſmartly againſt it at *Oxford*, and *Simon Pauli* ‡ has publiſhed a very learned Book againſt it. Some Anatomiſts ‖ tell us moſt terrible Stories of ſooty Brains, and black Lungs, which have been ſeen in the Diſſections of dead Bodies, which, when living, had been accuſtomed to *Tobacco*. We read that *Amurath the Fourth* did forbid the Uſe of it, over all the *Turkiſh* Dominions, under the moſt ſevere Penalties; the *Turks* having an Opinion amongſt them, that *Tobacco* will make them effeminate and barren, unfit for War and Procreation; though ſome think there is a politick Deſign in it, to obſtruct the Sale of it, in the *Eaſtern* Countries, and to prevent the *Chriſtians* from Eſtabliſhing any conſiderable Traffick, from ſo mean a Commodity; which, perhaps, may be one Reaſon §, why the Great Duke ** of *Muſcovy* has threatened to puniſh thoſe Merchants, who offer to ſell any *Tobacco* in his Countries. *Scach Abas* (the Great *Sophy* of *Perſia*) leading an Army againſt the *Cham* of *Tartary*, made Proclamation, that, if any *Tobacco* was found in the Cuſtody of any Soldier, he ſhould be burnt alive, together with his *Tobacco*. Yet, for all this, it may be very beneficial to Mankind, as you will conclude from what follows.

Dr. *Willis* †† recommends *Tobacco* to Soldiers, becauſe it may ſupply the Want of Victuals, and make them inſenſible of the Dangers, Fatigues, and Hardſhips, which do uſually attend Wars and Armies; beſides, it is found to cure mangy and ulcerous Diſeaſes, which are frequent in Camps. I know a curious Lady in the *North*, that does very great Feats in Sores and Ulcers by a Preparation of *Tobacco*. Our learned and moſt experienced Countryman, Mr. *Boyle* ‡‡, does highly commend *Tobacco* Clyſters in the moſt violent Cholick Pains, which are often epidemical in Cities and Camps. The renowned *Hartman* extols the Water of *Tobacco*, againſt Agues ‖‖: And the curious Dr. *Grew* §§ found the Succeſs of the Oil of it, in the Tooth-ach, a Lint being dipped in it, and put into the Tooth. The Effects of *Tobacco* have been very good, in ſome violent Pains of the Head; as ſome Thouſands have experimented: As for the daily Smoaking of it, the State and Circumſtances of your Body muſt be the beſt Guide and Rule; if your Complexion be lean, hot, and dry, it is an Argument againſt it, but if cold, moiſt, and humoral, ſubject to Catarrhs, Rheums, and Pains, then there may be a Temptation to venture upon it; ſo every Man muſt conſult his own Temper, and the Experience of others.

A modern *French* Author*** has writ a peculiar Tract of *Tobacco*, wherein he commends it in Convulſions, in Pains, and for bringing on Sleep; he extols the Oil of it in curing Deafneſs, being injected into the Ear in a convenient Vehicle; alſo againſt gouty and ſcorbutical Pains of the Joints, being applied in a Liniment. A *Lixivium* of *Tobacco* often prevents the Falling off of the Hair, and is famous for curing the Farcy, or Leproſy of Cattle.

The Uſe of Juniper *and* Elder-Berries *in our Publick-Houſes.*

THESE two *Berries* are ſo celebrated in many Countries, and ſo highly recommended to the World by ſeveral famous Writers, and Practitioners, that they need not deſire any Varniſh or Argument from me. The ſimple Decoctions of them, ſweetened with a little fine Sugar-candy, will afford Liquors ſo pleaſant to the Eye, ſo grateful to the Palate,

* *Neander* Tabacalog. † *Monardus* Lib. X. Exoticor. Cluſii. ‡ *Simon Pauli* de Abu[illegible] Tabaci.
‖ *Diemerbrock.* Anat. *Hoffman. Pauvius.* § *Olearius*, Ambaſſadors Travels through *Muſcovy*.
** *Or*, Czar. †† Dr. *Willis* Pharm. Rat. ‡‡ *Boyle*'s Experimental Philoſophy.
‖‖ *Hartman* prax. Chym. §§ Dr. *Grew* Muſ. Reg. Soc. p. 252. *** Journal des Scavans, *An.* 1681.

and

and ſo beneficial to the Body, that I cannot but wonder, after all theſe Charms, they have not as yet been courted, and uſhered into our Publick-Houſes; if they ſhould once appear on the Stage, I am confident, that both the *Whig* and *Tory* would agree about them far better than they have done about the *Medal* and *Muſhroom*; nay the very *Cynick* and *Stoick* himſelf would fall in Love with the Beauty and extraordinary Vertues of theſe *Berries*, which are ſo common, and cheap, that they may be purchaſed for little or nothing; one Ounce of the *Berry*, well cleanſed, bruiſed, and maſhed, will be enough for almoſt a Pint of Water; when they are boiled together, the Veſſel muſt be carefully ſtoppe'd; after the Boiling is over, one Spoonful of Sugar-candy may be put in.

The *Juniper-tree* grows wild upon many Hills in *Surry* and *Oxfordſhire*, and upon *Juniper-Hill*, near *Hilderſham* in *Cambridgeſhire*; beſides, in ſeveral other Parts of *England:* The *Berries* are moſt commonly gathered about *Auguſt*. The *Aſtrological Botaniſts* adviſe us to pull them, when the Sun is in *Virgo*.

The *Juniper-Berry* is of ſo great Reputation in the *Northern* Nations, that they uſe it, as we do *Coffee* and *Thee*, eſpecially the *Laplanders*, who do almoſt adore it. *Simon Pauli*, a learned *Dane*, aſſures us, that theſe *Berries* have performed Wonders in the Stone, which he did not learn from Books, or common Fame, but from his own Obſervation and Experience; for he produces two very notable Examples, that, being tormented with the Stone, did find incredible Succeſs in the Uſe of theſe *Berries*; and, if my Memory does not fail me, I have heard our moſt ingenious and famous Dr. *Troutbeck* commend a Medicine prepared of them in this Diſtemper. Beſides, *Schroder* knew a Nobleman of *Germany*, that freed himſelf from the intolerable Symptoms of the Stone by the conſtant Uſe of theſe *Berries*: Aſk any Phyſician about them, and he will beſtow upon them a much finer Character than my rude Pencil can draw. The learned Mr. *Evelyn* will tell you what great Kindneſſes he has done to his poor ſick Neighbours, with a Preparation of *Juniper-Berries*, who is pleaſed to honour them with the Title of the *Forreſter's Panacæa*; he extols them in the Wind Cholick, and many other Diſtempers. Do but conſult *Bauhinus* and *Schroder*, the firſt being the moſt exact Herbal, the other the moſt faithful and elaborate Diſpenſatory, that ever has been publiſhed; and you will find great Commendation of theſe *Berries* in Dropſies, Gravel, Coughs, Conſumptions, Gout, Stoppage of the monthly Courſes, Epilepſies, Palſies, and Lethargies, in which there are often an ill Appetite, bad Digeſtions, and Obſtructions.

Take one Spoonful of the Spirit of *Juniper-Berries*, four Grains of the Salt of *Juniper*, and three Drops of the Oil of *Juniper-Berries* well rectified; mix them all together, drink them Morning and Night in a Glaſs of White-wine, and you will have no contemptible Medicine in all the afore-mentioned Diſeaſes.

Now it is probable, that you have both the Spirit, Salt, and Oil of this *Berry* in a ſimple Decoction of it, provided it be carefully and ſkilfully managed. If this will not ſatisfy, do but read *Benjamin Scarffius*, and *John Michael*, who have publiſhed in *Germany* two ſeveral Books of the *Juniper*, and you may meet with far more perſuaſive Arguments, than I can pretend to offer you.

The *Elder-Tree* grows almoſt every where, but it moſt delights in Hedges, Orchards, and other ſhady Places, or on the moiſt Banks of Rivulets and Ditches, into which it is thruſt by the Gardeners, leſt, by its Luxury and importunate Increaſe yearly, it ſhould poſſeſs all their Ground. We write here of the Domeſtick, common *Elder*, not of the Mountain, the Water, or Dwarf *Elder*, ours in Figure is like the *Aſh*; the Leaves reſemble thoſe of a *Walnut-Tree*, but leſs; in the Top of the Branches, and Twigs, there ſpring ſweet and criſped Umbels, ſwelling with white odoriferous Flowers (in *June* before St. *John's* Eve) which by their Fall give Place to a many-branched Grapes, firſt green, then ruddy, laſt of a black, dark Purple Colour, ſucculent and tumid with its winiſh Liquor; of all the wild Plants it is firſt covered with Leaves, and laſt uncloathed of them. It flouriſhes in *May*, *June*, and *July*, but the *Berries* are not ripe till *Auguſt*.

As for the Qualities and Vertues of *Elder-Berries*, I need ſay no more, but that Mr. *Ray* has given a great Encomium of them; our learned Dr. *Needham* commending them in Dropſies, and ſome Fevers; and I have been informed, that the ingenious Dr. *Croon* has extolled a Spirit of *Elder-Berries* in an epidemical intermitting Fever. *Schroder* ſays, they do peculiarly reſpect ſome Diſeaſes, attributed to the Womb. Mr. *Evelyn* is ſo bountiful to his poor *Foreſter*, as to aſſure him, that if he could but learn the Medicinal Properties of the *Elder-*

Tree, he might fetch a Remedy from every Hedge, either for Sickneſs or Wounds; the ſame curious Gentleman takes Notice, how prevalent theſe *Berries* are in ſcorbutick Diſtempers, and for the Prolongation of Life (ſo famous is the Story of *Neander*.) I have heard ſome praiſe them in Bloody Fluxes, and other Diſeaſes of the Bowels; alſo in ſeveral Diſtempers of the Head, as the Falling-Sickneſs, Megrims, Palſies, Lethargies; they are ſaid likewiſe to promote the monthly Inundations of Women, and to deſtroy the Heat of an Eryſipelas, for which the Flowers themſelves are highly celebrated by *Simon Pauli*, who experimented them upon himſelf with wonderful Succeſs. I could produce ſeveral Caſes out of the beſt Phyſical Writers, as *Foreſtus*, *Riverius*, *Rulandus*, &c. where theſe *Berries* have acted their Parts, even to Admiration; but, if you are curious and inquiſitive after the Qualities and Nature of them, I will recommend a learned *German*, *Martyn Blochwitz*, to your Reading, where you may entertain yourſelf with great Variety: Yet I have one Thing ſtill to take Notice of, that the ſame Medicine may be prepared out of the Spirit, Oil, and Salt of this *Berry*, that you have been taught before to make out of the *Juniper-Berry*; but you may obtain them all in a ſimple Decoction, if it be well managed.

You have read here the great Uſe of theſe two *Berries*, that are more univerſally agreeable to all Tempers, Palates, and Caſes, than perhaps any other two ſimple Medicines, which are commonly known amongſt us; ſo that ſeveral Perſons, being under ill Habits of Body, and upon the Frontiers of ſome lingring Diſeaſes, cannot but deſire to drink them, when they have Occaſion to reſort to Publick-Houſes; yet, for all this, my poor Advice will certainly meet with that Fate, which does attend almoſt every Thing in the World, that is, *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*; but it dreads moſt of all the *Turky* and *Eaſt-India* Merchant, who will condemn it in Defence of their *Coffee* and *Thee*, which have the Honour of coming from the *Levant* and *China*. Beſides, I am afraid of a Laſh, or a Frown, from ſome young Ladies, and little Sparks, who ſcorn to eat, drink, or wear any Thing, that comes not from *France*, or the *Indies*; they fancy poor *England* is not capable of bringing forth any Commodity, that can be agreeable to their Grandeur and Gallantry, as though Nature, and God Almighty, had curſed this Iſland with the Production of ſuch Things, as are every Way unſuitable to the Complexions and Neceſſities of the Inhabitants; ſo we cannot but repartee upon theſe *A-la mode* Perſons, that, while they worſhip ſo much only Foreign Creatures, they cannot but be wholly ignorant of thoſe at Home. His Excellency, the moſt acute and ingenious Ambaſſador from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco* (who now reſides amongſt us) is reported to have adviſed his Attendants to ſee every Thing, but admire nothing, leſt they ſhould ſeem thereby to diſparage their own Country, and ſhew themſelves ignorant of the great Rarities and Wonders of *Barbary*.

Poor contemptible Berries, fly hence to *Smyrna*, *Bantam*, or *Mexico*; then the Merchants would work through Storms and Tempeſts, through Fire and Water, to purchaſe you, and, on your Arrival here would proclaim your Vertues in all publick Aſſemblies; ſo true is that common Saying, *A Prophet is never valued in his own Country*. The *Engliſh* Soil is certainly influenced by ſome peſtilential Star, that blaſts the Credit of its Productions.

The Way of making Mum, *with ſome Remarks upon that Liquor.*

IN *the firſt Place*, I will give ſome Inſtructions how to make *Mum*, as it is recorded in the Houſe of *Brunſwick*, and was ſent, from thence, to General *Monk*.

To make a Veſſel of ſixty-three Gallons, the Water muſt be firſt boiled to the Conſumption of a third Part; let it then be brewed, according to Art, with ſeven Buſhels of Wheat-malt, one Buſhel of Oat-malt, and one Buſhel of ground Beans; and, when it is tunned, let not the Hogſhead be too much filled at firſt; when it begins to work, put to it of the *inner Rind* of the Fir three Pounds, of the Tops of Fir and Birch, of each one Pound; of *Carduus Benedictus* dried, three Handfuls; Flowers of *Roſa Solis*, two Handfuls; of Burnet, Betony, Marjoram, Avens, Penny-royal, Flowers of Elder, wild Thyme, of each one Handful and an half; Seeds of Cardamum bruiſed, three Ounces; Bay-berries bruiſed one Ounce; put the Seeds into the Veſſel: When the Liquor hath wrought a While with the Herbs, and after they are added,

ded, let the Liquor work over the Veſſel as little as may be, fill it up at laſt, and, when it is ſtopped, put into the Hogſhead ten new-laid Eggs, the Shells not cracked or broken; ſtop all cloſe, and drink it at two Years old; if carried by Water it is better. Dr. *Ægidius Hoffman* added Water-creſſes, Brook-lime, and wild Parſley, of each ſix Handfuls, with ſix Handfuls of Horſe-radiſh raſped in every Hogſhead; it was obſerved that the Horſe-radiſh made the *Mum* drink more quick than that which had none.

By the Compoſition of *Mum*, we may gueſs at the Qualities and Properties of it; you find great Quantities of the Rind, and Tops of Fir, in it; therefore if the *Mum-makers* at *London* are ſo careful and honeſt, as to prepare this Liquor, after the *Brunſwick* Faſhion, which is the genuine and original Way; it cannot but be very powerful againſt the Breeding of Stones, and againſt all ſcorbutick Diſtempers. When the *Swedes* carried on a War againſt the *Muſcovites*, the Scurvy did ſo domineer among them, that their Army did languiſh and moulder away to nothing, till, once incamping near a great Number of Fir-trees, they began to boil the Tops of them in their Drink, which recovered the Army, even to a Miracle; from whence the *Swedes* call the Fir, the *Scorbutick Tree*, to this very Day. Our moſt renowned Dr. *Walter Needham* has obſerved the great Succeſs of theſe Tops of Fir in the Scurvy, as Mr. *Ray* informs us; which is no great Wonder, if we conſider the Balſam or Turpentine (with which this Tree abounds) which proves ſo effectual in preſerving even dead Bodies themſelves from Putrefaction and Corruption. If my Memory does not deceive me, I have heard Mr. *Boyle* (the Ornament and Glory of our *Engliſh* Nation) affirm, that the Oil of Turpentine preſerves Bodies from Putrefaction much better than the Spirit of Wine. The Fir, being a principal Ingredient of this Liquor, is ſo celebrated by ſome modern Writers, that it alone may be ſufficient to advance the *Mum* Trade amongſt us. *Simon Pauli* (a learned *Dane*) tells us the great Exploits of the Tops of this Tree in freeing a great Man of *Germany* from an inveterate Scurvy; every Phyſician will inform you, how proper they are againſt the Breeding of Gravel and Stones; but then we muſt be ſo exact, as to pull theſe Tops in their proper Seaſon, when they abound moſt with Turpentine and balſamick Parts, and then they may make the *Mum* a proper Liquor in *Gonorrhœa's*; beſides, the Eggs may improve its Faculty that Way; yet I will not conceal what, I think, the learned Dr. *Merret* affirms in his Obſervations upon Wines, that thoſe Liquors, into which the Shavings of Fir are put, may be apt to create Pains in the Head; but ſtill it is to be confeſſed, that the Fir cannot but contribute much to the Vigour and Preſervation of the Drink.

By the Variety of its Malt, and by the ground Beans, we may conclude, that *Mum* is a very hearty and ſtrengthening Liquor; ſome drink it much, becauſe it has no Hops, which, they fancy, do ſpoil our *Engliſh* Ales and Beers, uſhering in Infections; nay, Plagues amongſt us. *Tho. Bartholine* exclaims ſo fiercely againſt Hops, that he adviſes us to mix any Thing with our Drink, rather than them; he recommends Sage, Tamariſks, Tops of Pine, or Fir, inſtead of Hops, the daily Uſe of which in our *Engliſh* Liquors is ſaid to have been one Cauſe, why the Stone is grown ſuch a common Diſeaſe among us *Engliſhmen*; yet Captain *Graunt*, in his curious Obſervations upon the Bills of Mortality, obſerves, that fewer are afflicted with the Stone in this preſent Age, than there were in the Age before, though far more Hops have been uſed in this City of late than ever.

As for Eggs in the Compoſition of *Mum*, they may contribute much to prevent its growing ſowre, their Shells ſweetening Vinegar, and deſtroying Acids; for which Reaſon they may be proper in reſtoring ſome decayed Liquors, if put whole into the Veſſel. Dr. *Stubbs*, in ſome curious Obſervations made in his Voyage to *Jamaica*, aſſures us, that Eggs, put whole into the Veſſel, will preſerve many Drinks, even to Admiration, in long Voyages; the Shells and Whites will be devoured and loſt, but the Yolks left untouched.

Dr. *Willis* preſcribes *Mum* in ſeveral Chronical Diſtempers, as Scurvies, Dropſies, and ſome Sort of Conſumptions. The *Germans*, eſpecially the Inhabitants of *Saxony*, have ſo great a Veneration for this Liquor, that they fancy their Bodies can never decay, or pine away, as long as they are lined and embalmed with ſo powerful a Preſerver; and indeed, if we conſider the Frame and Complexions of the *Germans* in general, they may appear to be living Mummies. But to conclude all in a few Words, if this Drink, called *Mum*, be exactly made according to the foregoing Inſtructions,

tions, it muſt needs be a moſt excellent alterative Medicine, the Ingredients of it being very rare and choice Simples, there being ſcarce any one Diſeaſe in Nature againſt which ſome of them are not prevalent, as Betony, Marjoram, Thyme, in Diſeaſes of the Head; Birch, Burnet, Water-creſſes, Brook-lime, Horſe-radiſh, in the moſt inveterate Scurvies, Gravels, Coughs, Conſumptions, and all Obſtructions. Avens and Cardamom-ſeeds for cold weak Stomachs. *Carduus Benedictus*, and Elder-flowers, in intermitting Fevers. Bay-berries and Penny-Royal, in Diſtempers attributed to the Womb. But it is to be feared, that ſeveral of our *Londoners* are not ſo honeſt and curious, as to prepare their *Mum* faithfully and truly; if they do, they are ſo happy as to furniſh and ſtock their Country with one of the moſt uſeful Liquors under the Sun, it being ſo proper and effectual in ſeveral lingering Diſtempers, where there is a Depravation and Weakneſs of the Blood and Bowels.

There ſtill remains behind a ſtrong and general Objection, that may, perhaps, fall upon this little puny Pamphlet, and cruſh it all to Pieces, that is, the Hiſtories are too ſhort, and imperfect; to which I have only this to anſwer,

Ars longa, vita brevis,

A perfect natural Hiſtory of the leaſt Thing in the World, cannot be the Work of one Man, or ſcarce of one Age, for it requires the Heads, Hands, Studies, and Obſervations of many, well compared and digeſted together; therefore this is rather an Eſſay, or Topick, for Men to reaſon upon, when they meet together in Publick-Houſes, and to encourage them to follow the Example of *Adam*, who, in the State of Innocence, did contemplate of all the Creatures that were round about him in Paradiſe, but after the Fall, and the Building of a City, the Philoſopher turned Politician.

POSTCRIPT.

LIquors and Drinks are of ſuch general Uſe and Eſteem, in all the habitable Parts of the World, that a Word or two concerning them cannot be improper or unwelcome.

Firſt, the Saps and Juices of Trees will afford many pleaſant and uſeful Liquors. The *Africans* and *Indians* prepare their famous Palm-wine (which they call *Sura* or *Toddy*) out of the Sap of the wounded Palm tree, as we do our Birch-wine in *England*, out of the Tears of the pierced Birch-tree, which is celebrated in the Stone and Scurvy. So the Sycamore and Walnut, being wounded, will weep out their Juices, which may be fermented into Liquors. In the *Molucca's*, the Inhabitants extract a Wine out of a Tree called *Laudan*.

Fruits and Berries yield many noble and neceſſary Liquors. Every Nation abounds with various Drinks by the Diverſity of their Fruits and Vegetables. *England* with Cyder, Perry, Cherry, Currant, Gooſeberry, Raſpberry, Mulberry, Blackberry, and Strawberry Wine. *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Germany*, produce great Varieties of Wines from the different Species and Natures of their Grapes and Soils. In *Jamaica* and *Braſil* they make a very delicious Wine out of a Fruit called *Ananas*, which is like a Pine-apple, not inferior to *Malvaſia* Wine. The *Chineſe* make curious Drinks out of their Fruits; ſo do the *Braſilians* and Southern *Americans*; as from their Cocoa, Acajou, Pacobi, Unni, or Murtilla's. We may note here, that all the Juices of Herbs, Fruits, Seeds, and Roots will work and ferment themſelves into intoxicating Liquors, out of which Spirits and Brandies may be extracted; moſt Nations under the Sun have their drunken Liquors and Compounds; the *Turk* his Maſlack, the *Perſians* their Bangue, the *Indians* their Fulo, Rum, Arack, and Punch. The *Arabians*, *Turks*, *Chineſe*, *Tartars*, and other Eaſtern Countries do make inebriating Liquors out of their Corn and Rice; ſome, rather than not be drunk, will ſwallow Opium, Dutroy, and Tobacco, or ſome other intoxicating Thing, ſo great an Inclination has Mankind to be exalted. *Pliny* complains, that Drunkenneſs was the Study of his Time, and that the *Romans* and *Parthians* contended for the Glory of exceſſive Wine-drinking. Hiſtorians tell us of one *Novellius Torquatus*, who went through all the honourable Degrees of Dignity in *Rome*, wherein the greateſt Glory and Honour, he obtained, was for the Drinking, in the Preſence of *Tiberius*, three Gallons of Wine at one Draught, before ever he drew his Breath, and without being any Ways concerned. *Athenæus*

Athenæus ſays, that *Melanthius* wiſhed his own Neck as long as a Crane's, that he might be the longer a taſting the Pleaſure of Drinks; yet, what he reports of *Laſyrtes* is wonderful, that he never drank any Thing, tho', notwithſtanding, he urined as others do. The ſame famous Author takes Notice, that the great Drinkers uſed to eat Coleworts, to prevent Drunkenneſs; neither are ſome Men of our Days much inferiour to thoſe celebrated Antients. The *Germans* commonly drink whole Tankards, and Ell-glaſſes, at a Draught, adoring him that drinks fairly and moſt, and hating him that will not pledge them. The *Dutchmen* will ſalute their Gueſts with a Pail and a Diſh, making Hogſheads of their Bellies. The *Polander* thinks him the braveſt Fellow that drinks moſt Healths, and carries his Liquor beſt, being of Opinion, that there is as much Valour in Drinking as Fighting. The *Ruſſians*, *Swedes*, and *Danes* have ſo naturaliſed Brandy, *Aqua Vitæ*, Beer, Mum, *&c.* that they uſually drink our *Engliſhmen* to Death, ſo that the moſt ingenious Author of the *Vinetum Britannicum* concludes, that Temperance (relatively ſpeaking) is the Cardinal Virtue of the *Engliſh*.

It is very wonderful what Mr. *Ligon* and other *American* Travellers relate of the Caſſava-root, how out of it the *Americans* do generally make their Bread, and common Drink, called *Parranow*; yet that Root is known to be a great Poiſon, if taken raw; their Drink, called *Mobby*, is made of Potatoes. But we will conclude all with *Virgil*, who, ſpeaking of the many Liquors in his Time, ſays,

Sed neque quam multæ ſpecies, nec nomina quæ ſunt,
Eſt Numerus.

Contemplations upon Life and Death; with ſerious Reflexions on the Miſeries that attend human Life, in every Station, Degree, and Change thereof. Written by a Perſon of Quality, in his Confinement, a little before his Death; ſhewing the Vanity of the Deſire of long Life, and the Fear of Death; with a true Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs upon the Scaffold at *Tower-hill*, on *Thurſday*, *January* 28, 1696-7, by Sir *John Fenwick*, Baronet.

— [From a *Quarto*, containing thirty-one Pages, printed at *London*, in 1697.

I do not preſume to arraign the Juſtice of that Sentence by which Sir John Fenwick, *the Author of this Tract, was condemned to die for High-Treaſon; neither does it concern me to enter into the Particulars of the Charge brought againſt him; but I cannot but juſtly obſerve, that he, in theſe Contemplations, has left us a convincing Proof, how well he improved the Time under his Confinement; and a rare Example of Patience, Reſignation to God's Will, and of a real Chriſtian Underſtanding in the Way of Godlineſs. For I may venture to ſay, that, in this ſhort Draught of* Life and Death, *he not only ſhews his great Ability in Point of* Method *and* Invention; *but has excelled thoſe excellent Authors*, Drexelius, Bellarmine, Bona, Sherlock, *&c. who have written upon*

on the ſame Subject; and, therefore, believe it will be acceptable to my Readers, and thought worthy to be preſerved from the Injury of Time in this Collection.

NOſce te ipſum *, is a Leſſon a Man can never learn too late; and therefore, though hitherto I have lived ſo much *a Stranger to myſelf*, that I have had little Leiſure, and leſs Deſire to think or contemplate (a ſtudious and ſedentary Life having always been my Averſion) yet the ſolitary Condition I am now reduced to, and the melancholy Circumſtances under which I lie, do, methinks, call upon me to conſider what I have been doing, and what I am further ſhortly to do. I am now under a cloſe Confinement, ſecluded from all Converſation with the World, and denied the Viſits of my neareſt and deareſt Relations; and all this ſeems to be but the ſad Prologue to that ſadder Tragedy in which I am to be the principal Actor, before I go off the Stage of this World. And, therefore, ſince Death and I muſt ſhortly be better acquainted, it will certainly be my Wiſdom, as well as my Intereſt, to familiariſe it to me before-hand; And I do not know how that can be better done, than by contemplating the *Miſeries of Life*, in all its various Changes and Conditions; and then to look upon *Death* as the great *Panpharmacon* or Remedy of all thoſe Evils that Life ſubjects us to.

It is true indeed, we generally fly from *Death* as our worſt Enemy, although it is in Truth our greateſt Friend; and this, to a conſidering Man, is very unaccountable. I muſt confeſs, it does ſeem ſtrange to me, and is, methinks, a Thing to be admired, that the poor Labourer, to repoſe himſelf, longs for the ſetting Sun; that the Mariner rows with all his Might to attain his wiſhed-for Port, and rejoices when he can diſcover Land; that the Traveller is never contented, till he be at the End of his Journey; and that we, in the mean While, tied in this World to a perpetual Taſk, toſſed with continual Tempeſts, and tired with a rough and thorny Way, yet cannot ſee the End of our Labour, but with Grief; nor behold our Port, but with Tears; nor approach to our Home, but with Horror and Trembling. This Life is but a *Penelope*'s Web, in which we are always doing and undoing; a Sea that lies open to all Winds, which ſometimes within, and ſometimes without, never ceaſes to blow violently upon us; a weary Journey thro' extreme Heats and Colds, over high Mountains, ſteep Rocks, and dangerous Deſarts; and thus we paſs away our Time in weaving at this Web, in rowing at this Oar, and in paſſing this miſerable Way; and yet, when Death comes to end our Work, and ſtretches out his Arm to pull us into the Port; when after ſo many dangerous Paſſages, and loathſome Lodgings, he would conduct us to our true Home and Reſting-place; inſtead of rejoicing at the End of our Labour, of taking Comfort at the Sight of our deſired Haven, and of ſinging at our Approach to thoſe happy Manſions; we would fain begin our Work again, hoiſt Sail to the Wind, and would willingly undertake our Journey a-new. No more we then remember our Wearineſs and Pains; our Dangers and our Shipwrecks are forgotten. We fear no more the Tireſomeneſs of Travel, nor the Danger of Deſarts. But, on the Contrary, we apprehend Death as an extreme Pain; we ſhun it as the fatal Rock on which we are like to ſplit; we fly it as a Thief that comes to rob us of our Treaſure. We do as little Children, who all the Day complain of Illneſs, and, when the Medicine is brought them, are no longer ſick: Or, as they who all the Week long run up and down the Streets, complaining of the Pain of their Teeth, and yet, ſeeing the Barber coming to pull them out, are rather willing ſtill to endure the Pain, than uſe the Remedy. And as thoſe tender and delicate Bodies, who in a pricking Pleuriſy complain, and cry out, and cannot ſtay for a Surgeon; and yet when they ſee him whetting his Launcet, to cut the Throat of the Diſeaſe, pull in their Arms and hide them in the Bed, as if he were come to kill them. We fear more the Cure than the Diſeaſe; the Surgeon, than the Pain; the Stroke, than the Impoſthume. We have more Senſe of the Medicine's Bitterneſs, ſoon gone, than of a bitter long-continued Languiſhing: We have more Feeling of Death, the End of our Miſeries, than the endleſs Miſery of our Life. And whence proceedeth this Folly and Simplicity? We neither know Life nor Death; we fear what we ought to hope for, and wiſh for what we ought to fear; we call Life a continual Death, and yet Death is the Entrance of a never-dying Life.

* Know thyſelf.

Now

Now what Good, O my Soul, is there in Life, that thou ſhouldſt ſo much deſire it? Or what Evil is there in Death, that thou ſhouldſt ſo much fear it? Nay, what Evil is there not in Life, and what Good is there not in Death?

Conſider all the Periods of *this Life*; we enter it in *Tears*, we paſs it in *Sweat*, we end it in *Sorrow*. Great and Little, Rich and Poor, not one in the whole World that can plead Immunity from this Condition. Man in this Point is worſe than all other Creatures; he is born unable to ſupport himſelf; neither receiving in his firſt Years any Pleaſure, nor giving to others any Thing but Trouble; and before the Age of Diſcretion paſſing infinite Dangers. Only herein he is leſs unhappy than in other Ages, becauſe in this he hath no Senſe nor Apprehenſion of his Miſery. Now can we think there is any ſo void of Reaſon, that, if it were granted him to live always a Child, would make Choice of ſuch a Life?

So then it is evident, That not ſimply *to live* is deſirable; but *to live well and happy*. But to proceed;

Grows he? His *Troubles* likewiſe grow up with him. Scarcely is he come out of his Nurſe's Hands, and ſcarce knows what it is to play, but he falls under the Subjection of a Schoolmaſter; I ſpeak but of thoſe which have the beſt Education, and are brought up with the greateſt Care and Strictneſs. And then, if he ſtudies, it is ever with Repining; and, if he plays, it is never but with Fear.

This whole Age, while he is under the Charge of another, is unto him no better than a Priſon; and therefore he longs for, and only aſpires to that Age, in which, freed from the Tutelage of another, he may become Maſter of himſelf; puſhing Time forward, as it were, with his Shoulder, that he may the ſooner enjoy his hoped-for Liberty. In ſhort, he deſires nothing more than to ſee the End of his Age, which he looks upon as Bondage and Slavery, and enter upon the Beginning of his Youth.

And what is the Beginning of Youth, but the Death of Infancy? And the Beginning of Manhood, but the Death of Youth? Or what is the Beginning of To-morrow, but the Death of the preſent Day?

And thus he implicitly deſires his Death, and judges his Life miſerable; and therefore cannot be reputed in a State of Happineſs or Contentment.

Behold him now, according to his Wiſh, *at Liberty*; in that Age wherein he has his Choice, to take the Way of Virtue or of Vice, and either to chooſe Reaſon or Paſſion for his Guide; his Paſſion entertains him with a thouſand Delights, prepares for him a thouſand Baits, and preſents him with a thouſand worldly Pleaſures to ſurpriſe him; and theſe are ſo agreeable to headſtrong and unbridled Youth, that there are very few that are not taken and beguiled by them; of which my own Example is too evident an Inſtance.

But, when the Reckoning comes to be made up, what Pleaſures are they? They are but vicious and polluted Pleaſures, which ever hold him in a reſtleſs Fever; Pleaſures that at the beſt end in Repentance, and, like Sweet-meats, are of a hard Digeſtion; Pleaſures that are bought with Pain, and in a Moment periſh, but leave behind a laſting Guilt, and long Remorſe of Conſcience; all which I wiſh my own too dear Experience could not witneſs.

And yet this is the very Nature (if they be well examined) of *all* the Pleaſures of *this World*; there is in none ſo much Sweetneſs, but there is more Bitterneſs; none ſo pleaſant to the Mouth, but it leaves an unſavory Guſto after it. I will not ſpeak here of the Miſchiefs, Quarrels, Debates, Wounds, Murders, Baniſhments, Sickneſs, and other Dangers, whereinto ſometimes the Incontinency, and ſometimes the Inſolency of this ill-guided Age does plunge Men; for the Remembrance of my own Follies, upon this Occaſion, ſtops my Mouth, and fills me with Remorſe and Shame.

But if thoſe that ſeem Pleaſures be nothing elſe but Diſpleaſures, if the Sweetneſs thereof be as an Infuſion of Wormwood; What then muſt the Diſpleaſure be which they feel? And how great the Bitterneſs that they taſte?

Behold then, in ſhort, the Life of a *young Man*, who, rid of the Government of his Parents and Maſters, abandons himſelf to all the Exorbitancies of his unruly Paſſion; which, like an unclean Spirit poſſeſſing him, throws him ſometimes into the Water, and then into the Fire; ſometimes carries him clear over a Rock, and at other Times flings him headlong to the Bottom.

But, if he follows Reaſon for his Guide; (which is much the better Choice) yet, on this Hand, there are wonderful Difficulties: For he muſt reſolve to fight in every Part of the Field, and at every Step to be in Conflict, as having his Enemy in Front, in Flank, and on the Rear, never leaving to aſſail him; and this Enemy is all that can delight him, all that he ſees near, or far off. In ſhort, the greateſt Enemy,

in the World, is *the World* * itſelf, which he muſt therefore overcome. But, beſide the World, he has a thouſand treacherous Enemies *within* him, among whom his Paſſion is none of the leaſt; which waits for an Occaſion to ſurpriſe him, and betray him to his Luſts. It is God only that can make him chooſe the Path of Virtue, and it is God only that can keep him in it to the End, and make him victorious in all his Combates. But, alas, how few they are that enter into it! And, of thoſe few, how many that retire again! So that, let a Man follow the one Way or the other, he muſt either ſubject himſelf to a tyrannical Paſſion, or undertake a weary and continual Combate; wilfully throw himſelf into the Arms of Deſtruction, or fetter himſelf, as it were, in the Stocks; eaſily carried away with the Current of the Water, or painfully ſtemming the impetuous Tide.

See here the Happineſs of the young Man! Who, in his Youth, having drunk his full Draught of the World's vain and deceivable Pleaſures, is overtaken by them with ſuch a dull Heavineſs and Aſtoniſhment, as Drunkards the Morrow after a Debauch, or Gluttons after a plentiful Feaſt; who are ſo over-preſſed with the Exceſſes of the former Day, that the very Remembrance of it creates their Loathing. And even he, that has made the ſtouteſt Reſiſtance, feels himſelf ſo weary, and with this continual Conflict ſo bruiſed and broken, that he is either upon the Point to yield, or die. And this is all the Good, all the Contentment, of this flouriſhing Age, by Children ſo earneſtly deſired, and, by thoſe who have experienced it, ſo heartily lamented.

Next cometh that which is called *perfect Age*, in which Men have no other Thoughts, but to purchaſe themſelves Wiſdom and Reſt. It is called *perfect*, indeed, but is herein only perfect, that all Imperfections of human Nature, hidden before under the Simplicity of Childhood, or the Lightneſs of Youth, appear at this Age in their Perfection. I ſpeak of none in this Place, but thoſe that are eſteemed the wiſeſt and moſt happy, in the Opinion of the World.

I have already ſhewed that we played in Fear; and that our ſhort Pleaſures were attended on with long Repentance: But now *Avarice* and *Ambition* preſent themſelves to us, promiſing, if we will adore them, to give us perfect Contentment with the Goods and Honours of this World: And ſurely none but thoſe, who are reſtrained by a Divine Hand, can eſcape the Illuſions of the one, or the other, and not caſt themſelves headlong from the Top of the Pinacle.

But let us ſee what this Contentment is: The *Covetous Man* makes a thouſand Voyages by Sea, and Journies by Land; runs a thouſand Hazards, eſcapes a thouſand Shipwrecks, and is in perpetual Fear and Travel; and yet oftentimes either loſeth his Time, or gains nothing but Sickneſſes, Gouts, and Oppilations. In the Purchaſe of this goodly Repoſe, he beſtoweth his true Reſt; and, to gain Wealth, loſeth his Life. But ſuppoſe he hath gained much, and that he hath ſpoiled the whole *Eaſt* of its Pearls, and drawn dry all the Mines of the *Weſt*; Will he then be at Quiet, and ſay, he is content? Nothing leſs: For, by all his Acquiſitions, he gains but more Diſquiet, both of Mind and Body; from one Travel falling into another, never ending, but only changing his Miſeries: He deſired to have them, and now fears to loſe them; he got them with burning Ardour, and poſſeſſes them in trembling Cold; he adventured among Thieves to get them, and now fears by Thieves and Robbers to be deprived of them again; he laboured to dig them out of the Earth; and now, to ſecure them, he hides them therein. In ſhort, coming from all his Voyages, he comes into a Priſon: And the End of his bodily Travels is but the Beginning of the endleſs Labour of his Mind. Judge now what this Man has gained, after ſo many Miſeries! This Devil of Covetouſneſs perſuades him he has ſome rare and excellent thing; and ſo it fares with him, as with thoſe poor Creatures whom the Devil ſeduceth, under Colour of relieving their Poverty; who find their Hands full of Leaves, when they thought to find them full of Crowns: He poſſeſſeth, or rather is poſſeſſed by, a thing wherein is neither Power nor Vertue, more baſe and unprofitable, than the leaſt Herb of the Earth. Yet hath he heaped together this vile Excrement, and ſo brutiſh is grown, as therewith to crown his Head, when he ought to tread it under his Feet.

But, however it be, is he therewith ſatisfied and contented? So far from that, that he is now more diſſatisfied than ever. We commend moſt thoſe Drinks that breed an Alteration, and ſooneſt extinguiſh Thirſt; and thoſe Meats that

* The Corruptions of Nature in thoſe that he converſeth with, &c.

in

in leaſt Quantity do longeſt reſiſt Hunger: But now, of this; the more a Man drinks, the more he is a-thirſt; the more he eats, the more he is an hungry: It is a Dropſy, that ſwells him till he burſts before he can be ſatisfied. And, which is worſe, in ſome ſo extravagant is this Thirſt, that it makes them dig the Pits, and carefully draw the Water, and, after all, won't ſuffer them to drink. In the Midſt of a River, they are dry with Thirſt; and, on a Heap of Corn, cry out of Famine: They have Goods, and dare not uſe them; Garments, but dare not put them on: And tho' they are poſſeſſed of that in which they joy, they don't enjoy it. The Sum of all which is, That, *of all which they have, they have nothing.*

Let us then return unto that, That the Attaining of all theſe deceivable Goods is nothing elſe but Wearineſs of Body, and the Poſſeſſion, for the moſt Part, Wearineſs of Mind; which certainly is ſo much the greater Evil, as the Mind is more ſenſible than the Body.

But the Complement of all their Miſery is, when they come to loſe them, either by Shipwreck, Fire, or any other Accident, then they cry, weep, and torment themſelves; like little Children, that have loſt their Play-game, which yet is nothing worth. One cannot perſuade them that mortal Men have any other Good in this World, but that which is mortal. They are, in their own Conceits, not only ſpoiled, but utterly undone: And foraſmuch as in theſe vain things they have fixed all their Hope, having loſt them, they fall into Deſpair, out of which they are ſeldom recovered, many-times laying violent Hands upon themſelves, and bringing their own Lives to an unhappy Period.

In ſhort, the Recompence, that Covetouſneſs yields thoſe that have ſerved it all their Life, is like that of the Devil, who, after a ſmall Time, having gratified his Votaries, either leaves them to the Hangman, or himſelf breaks their Necks.

I will not here diſcourſe of the Wickedneſs to which covetous Men ſubject themſelves to attain to theſe Goods, whereby their Conſcience is filled with a perpetual Remorſe, which never leaves them in Quiet. It is enough that in this immoderate Purſuit of Riches, which buſieth and abuſeth the greateſt Part of the World, the Body is macerated, the Mind debilitated, and the Soul is loſt, without any Pleaſure or Contentment.

Let us then come to *Ambition*, which, by an over-eager Aſpiring to Honour, takes up the Time and Thoughts of the greateſt Perſons: And, what! Do we there think to find more *Content?* Alas! 'tis rather leſs; and this, I am ſure, I can witneſs to my Coſt: For as the one deceives us, by giving us, for all our Travel, but a vile Excrement of the Earth; ſo the other repays us but with Smoke and Wind: The Rewards of this being as vain, as thoſe of that were groſs. In both we fall into a bottomleſs Pit; but, into this, the Fall is by ſo much the more dangerous, as at the firſt Shew the Water is more clear and pleaſant.

Of thoſe Men that make their Court to *Ambition*, ſome are great about Princes, others Commanders of Armies; both Sorts, according to their Degree, you ſee ſaluted, reverenced, and adored of thoſe that are under them: You ſee them apparelled in Purple, in Scarlet, and in Cloth of Gold; that, at the firſt Sight, one would think there is no *Content* to be found, but amongſt them. But, alas! Men know not how heavy an Ounce of that vain Honour weighs; they know not what thoſe Reverences coſt them, nor how dearly they pay for an Ell of thoſe rich Stuffs: They are ſo over-rated, that he, who knew them well, would never buy them at the Price. The one hath attained to this Degree, after a long and painful Service, hazarding his Life, upon every Occaſion, with Loſs, oftentimes of a Leg or an Arm; and that at the Pleaſure of a Prince, that more regards a hundred Perches of Ground on his Neighbours Frontiers, than the Lives of a hundred thouſand ſuch as he; unfortunate to ſerve one who loves him not, and fooliſh to think himſelf in Honour with him, that makes ſo little Reckoning to loſe him for a Thing of no Worth.

Others there are that aſpire to Greatneſs by Flattering a Prince; which is a Life ſo baſe and ſervile, that they can never ſay their very Souls are their own, any longer than their Prince is pleaſed to let them; for they muſt always have their Hands and Tongues ready to do, and ſay, whatever he would have them; and yet they muſt be content to ſuffer a thouſand Injuries, and receive a thouſand Diſgraces: And, as near as they ſeem about the Prince, they are nevertheleſs always like the Lion's Keeper, who, when by long Patience, a thouſand Feedings, and a thouſand Clawings, he hath made a fierce Lion familiar, yet never gives him Meat, but with pulling back his Hand, always in Fear leſt he ſhould catch him; and, if once in a Year he bites him, he ſets it ſo cloſe, that he is paid for it

a long Time after. Such generally is the End of the Favourites of Princes.

When a Prince, after long Service, hath raiſed a Man to the higheſt Pitch of Honour, he ſometimes makes it his Paſtime to caſt him down in an Inſtant; and when he hath filled him with Heaps of Wealth and Riches, he ſqueeſes him afterwards like a Sponge; loving none but himſelf, and thinking every one born but to ſerve and pleaſe him.

Theſe blind Courtiers make themſelves believe that they have Friends, and many that honour them; never conſidering, that, as they make only a Shew to love and honour every Body, ſo others do to them: Their Superiors diſdain them, and never, but with ſome Kind of Scorn, ſo much as ſalute them. Their Inferiors ſalute them, becauſe they have no Need of them, (I mean, of their Fortune, their Food, their Apparel, not their Perſons.) And for their Equals, between whom Friendſhip uſually conſiſts, they envy, accuſe, and croſs each other; being always troubled either at their own Harm, or at another's Good. Now, what greater Torment is there to a Man than Envy? Which is indeed nothing but a *Hectick Fever* of the Mind; by which they are utterly deprived of all Friendſhip, which was ever judged, by the Wiſeſt, the ſovereign Good amongſt Men.

But, to make this more evident, let but Fortune turn her Back, and every Man turns from them; let them but be diſrobed of their triumphal Garment, and no body will know them any more. And then, ſuppoſe the moſt infamous and vileſt Miſcreant to be cloathed in it, he ſhall, by Vertue of his Robe, inherit all the Honours of the other, and the ſame Reſpect ſhall be paid him; ſo that it is the Fortune which they carry that is honoured, and not themſelves.

But you will ſay, At leaſt ſo long as that Fortune endured, they were at Eaſe, and had *Content*; and he, who has three or four Years of happy Time, has not been all his Life unhappy. True, if it be to be at Eaſe, continually to fear to be caſt down from that Degree unto which they are raiſed; and daily covet with great Labour to climb higher. But thoſe whom thou lookeſt upon to be ſo much at Eaſe, becauſe thou ſeeſt them but without, are within far otherwiſe; they are fair-built Priſons, but full within of deep Dungeons, Darkneſs, Serpents, and Torments: Thou ſuppoſeſt their Fortunes very large, but they think them very ſtrait; thou thinkeſt them very high, but they think themſelves very low. Now, he is full as ſick, who believes himſelf to be ſo, as he who indeed is ſo: Suppoſe them to be Kings, yet, if they think themſelves Slaves, they are no better; for we are only what Opinion makes us. You ſee them well followed and attended, and yet even thoſe, whom they have choſe for their Guard, they diſtruſt. Alone, or in Company, they are ever in Fear: Alone, they look behind them; in Company, they have an Eye on every Side: They drink in Gold and Silver; but it is in thoſe, and not in Earth or Glaſs, that Poiſon is prepared: They have Beds, ſoft, and well made; yet, when they lie down to ſleep, their Fears and Cares do often keep them waking, and turning from Side to Side, ſo that their very Reſt is reſtleſs. And there's no other Difference between them and a poor fettered Priſoner, but only that the Priſoner's Fetters are of Iron, and the other's are of Gold; the one is fettered by the Body, the other by the Mind; the Priſoner draws his Fetters after him, the Courtier weareth his upon him: The Priſoner's Mind ſometimes comforts the Pain of his Body, and he ſings in the Midſt of his Miſeries; the Courtier is always troubled in Mind, wearying his Body, and can never give it Reſt. And as for the *Contentment* you imagine they have, you are therein more deceived: You eſteem them great, becauſe they are raiſed high; but are therein as much miſtaken, as they who ſhould judge a Dwarf to be tall, for being ſet on a Tower, or ſtanding on the Top of the *Monument*. You meaſure (like one unskilled in Geometry) the Image with its Baſe, which you ſhould meaſure by itſelf, if you would know its true Height. You imagine them to be great, but, could you look into their Minds, you would ſee they are neither great (true Greatneſs conſiſting in the Contempt of thoſe vain Greatneſſes unto which they are Slaves) nor ſeem unto themſelves to be ſo; ſeeing they daily are aſpiring higher, and yet never where they would be.

Some there are, that pretend to ſet Bounds to their Ambition; and to ſay, *If I* could attain to ſuch a Degree, I ſhould be contented, and ſit down ſatisfied; but, alas! when he has once attained it, he ſcarce allows himſelf a Breathing-time, before he makes Advances towards ſomething higher; and all he has attained he eſteems as nothing, and ſtill reputes himſelf low, becauſe there is ſome one higher; inſtead of reputing himſelf high, becauſe there are a

Million

Million lower: And so high he climbs, at last, that either his Breath fails him by the Way, or he slides from the Top to the Bottom.

But if he should get up, by all his Toil and Labour, unto the utmost Height of his Desires, he would but find himself as on the Top of the *Alps*, not above the Clouds, but more obnoxious to the Winds and Storms; and so a fairer Mark for those Lightnings and Tempests which commonly take Pleasure to thunderbolt, and dash to Powder, that proud Height of their's.

It may be herein you will agree with me, compelled thereto by those many Examples that we find in the Histories of former Ages, and those more modern ones that are still recent in most Men's Memories; but my own sad Experience is, to me, more convincing than a thousand Instances; while, aiming at a higher Pitch of Honour, by a too forward Zeal for my Prince, I have only brought myself into a Prison; where the greatest Preferment, I can hope for, is to mount a Scaffold; and, instead of having my Head circled with a Coronet, 'tis like to fall a Victim to my Enemies, by the Hands of an Executioner.

But, say you, such, at least, whom Nature hath sent into the World with Crowns on their Heads, and Scepters in their Hands; such as from their Birth are placed in that high Sphere, that they have nothing more to wish for; such are exempt from all the fore-mentioned Evils, and therefore may call themselves happy: It may be, indeed, they may be less sensible of them, having been born, bred, and brought up amongst them: As one, born near the Down-falls of *Nilus*, becomes deaf to the Sound of those Waters; and he, that is born and brought up in Prison, laments not the Loss of Liberty; nor does he wish for Day that is brought up amongst the *Cimmerians* in perpetual Night. Yet even Persons of this high Quality are far from being free; for the Lightning often blasts a Flower of their Crowns, or breaks the Scepter in their Hands; sometimes their Crowns are made of Thorns, and the Scepter that they bear is but a Reed: And such Crowns and Scepters are so far from curing the Chagrine of the Mind, and from keeping off those Cares and Griefs that hover still about them, that, on the contrary, it is the Crown that brings them, and the Scepter that attracts them. *O Crown*, said the *Persian* Monarch, *He, that knew how heavy thou sittest on the Head, would not vouchsafe to take thee up, tho' he could meet thee in his Way.* This Prince gave Law to the whole World, and each Man's Fortune was what he pleased to make it; and therefore, to Appearance, could give to every Man *Content*; and yet you see himself confessing, That in the whole World, which he held in his Hand, there was nothing but Grief and Unhappiness.

And what better Account can the rest give us, if they would speak impartially what they found? We will not ask them who have concluded a miserable Life with a dishonourable Death; who have beheld their Kingdoms buried before them, and have in great Misery long over-lived their Greatness. Neither will we enquire of *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, who was more content with a Handful of Twigs to whip the little Children of *Corinth* in a School, than with the Scepter wherewith he had beaten all *Sicily*: Nor will we ask of *Sylla*, who having robbed the Common-wealth of *Rome*, which had herself before robbed the whole World, never found Means of Rest in himself, but by robbing himself of his own Estate, with incredible Hazard of his Power and Authority. Nor (to come nearer Home, will we enquire of *Charles*, the Royal Martyr, the Lustre of whose Crown did only serve to tempt his Enemies, not only to take it from his Head, but to take his Head off too; and whose Scepter was too weak to overcome the Force of armed Rebels. Nor will we ask of his two exiled Sons, the first of which endured twelve Years of Banishment e're he enjoyed his Crown; and the last, in less than a *Quinque Neronem*, was forced to leave his Crown and Kingdoms, and fly for Refuge to a neighbouring Monarch, whose generous Goodness has ever since supported him; whose sad Misfortunes I the more regret, because they both include my own, and are their Source and Fountain. It is of none of these unhappy Princes that we will make Enquiry after Happiness: But let us ask the Opinion of the most opulent and flourishing of Princes, even of the great King *Solomon*, a Man endowed with singular Wisdom from above, beyond the rest of Men; and whose immense Riches was so great, that Gold and Silver were as plentiful as the Stones in the Street; and the sacred History tells us, There was such Plenty of Gold, that Silver was nothing accounted of, in the Days of *Solomon*; and, as he wanted not Treasure, so neither did he want for Largeness of Heart to make use of it: And, after he had tried all the Felicities that the World could afford him, this is the Account that he gives of it, *All is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit.*

If

If we aſk of the Emperor *Auguſtus*, who peaceably poſſeſſed the whole World, he will bewail his Life paſt, and, among infinite Toils, *wiſh for the Reſt of the meaneſt of his Subjects*; eſteeming that a happy Day that would *eaſe* him of his *inſupportable Greatneſs*, and *ſuffer* him to live *quietly* among the leaſt.

If of *Tiberius*, his Succeſſor, he will tell us, *That he holds the Empire, as a Wolf by the Ears, and that, if he could do it without Danger of being bitten, he would gladly let it go*; complaining on Fortune for Lifting him ſo high, and then Taking away the Ladder, that he could not get down.

If of *Diocleſian*, a Prince of great Wiſdom and Virtue in the Opinion of the World; he will prefer his voluntary Baniſhment at *Solona*, before all the *Roman* Empire.

And *laſtly*, If of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, eſteemed the moſt happy that hath lived theſe many Ages, he will curſe his Conqueſts, Victories, and Triumphs; and not be aſhamed to own, that he hath felt more Good in one Day of his Monkiſh * Solitude, than in all his triumphant Life.

Now can we imagine thoſe happy in this imaginary Greatneſs, who think themſelves unhappy in it? And do profeſs that Happineſs conſiſts in being leſſer and not greater. In a Word, whatever Happineſs *Ambition* promiſeth, it is Nothing elſe, but Suffering of much Evil, to get more. Men think, by daily Climbing higher, to pluck themſelves out of this Evil; and yet the Height, whereunto they ſo plainly aſpire, is the Height of Miſery itſelf.

I ſpeak not here of the Wretchedneſs of them, who all their Lives have been holding out their Caps to Fortune for the Alms of Court-Favour, and can get Nothing; nor of them who, joſtling one another for it, caſt it into the Hands of a Third; nor of thoſe who having it, and ſeeking to hold it faſter, drop it through their Fingers, which often happens. Such, by all Men, are eſteemed unhappy; and are ſo indeed, becauſe, they judge themſelves ſo.

Well, you will now ſay, the *Covetous*, in all his Goods, hath no Good; the *Ambitious*, at the beſt he can be, is but ill: But may there not be ſome, who ſupplying the Place of Juſtice, or being near about a Prince, may without following ſuch unbridled Paſſions, enjoy their Goods with Innocence and Pleaſure, joining Honour with Reſt, and Contentment of Mind?

Perhaps, in former Ages (when there remained among Men ſome Sparks of Sincerity) it might in ſome Sort be ſo; but, being of that Compoſition they now are, it is in a Manner, impoſſible: For, if you deal in Affairs of State, you ſhall either do well or ill; if ill, you have God for your Enemy, and your own Conſcience for a perpetual tormenting Executioner: If well, you have Men for your Enemies, and of Men the greateſt; whoſe Envy and Malice will eſpy you out, and whoſe Cruelty and Tyranny will evermore threaten you. Pleaſe the People, you pleaſe a Beaſt; and Pleaſing ſuch ought to be diſpleaſing to yourſelf. Pleaſe yourſelf, you diſpleaſe God: Pleaſe him, you incur a thouſand Dangers in the World, with the Purchaſe of a thouſand Diſpleaſures. The Sum of all therefore is this, there are none contented with their preſent Stations; for, if you could hear the Talk of the wiſeſt and leaſt diſcontented of Men, whether they ſpeak adviſedly, or their Words paſs them by Force of Truth, one would gladly change Garments with his Tenant: Another preacheth, how goodly an Eſtate it is to have Nothing: A third, complaining that his Brains are broken with the Noiſe of a Court, or Palace, hath no other Thought, but as ſoon as he can to retire himſelf thence. So that you ſhall not ſee any but is diſpleaſed with his own Calling, and envieth that of another: And yet ready to recoil, if a Man ſhould take him at his Word. None but is weary of the Inconveniences whereunto his Age is ſubject, and yet wiſhes not to be older, to free himſelf of them, though otherwiſe he keeps off old Age, as much as in him lieth.

What muſt we then do in ſo great a Contrariety and Confuſion of Minds? Muſt we, to find true Contentment, fly the Society of Men, hide us in Foreſts among wild Beaſts, and ſequeſter ourſelves from all Converſation, to preſerve ourſelves from the Evil of the World? Could we, in ſo doing, live at Reſt, it were ſomething; but alas! Men cannot take herein what Part they would; and even they, which do, find not there all the Reſt they ſought for.

* *Charles the Fifth*, according to ſome Authors, being grown very infirm in Body, reſigned his Crown to his Son, and became a Monk in the Cloiſter of the *Hieronymites*, at St. *Juſtus*, near *Placentia*, on the Frontiers of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, *Anno* 1557.

But

But where can he fly, that carries his Enemy in his Boſom? And ſince, as the wiſe Man ſays, the World is in our Hearts, hardly can we find a Place in this World, where the World will not find us. And as ſome make Profeſſion to fly the World, who thereby ſeek Nothing but the Praiſe of the World; and as ſome hide themſelves from Men, to no other End but that Men ſhould ſeek them; ſo the World often harbours in diſguiſed Attire, among them that fly the World. It is not, therefore, Solitude and Retirement can give us Contentment, but, only the Subduing of our unruly Luſts and Paſſions.

Now, as touching that Contentment, that may be found in Solitude, by wiſe Men, in the Exerciſe of Reading divers Books, of both divine and prophane Authors, in Order to the Acquiring of Knowledge and Learning, it is indeed a very commendable Thing; but, if we will take *Solomon's* Judgment in the Caſe, it is all but *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit:* For ſome are ever learning to correct their Speech, and never think of correcting their Life. Others, by Logical Diſcourſes of the Art of Reaſon, diſpute many Times ſo long, till they loſe thereby their natural Reaſon. One learns by Arithmetick to divide into the ſmalleſt Fractions, and yet hath not Skill to part one Shilling with his Brother. Another, by Geometry, can meaſure Fields, and Towns, and Countries, but cannot meaſure himſelf. The Muſician can accord his Voices, and Sounds, and Times together, having Nothing in his Heart, but Diſcords; nor one Paſſion in his Soul, but what is out of Tune. The Aſtrologer looks up to the Stars, and falls in the next Ditch: Foreknows the future, and is careleſs for the preſent; hath often his Eye on the Heavens, though his Heart be buried on the Earth. The Philoſopher diſcourſeth of the Nature of all other Things, and yet knows not himſelf. The Hiſtorian can tell of the Wars of *Thebes* and of *Troy*, but is ignorant of what is done in his own Houſe. The Lawyer will make Laws for all the World, and yet obſerve none himſelf. The Phyſician cures others, but languiſhes himſelf under his own Malady: He can find the leaſt Alteration in his Pulſe, but takes no Notice of the burning Fever of his Mind. Laſtly, the Divine will ſpend the greateſt Part of his Time in Diſputing of Faith, and yet cares not to hear of Charity: Will talk of God, but has no Regard to ſuccour Men. Theſe Knowledges bring on the Mind an endleſs Labour, but no Contentment; for, the more he knows, the more he deſires to know.

They pacify not the Debates a Man feels in himſelf, they cure not the Diſeaſes of his Mind. They make him learned, but they make him not good; cunning, but not wiſe. The more a Man knows, the more he knows, that he knows not; the fuller the Mind is, the emptier it finds itſelf: Foraſmuch as whatſoever a Man can know of any Science, in this World, is but the leaſt Part of what he is ignorant of: All his Knowledge conſiſting in knowing his Ignorance, all his Perfection in ſeeing his Imperfections, which who beſt knows and notes is, in Truth, among Men the moſt wiſe and perfect. In ſhort, we muſt conclude with *Solomon*, that the Beginning and End of Wiſdom is the Fear of God; yet this Wiſdom, nevertheleſs, is taken by the World for meer Folly, and perſecuted by the World as a deadly Enemy; and therefore, as he, that fears God, ought to fear no Evil, for that all his Evils are converted to his Good: So neither ought he to hope for Good in the World, having there the Devil his profeſſed Enemy, whom the Scripture termeth the Prince of this World.

But, with what Exerciſe ſoever we paſs the Time, old Age unawares comes upon us, which never fails to find us out. Every Man makes Account in that Age to repoſe himſelf without further Care, and to keep himſelf at Eaſe in Health. But, on the contrary, in this Age, there is nothing but an After-taſte of all the foregoing Evils; and moſt commonly a plentiful Harveſt of all ſuch Vices as, in the whole Courſe of their Life, hath held and poſſeſſed them. There you have the Imbecillity and Weakneſs of Infancy, and (which is worſe) many Times accompanied with Authority: There you are paid for the Exceſs and Riot of your Youth, with Gouts, Palſies, and ſuch like Diſeaſes, which take from you Limb after Limb, with Pain and Torment. There you are recompenſed for the Anxieties of Mind, the Watchings and Cares of Manhood, with Loſs of Sight, Loſs of Hearing, and all the Senſes one after another, except only the Senſe of Pain. Not one Part in us, but Death takes hold of, to be aſſured of us, as of bad Pay-maſters, which ſeldom keep Days of Payment: There is nothing in us, which is not viſibly declining, except our Vices; and they not only live, but, in Deſpite of Nature, grow young again. The covetous Man hath one

Foot

Foot in his Grave, and is yet burying his Money, as if he had Hopes to find it again another Day. The *Ambitious* in his Will provides for a pompous Funeral, making his Vice to triumph, even after his Death. The *Riotous*, no longer able to dance on his Feet, danceth with his Shoulders, all Vices having left him, and he not able to leave them. The *Child* wiſhes for Youth, and this Man laments it. The *young Man* lives in Hope of the future, and this feels the Evil preſent, laments the falſe Pleaſures paſt, and ſees for the Time to come nothing to hope for; and the *old Man* is more fooliſh than the Child, in bewailing the Time he cannot recal, and remembers not the Evil that he ſuffered in it; and more wretched than the young Man, in that, after a vicious Life, and not being able any longer to live, he muſt miſerably die, ſeeing nothing round about him but Matter of Deſpair.

As for him that, from his Youth, hath undertaken to combate againſt the Fleſh and the World, who hath uſed to mortify himſelf, and leave the World, whilſt he continues in it; who, beſides thoſe ordinary Evils, finds himſelf vexed with this great and incurable Diſeaſe of old Age; and yet feels his Fleſh, how weak ſoever, often ſtronger than his Spirit; what Satisfaction can he take, but only in this, that he ſees his Death is at Hand; that his Warfare is accompliſhed, and that he is ready to depart by Death out of this loathſome Priſon, wherein he has been all along racked and tormented?

I forbear to mention the almoſt infinite Evils wherewith Men in all Ages are afflicted, as Loſs of Friends and Parents, Baniſhments, Exiles, Diſgraces, and other Accidents, common and ordinary in the World; one complaining of loſing his Children, another of having them; one lamenting for his Wife's Death, another for her Life; one finding Fault that he is too high in Court, and others more often that they are not high enough. The World is ſo full of Evils, that it would require a World of Time to write them in. And, if the moſt happy Man in the World ſhould ſet his Felicities againſt each other, he would ſee Cauſe enough to judge himſelf unhappy: And yet perhaps another Man might judge him happy, who yet, if he had been but three Days in his Place, would give it over to him that ſhould come next. And he that ſhall conſider, in all the Goods that ever he hath had, the Evils he hath ſuffered to get them, and, having got them, to retain and keep them (I ſpeak of Pleaſures that may be kept, and not of thoſe that wither in a Moment) he will ſoon judge, that Keeping itſelf of the greateſt Felicity, in this World, is full of Unhappineſs and Infelicity.

We may well conclude, then, that Childhood is but a fooliſh Simplicity; Youth, a vain Heat; Manhood, a painful Carefulneſs; and old Age, an uneaſy Languiſhing: That our Plays are but Tears; our Pleaſures, Fevers of the Mind; our Goods, Racks and Torments; our Honours, gilded Vanities; our Reſt, Inquietude: That Paſſing from Age to Age is but Paſſing from Evil to Evil, and from the leſs unto the greater; and that always it is but one Wave driving on another, until we be arrived at the Haven of Death.

In ſhort, Life is but a Wiſhing for the future, and a Bewailing of what is paſt; a Loathing of what we have taſted, and a Longing for what is yet to taſte; a vain Memory of the State paſt, and a doubtful Expectation of the State to come: And to conclude, in all our Life, there is nothing certain, but the Certainty and Uncertainty of Death.

And now we are come to the End of all the Living, even to the Houſe of Death: Behold this King of Terrors, O my Soul, and ſee, whether or no, he be ſo terrible, as he is repreſented: It is high Time, methinks, for Death and I to be acquainted, ſince I expect in a very few Days, not to ſay Hours, to be taken into his Arms, and conducted by him to the bright Manſions of Eternity.

Let us now conſider, then, whether Death be ſuch as we are generally made to believe; and whether we ought to fly from him as we do: We are afraid of Death, like little Children of a Vizard, or of the Images of *Hecate*: We have a Horror for Death, becauſe we conceive him not ſuch as he is, but ugly, terrible, and hideous; ſuch as the Painters pleaſe to repreſent him: We fly before him, becauſe prepoſſeſſed with ſuch vain Imaginations, and care not to inform ourſelves better. But, if we dare ſtand and look Death in the Face, we ſhall find him quite another Thing, than he is repreſented to us, and altogether of a more amiable Countenance than our miſerable Life. Death makes an End of this Life, and this Life is nothing but a perpetual Scene of Miſery and Trouble; Death then is the Period of our Miſeries, and ſafe Conduct into that deſired Haven, where we

we shall ride in Safety from all Winds and Storms: And shall we be afraid of that which delivers us from all our Fears, and brings us safe into the Port of Happiness?

But, you will say, It is a Pain to die: Admit it be, and so there is Pain in curing of a Wound: Such is the World, that one Evil cannot be cured but by another; to heal a Contusion, must be made an Incision.

You will say, There is Difficulty in the Passage: But, if this be an Objection, the Mariner must always keep at Sea, and not come into Port, because there is no Harbour whose Entrance is not strait and difficult. There is nothing of Value or Worth to be had in this World, without the Coin of Labour and Pain. The Entrance may indeed be hard, but then it is ourselves that make it so, by carrying thither self-tormenting Spirits, anxious Minds, accusing Consciences, and fearful Expectations of meeting with the just Reward of a debauched and vicious Life: But let us carry with us Calmness and Serenity of Mind, with the comfortable Remembrance of a virtuous and well-spent Life, and the lively Hope and Expectation of approaching Happiness, and we shall find no Danger nor Difficulty at all.

But what are the Pains that Death brings us? And why should Death be charged with those Pains we feel, when we come to die? We accuse Death of all the Evils we suffer in ending our Lives, and consider not, how many more grievous and cruciating Pains and Sicknesses we have suffered in this Life, in which we have even called upon Death to deliver us; and yet all the Pains of our Life, to our last Moment, we impute to Death, whereas it ought to be ascribed to Life; for it is but reasonable to believe that a Life, begun and continued in all Sorts of Pain, must of Necessity end so: And, therefore, it is only the Remainder of our Life that pains us, and not Death; the End of our Navigation that troubles us, and not the Haven that we are to enter, which is nothing else but a Safe-guard against all Winds. We complain of Death, when we should complain of Life, just as if one that had been long sick, and beginning to be well, should accuse his Health of his last Pains, and not the Relicks of his Disease.

Tell me then, what is it else to be dead, but to be no more living in the World? And is it any Pain now to be in the World? Did we then feel Pain, when as yet we were not? Have we ever more Resemblance of Death, than when we are asleep? Or ever more Rest, than at that Time? Now, if this be no Pain, why accuse we Death of the Pains our Lives gives us at our Departure? Unless also we will fondly accuse the Time wherein we were not, of the Pains we felt at our Birth. If our Coming in be with Tears, what Wonder is it that our Going out be such? If the Beginning of our Being be the Beginning of our Pain, no Marvel that such is the Ending. But if our Not-being, in Times past, hath been without Pain, and all our Being here full of Pain; whom ought we in Reason to accuse of our last Pains, the Not-being to come, or the Remnant of the present Being?

We generally think we die not, until we fetch our last Gasp; but, if we mind it well, we shall find that we die every *Day*, every *Hour*, every *Moment*. We apprehend Death as a Thing unusual to us, and yet have nothing so common in us: Our Living is but a continual Dying; and look how much we live, so much we die; how much we increase, our Life decreases: We cannot enter a Step into Life, but we are upon the Borders of Death. Who has lived, a third Part of his Years, is a third Part dead; who, half his Years, is already half dead. Of our Life, all the Time past is dead, the present lives and dies at once, and the future likewise shall die.

The past Time of our Lives is no more, the future is not yet, the present is, and no more is.

Briefly, *This whole Life is but a Death*: It is as a Candle lighted in our Bodies; in one, the Wind makes it melt away; in another, it blows it quite out, many Times, before it be half burned; in others, it endures to the End: Howsoever it be, look how much the Candle shines, so much it burns; for its Shining is its Burning, its Light is but a vanishing Smoke, and its last Fire but its last Wick, and its last Drop of Moisture.

So is it in the Life of Man; *Life and Death*, in Man, *is all one*: If we call the last Breath by the Name of *Death*, so we must all the rest; all proceeding from one Place, and all in the same Manner.

One only Difference there is between this Life and that which we call Death: That, during the one, we are always dying, but, after the other, we shall always live.

In short, as he, that thinketh Death, simply, to be the End of Man, ought not to fear it, inasmuch as he, who desires to live long, desires

to die longer; and ſo he, who fears to die quickly, does, to ſpeak properly, fear leſt he may not die longer.

But to us who profeſs the *Chriſtian* Religion, and are brought up in a more holy School, Death is a far other Thing; neither do we need (as heretofore the *Pagans* did) Conſolations againſt Death: For Death itſelf ought to be, to us, a Conſolation againſt other Afflictions; ſo that we muſt not only ſtrengthen ourſelves, as they did, not to fear it, but we ought alſo to hope for it; for, unto us, it is not only a Departing from Pain and Evil, but an Acceſs unto all Good; not the End of Life, but the Endi of Death, Pain, and Sorrow, and the Beginnng of a Life that ſhall never have an End.

Better, ſaith *Solomon*, *is the Day of Death, than the Day of Birth.* But for what Reaſon? Why becauſe it is not to us a *laſt Day*, but the Dawning of an *everlaſting Day.*

No more ſhall we have, in that glorious Light, either Sorrow for the Paſt, or Expectation for the Future; for all ſhall be there preſent to us, and that Preſent ſhall be preſent *for ever.* No more ſhall we ſpend our Strength in ſeeking after vain and painful Pleaſures, for there we ſhall be filled with true and ſubſtantial Delights. No more ſhall we weary ourſelves in heaping together theſe ſhining Exhalations of the Earth, for the inexpreſſible Glory of Heaven ſhall be ours; and this Maſs of Earth, which ever draws us towards the Earth, ſhall be then buried in it, and conſumed with it.

No more ſhall we then be Votaries to that gaudy Idol, *Honour*, nor put our Wits upon the Rack, that ſo we may be decked with finer Feathers than our Neighbours. *Ambition* will have there no Place; for we ſhall there be raiſed to that excelling Glory, and be poſſeſſed of all thoſe Heights of Greatneſs, that we ſhall look with Scorn and with Contempt upon an earthly Diadem, and ſmile at all the Follies of poor groveling Mortals, who fight and quarrel with each other for a ſmall Spot of Earth, like Children for an Apple.

And, which is better ſtill, no more ſhall we have Combates in ourſelves; our ſinful Fleſh, that, here, was our worſt Enemy, will ceaſe from troubling, there; and our renewed Spirits ſhall be filled with Life and Vigour: Our Paſſion ſhall be buried, and our Reaſon be reſtored to perfect Liberty: The Soul, delivered out of this foul and filthy Priſon, where, by its long Continuing, it is grown into a Habit of Crookedneſs, ſhall again draw its own Breath, recogniſe its ancient Dwelling, and again remember its former Glory and Dignity.

This Fleſh which thou feeleſt, this Body which thou thou toucheſt, is not Man: *Man is a Spark of the Divinity ſhot down from Heaven*; Heaven is his Country, and his native Air; that he is in this Body, is but by Way of Exile and Confinement.

Man, indeed, is Soul and Spirit, and is of a divine and heavenly Quality, wherein there is nothing groſs, nothing material. This Body, ſuch as now it is, is but the Bark and Shell of the Soul, which muſt neceſſarily be broke, before we can be hatched, before we can live and ſee the Light.

We have, it ſeems, ſome Life and ſome Senſe in us, but are ſo very crooked and contracted, that we cannot ſo much as ſtretch out our Wings, much leſs take our Flight towards Heaven, until we be disburthened and ſeparated from this Lump of Earth. We look, but it is through falſe Spectacles; we have Eyes, but they are overgrown with Pearls; we think we ſee, but it is but in a Dream, wherein all that we ſee is nothing but a vain Illuſion: All that we ſeem to have, and all that we ſeem to know, is but Deceit and Vanity.

Death only can awake us from our Dream, and reſtore us to true Life and Light; and yet we think, ſo blockiſh are we! that he comes to rob us of them.

We profeſs ourſelves *Chriſtians*, and that we believe, after this mortal Life, a Life of Immortality; that Death is nothing but a Separation of Soul and Body, and that the Soul returns to its former happy Abode, there to joy in, and enjoy the Fountain of all Bliſs; and that, at the laſt Day, it ſhall re-aſſume its Body, which ſhall no more be ſubject to Corruption. With theſe goodly Diſcourſes we fill our Books; and, in the mean While, when it comes to the Point, and that we are ready to enter in at this Portcullis of ſeraphical Glory, the very Name of Death, as of ſome dreadful *Gorgon*, makes us quake and tremble.

If we believe as we ſpeak, pray, what is it that we fear? To be happy? To be perfectly at Eaſe? To enjoy more Content, in one Moment, than ever was enjoyed, even by *Methuſelah* himſelf, in all his *Nine Hundred ſixty-nine Years*; which was the longeſt mortal Life

I ever

I ever read of? If this be nothing that we fear, then we must of Necessity confess, that we believe it but in Part; that all, that we have said, are only Words; that all our Discourses, as of those hardy Trencher-Knights, are nothing but Vaunting and Vanity.

Some there are, that will confidently tell you, I know very well that I shall pass out of this Life into a better; I make no Doubt of that, only I fear the mid-way Step.

Weak-hearted Creatures! They will kill themselves to get their miserable Living; they willingly suffer almost infinite Pains, and infinite Wounds, at another Man's Pleasure; and, fearless, go through infinite Deaths without Dying, and all this for Things of Nought, for Things that perish, and that, oft-times, cause them to perish with them: But, when they have but one Step to make to be at Rest, and that not for a Day, but for ever; and not barely Rest, but a Rest of that exalted Nature, that Man's natural Mind can never comprehend, they tremble, their Hearts fail them, they are afraid; and yet it is nothing but Fear that hurts them. Let them never tell me they apprehend the Pain; it is but an Abuse, on Purpose to conceal the little Faith they have. No, no; they would rather languish of the Gout, the Sciatica, or any Disease whatsoever, than die one sweet Death with the least Pain possible; rather piningly die, Limb after Limb, outliving, as it were, all their Senses, Motions, and Actions, than speedily die, though immediately to live for ever. Let them tell me no more, that they would, in this World, learn to live; for every one is thereunto sufficiently instructed *in himself*, and not one but is cunning in the Trade. Nay, rather they should learn, in this World, to die, and, that they may once die well, to die daily in themselves, so prepared, as if the End of every Day's Work were the End of our Life.

Now, contrariwise, there is nothing, to their Ears, more *offensive*, than to hear of Death. Senseless People! we abandon our Life to the ordinary Hazards of War for *Six-Pence a Day* *, and are foremost in Assaults for a little Booty; go into Places, whence there is no Hope of returning, with Danger, many Times, both of Bodies and Souls. But, to free us from all Hazards, to win the precious Prize of Things ineftimable, to enter into eternal Life, we faint in the Passage of one Pace, wherein is no Difficulty but in Opinion; yea, we so faint, that, were it not of Necessity that we must pass, and that God's Ordination, that All must die, compels us, hardly should we find in all the World one, how unhappy or wretched soever, that would ever shoot that Gulph. Another will say, Had I lived till *fifty* or *fifty* Years, I should have been *contented*, I should not have cared to live longer; but to die *so young* is that which troubles me: I would willingly have *known* the World, before I had left it. Simple Soul! In this World there is neither Young nor Old. The longest Age, in Comparison of all that is past, or all that is to come, is nothing; and, when thou hast lived to the Age thou now desirest, all that is past will be nothing; thou wilt still gape for that which is to come. The Past will yield thee but Sorrow, the Future but Expectation, the Present no Contentment; and thou wilt be as unwilling to die then, as ever thou wast. Thou flieft thy Creditor from Month to Month, and Time to Time, as unwilling to pay the last Day, as the first; thou seekest but to be acquitted. Thou hast tasted all which the World esteemeth Pleasures, not one of them is new unto thee. By drinking oftener, thou shalt be never a whit the more satisfied; for the Body thou carriest, like the Pail of *Danaus*'s Daughter, which was bored full of Holes, will never be full. Thou mayest sooner wear it out, than weary thyself with using, or rather abusing it. Thou desirest long Life to cast it away, to spend it on worthless Delights, to mis-spend it on Vanities. Thou art covetous in Desiring, and prodigal in Spending. Say not thou findest Fault with the Court, or the Palace; but that thou desirest longer to serve the Commonwealth, to serve thy Country, to serve God. He that set thee on Work knows until what Day, and what Hour, thou shouldst be at it; he well knows how to direct his Work. Should he leave thee there longer, perhaps, thou wouldst spoil all. But, if he will pay thee liberally for thy Labour, as much for half a Day's Work as for a whole; as much for having wrought till Noon, as for having borne all the Heat of the Day; oughtest thou not so much the more to thank and praise him? But, if thou examine thine own Conscience, thou lamentest not the Cause of the Widow and the Orphan, which thou

* The Pay of a common Soldier.

haſt left depending in Judgment; not the Duty of a Son, of a Father, or of a Friend, which thou pretendeſt thou wouldſt perform; not the Ambaſſage for the Commonwealth, which thou wert ever ready to undertake; not the Service thou deſireſt to do unto God, who knows much better how to ſerve himſelf of thee, than thou of thyſelf. It is thy Houſes and Gardens thou lamenteſt, thy imperfect Plots and Purpoſes, and thy imperfect Life; which, yet, no Days, nor Years, nor Ages can make perfect, although thyſelf mighteſt do it in a Moment, couldſt thou but think in earneſt, that where, or when it ends, it matters not, provided that it ends but well.

Now the *only* Way to end this Life *well* is to end it *willingly*, devoting ourſelves, with an intire Reſignation, to the Will of GOD, and not ſuffering ourſelves to be conſtrained and drawn by the Force of unavoidable Deſtiny.

And, then, to end this Life willingly, we muſt *hope* for Death, *not fear* it.

To hope for Death, we muſt *certainly look*, after this Life, for a better.

To look for a better Life, we muſt *fear* GOD; and he, that truly fears GOD, has nothing elſe, he ought to fear, in this World, and has Reaſon to hope for all Things in the World to come.

To one well reſolved in theſe Points Death muſt needs be ſweet and agreeable, knowing that, through it, he is to enter into the Fulneſs of Joy.

The Bitterneſs we may find, by the Straitneſs of the Paſſage, will be allayed by the Sweetneſs we ſhall find, when we are entered in; our Suffering of Ill ſhall be ſwallowed up in the Enjoyment of Good; and the Sting of Death itſelf, which is nothing but Fear, ſhall be dead.

Nay, I will ſay more; he ſhall not only triumph over all thoſe Evils ſuppoſed to be in Death, but he ſhall alſo ſcorn all thoſe Evils Men fear to meet with in this Life, and look upon them as unconcerned.

For what can he fear, whoſe *Death* is his *Hope?* If you think to *baniſh* him his Country, he knows he has a Country, from whence you cannot baniſh him; and that all theſe Countries are but Inns, from which he muſt part in a little Time. If to put him in a *Priſon*, he can have none more ſtrait than his own Body; nor any more filthy or dark, or more replete of Racks and Torments: Or, if you think to *kill* him, you only then compleat his Hopes; for Death is what he deſires. And, for the Manner of it, be it by *Fire*, by *Sword*, by *Halter*, or by *Ax*; within three *Years*, within three *Days*, within three *Hours*, it is all one to him; he matters not the Time, nor minds the Way, by which he paſſes from this miſerable Life; for his Work is ended, his Affairs diſpatched, and by the ſelf-ſame Way, that he goes out, he hopes to enter into a moſt happy and everlaſting Life. Men can but threaten him with Death, and Death is all he promiſeth himſelf; the worſt, that they do, is but to make him die; and Death is the beſt Thing, in his Account, that he can hope for.

The Threatenings of a Tyrant, to him, are Promiſes; the Swords of his greateſt Enemies, againſt him, he reckons drawn in his Favour; foraſmuch as he knows, That, threatening him Death, they threaten him Life; and the moſt mortal Wounds can make him but immortal.

The Sum of all is, *He*, that fears *God*, fears not *Death*; and he, that fears not *Death*, fears not the worſt of this Life.

By this Reckoning, perhaps, ſome Men may ſay, *Death* is a Thing to be wiſhed for: And to paſs from ſo much Evil, to ſo much Good, a Man would be ready to caſt away his Life, and make away himſelf.

In Anſwer to this, we may take Notice, *Firſt*, That, though the Spirit aſpires towards Heaven, the Body draws towards the Earth, and the Soul is too often drawn by the Body. But, in the *ſecond* Place; We muſt, indeed, ſeek to mortify our Fleſh in us, and to caſt the World out of us; but to caſt ourſelves out of this World is, in no Caſe, lawful.

The *Chriſtian* ought willingly to depart out of this Life, but not cowardly to run away. His Work is to fight againſt the World, and he cannot leave his Poſt, without Reproach and Infamy. But, if his great Captain be pleaſed to call him, let him willingly obey: For he is not born for himſelf, but for *God*, of whom he holds his Life at Farm, as Tenant at *Will*, to yield him the Profits. It is in the Landlord to take it from him, not in him to ſurrender it, when a Conceit takes him.

Dieſt thou young? Praiſe *God*; as the Mariner that hath a good Wind, ſoon to bring him to the Port.

Dieſt thou old? Praiſe *God* likewiſe: For, if thou haſt had leſs Wind, it may be thou haſt alſo had leſs Waves.

But think not, at thy Pleasure, to go faster or slower, for the Wind is not in thy Power; and, instead of taking the shortest Way to the Haven, thou mayst suffer Shipwreck.

Let us, then, neither fly from *Death*, when we are called to die, whether it be in a more *natural* Way, as by old Age, or Sickness; or, by a more *violent* Way, as by the Sword in Battle, or by the Hand of an Executioner; nor fly to it, not being called: Which both argues the greatest Baseness and Pusillanimity of Spirit, and will also bring the Guilt of our own Blood upon our own Heads: But let us meet *Death*, whenever, or however, it comes, with that Magnanimity and Greatness of Mind, that becomes both a Man and a *Christian*.

And now having beguiled my solitary Hours in Contemplating the Miseries of Life, and Happiness of *Death*, to me so much the more necessary, by how much it is nearer approaching; I will conclude with a Valediction to the World, and all its vain Delights, written by a very great Man, and Prime Minister of State, in the Reign of *Charles the First*, whilst under my unhappy Circumstances, and but a little before his Execution.

GO empty Joys, with all your Noise,
And leave me here alone,
In sad sweet Silence to bemoan
Your vain and fond Delight,
Whose Dangers none can see aright,
Whilst too much Sunshine blinds his Sight:
Go, and ensnare, with your false Ware,
Some other easy Wight,
And cheat him with your flattering Light:
Rain on his Head a Show'r, of Honour, Greatness, Wealth, and Pow'r,
Then snatch it from him in an Hour:
Fill his big Mind with the vain Wind of flattering Applause,
Let him not fear all curbing Laws,
Nor King nor People's Frown;
But dream of something like a Crown,
And, climbing tow'rds it, tumble down.

A true Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs upon the Scaffold at Tower-Hill, *on* Thursday, January *the 28th*, 1696-7. *by Sir* JOHN FENWICK, *Baronet.*

SPeaking nor Writing was never my Talent; I shall therefore give a short, but faithful Account, first, of my Religion; and next, what I suffer most innocently for, to avoid the Calumnies I may reasonably expect my Enemies will cast upon me, when dead, since they have most falsly and maliciously aspersed me, whilst under my Misfortunes.

As for my *Religion*, I was brought up in the Church of *England*, as it is established by Law, and have ever professed it; though, I confess, I have been an unworthy Member of it, in not living up to the strict and excellent Rules thereof, for which I take Shame to myself, and humbly ask Forgiveness of *God*. I come now to die in that Communion, trusting, as an humble and hearty Penitent, to be received by the Mercy of God, through the Merits of *Jesus Christ* my Saviour.

My *Religion* taught me my *Loyalty*, which, I bless God, is untainted: And I have ever endeavoured, in the Station wherein I have been placed, to the utmost of my Power, to support the Crown of *England*, in the true and lineal Course of Descent, without Interruption.

As for what I am now to die; I call God to Witness, I went not to that Meeting in *Leadenhall-street*, with any such Intention, as to invite King *James* by Force to invade this Nation; nor was I, myself, provided with either Horse or Arms, or engaged for any Number of Men, or gave particular Consent for any such Invasion, as is most falsly sworn against me.

I do

I do alſo declare, in the Preſence of God, That I knew nothing of King *James*'s Coming to *Calais*, nor of any Invaſion intended from thence, till it was publickly known: And the only Notion I had, that ſomething might be attempted, was from the *Thoulon* Fleet coming to *Breſt*.

I alſo call God to Witneſs, that I received the Knowledge of what is contained in thoſe Papers that I gave to a great Man that came to me in the *Tower*, both from Letters and Meſſages that came from *France*; and he told me, when I read them to him, That the Prince of *Orange* had been acquainted with moſt of thoſe Things before.

I might have expected Mercy from that Prince, becauſe I was inſtrumental in ſaving his Life: For when, about *April* 1695, an Attempt formed againſt him came to my Knowledge, I did, partly by Diſſuaſions, and partly by Delays, prevent that Deſign; which, I ſuppoſe, was the Reaſon that the laſt villainous Project was concealed from me.

If there be any Perſons whom I have injured in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Pardon, and beg of God to pardon thoſe who have injured me, particularly thoſe, who, with great Zeal, have ſought my Life, and brought the Guilt of my innocent Blood upon this Nation, no Treaſon being proved upon me.

I return my moſt hearty Thanks to thoſe noble and worthy Perſons who gave me their Aſſiſtance, by oppoſing this Bill of Attainder, without which it had been impoſſible I could have fallen under the Sentence of *Death*: God bleſs them and their Poſterity, though I am fully ſatisfied they pleaded their own Cauſe, while they defended mine.

I pray God to bleſs my true and lawful Sovereign King *James*, the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, and reſtore him and his Poſterity to to this Throne again, for the Peace and Proſperity of this Nation, which is impoſſible to proſper, till the Government is ſettled upon a right Foot.

And now, O GOD, *I do, with all humble Devotion, commend my Soul into thy Hands, the great Maker and Preſerver of Men, and Lover of Souls, beſeeching thee, that it may be always dear and precious in thy Sight, through the Merits of my Saviour*, Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

J. FENWICK.

The Manner of creating the Knights of the antient and honourable Order of the Bath, according to the Cuſtom uſed in *England*, in Time of Peace; with a Liſt of thoſe honourable Perſons, who are to be created Knights of the Bath at his Majeſty's Coronation, the Twenty-third of *April*, 1661. [From a *Quarto*, containing ten Pages, printed at *London*, for *Philip Stephens*, at the *King*'s *Arms*, over-againſt the *Middle Temple*, 1661.]

1. WHEN an Eſquire comes to Court, to receive the Order of Knighthood, in the Time of Peace, according to the Cuſtom of *England*, he ſhall be honourably received by the Officers of the Court; *ſc.* the Steward, or the Chamberlain, if they be preſent; but otherwiſe, by the Marſhals and Uſhers. Then there ſhall be provided two Eſquires of Honour, grave, and well ſeen in Courtſhip and Nurture; as alſo in the Feats of Chivalry; and they ſhall be Eſquires, and Governors in all Things relating to him, who ſhall take the Order aboveſaid.

2. And,

2. And, if the Eſquire do come before Dinner, he ſhall carry up one Diſh of the firſt Courſe to the King's Table.

3. And, after this, the Eſquire's Governors ſhall conduct the Eſquire that is to receive the Order, into his Chamber, without any more being ſeen that Day.

4. And, in the Evening, the Eſquire's Governors ſhall ſend for the Barber, and they ſhall make ready a Bath, handſomely hung with Linnen, both within and without the Veſſel, taking Care that it be covered with Tapeſtry, and Blankets, in Reſpect of the Coldneſs of the Night. And then ſhall the Eſquire be ſhaven, and his Hair cut round. After which the Eſquire's Governors ſhall go to the King, and ſay, *Sir, it is now in the Evening, and the Eſquire is fitted for the Bath, when you pleaſe*; whereupon the King ſhall command his Chamberlain, that he ſhall take along with him, unto the Eſquire's Chamber, the moſt gentle and grave Knights that are preſent, to inform, counſel, and inſtruct him, touching the Order, and Feats of Chivalry: And in like Manner, that the other Eſquires of the Houſhold, with the Minſtrels, ſhall proceed before the Knights, ſinging, dancing, and ſporting, even to the Chamber-door of the ſaid Eſquire.

5. And, when the Eſquire's Governors ſhall hear the Noiſe of the Minſtrels, they ſhall undreſs the ſaid Eſquire, and put him naked into the Bath; but, at the Entrance into the Chamber, the Eſquire's Governors ſhall cauſe the Muſick to ceaſe, and the Eſquires alſo for a While. And, this being done, the grave Knights ſhall enter into the Chamber, without making any Noiſe, and, doing Reverence to each other, ſhall conſider which of themſelves it ſhall be that is to inſtruct the Eſquire in the Order and Courſe of the Bath. And when they are agreed, then ſhall the chief of them go to the Bath, and, kneeling down before it, ſay with a ſoft Voice: *Sir! Be this Bath of great Honour to you*; and then he ſhall declare unto him the Feats of the Order, as far as he can, putting Part of the Water of the Bath upon the Shoulder of the Eſquire; and, having ſo done, take his Leave. And the Eſquire's Governors ſhall attend at the Sides of the Bath, and ſo likewiſe the other Knights, the one after the other, till all be done.

6. Then ſhall theſe Knights go out of the Chamber for a While; and the Eſquire's Governors ſhall take the Eſquire out of the Bath, and help him to his Bed, there to continue till his Body be dry; which Bed ſhall be plain, and without Curtains. And, as ſoon as he is dry, they ſhall help him out of Bed; they ſhall cloath him very warm, in Reſpect of the Cold of the Night; and over his inner Garments ſhall put on a Robe of Ruſſet with long Sleeves, having a Hood thereto, like unto that of an Hermit. And the Eſquire being out of the Bath, the Barber ſhall take away the Bath, with whatſoever appertaineth thereto, both within and without for his Fee; and likewiſe for the Collar (about his Neck) be he Earl, Baron, Banneret or Batchelor, according to the Cuſtom of the Court.

7. And then ſhall the Eſquire's Governors open the Door of the Chamber, and ſhall cauſe the antient and grave Knights to enter, to conduct the Eſquire to the Chapel: And, when they are come in, the Eſquires, ſporting and dancing, ſhall go before the Eſquire, with the Minſtrels, making Melody to the Chapel.

8. And, being entered the Chapel, there ſhall be Wine and Spices ready to give to the Knights and Eſquires. And then the Eſquire's Governors ſhall bring the ſaid Knights before the Eſquire, to take their Leave of him; and he ſhall give them Thanks all together, for the Pains, Favour, and Courteſy, which they have done him; and, this being performed, they ſhall depart out of the Chapel.

9. Then ſhall the Eſquire's Governors ſhut the Door of the Chapel, none ſtaying therein except themſelves, the Prieſt, the Chandler, and the Watch. And in this Manner ſhall the Eſquire ſtay in the Chapel all Night, till it be Day, beſtowing himſelf in Oriſons and Prayers, beſeeching Almighty God, and his bleſſed Mother, that of their good Grace they will give him Ability to receive this high temporal Dignity, to the Honour, Praiſe, and Service of them; as alſo of the holy Church, and the Order of Knighthood. And, at Day-break, one ſhall call the Prieſt to confeſs him of all his Sins, and, having heard Mattins and Maſs, ſhall afterwards be commended, if he pleaſe.

10. And after his Entrance into the Chapel, there ſhall be a Taper burning before him; and, as ſoon as Maſs is begun, one of the Governors ſhall hold the Taper, until the Reading of the Goſpel; and then ſhall the Governor deliver it into his Hands, who ſhall hold it himſelf, till the Goſpel be ended; but then he ſhall receive it again from him, and ſet it before him, there to ſtand, during the whole Time of Maſs.

11. And,

11. And, at the Elevation of the Hoſt, one of the Governors ſhall take the Hood from the Eſquire, and afterwards deliver it to him again, until the Goſpel *in Principio*; and, at the Beginning thereof, the Governor ſhall take the ſame Hood again, and cauſe it to be carried away, and ſhall give him the Taper again into his own Hands.

12. And then having a Penny, or more, in Readineſs, near to the Candleſtick, at the Words *verbum caro factum eſt*, the Eſquire, kneeling, ſhall offer the Taper and the Penny; that is to ſay, the Taper to the Honour of God, and the Penny to the Honour of the Perſon that makes him a Knight. All which being performed, the Eſquire's Governors ſhall conduct the Eſquire to his Chamber, and ſhall lay him again in Bed, till it be full Day-light. And when he ſhall be thus in Bed, till the Time of his Riſing, he ſhall be cloathed with a Covering of Gold, called *Singleton*, and this ſhall be lined with blue Cardene. And when the Governors ſhall ſee it fit Time, they ſhall go to the King, and ſay to him, *Sir! When doth it pleaſe you, that our Maſter ſhall riſe?* Whereupon the King ſhall command the grave Knights, Eſquires, and Minſtrels, to go to the Chamber of the ſaid Eſquire, for to raiſe him, and to attire and dreſs him, and to bring him before him, into the Hall. But, before their Entrance, and the Noiſe of the Minſtrels heard, the Eſquire's Governors ſhall provide all Neceſſaries ready for the Order, to deliver to the Knights, for to attire and dreſs the Eſquire.

And when the Knights are come to the Eſquire's Chamber, they ſhall enter with Leave, and ſay to him; *Sir! Good Morrow to you, it is Time to get up, and make yourſelf ready*; and thereupon they ſhall take him by the Arm to be dreſſed, the moſt antient of the ſaid Knights reaching him his Shirt, another giving him his Breeches, the third his Doublet; and another putting upon him a Kirtle of red Tartarin; two others ſhall raiſe him from the Bed, and two others put on his nether Stockings, with Soles of Leather ſewed to them; two others ſhall lace his Sleeves, and another ſhall gird him with a Girdle of white Leather, without any Buckles thereon: Another ſhall comb his Head; another ſhall put on his Coif; another ſhall give him his Mantle of Silk (over the Baſes or Kirtle of red Tartarin) tied with a Lace of white Silk, with a pair of white Gloves hanging at the End of the Lace. And the Chandler ſhall take, for his Fees, all the Garments, with the whole Array and Neceſſaries, wherewith the Eſquire ſhall be apparelled and clothed on the Day that he comes into the Court to receive Order: As alſo the Bed, wherein he firſt lay, after his Bathing, together with the Singleton and other Neceſſaries: In Conſideration of which Fees, the ſame Chandler ſhall find, at his proper Coſts, the ſaid Coif, the Gloves, the Girdle, and the Lace.

13. And, when all this is done, the grave Knights ſhall get on Horſeback, and conduct the Eſquire to the Hall, the Minſtrels going before, making Muſick; but the Horſe muſt be accoutred as followeth: The Saddle having a Cover of black Leather, the Bow of the Saddle being of white Wood quartered; the Stirrop-leathers black, the Stirrops gilt; the Paitrel of black Leather, gilt, with a Croſs-pate, gilt, hanging before the Breaſt of the Horſe, but without any Crupper: The Bridle black, with long notched Reins, after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion, and a Croſs-pate on the Front. And there muſt be provided a young Eſquire, courteous, who ſhall ride before the Eſquire bare-headed, and carry the Eſquire's Sword, with the Spurs hanging at the Handle of the Sword; and the Scabbard of the Sword ſhall be of white Leather, and the Girdle of white Leather, without Buckles. And the Youth ſhall hold the Sword by the Point, and after this Manner muſt they ride to the King's Hall, the Governors being ready at Hand.

14. And the grave Knights ſhall conduct the ſaid Eſquire; and, as ſoon as they come before the Hall-Door, the Marſhals and Uſhers are to be ready to meet him, and deſire him to alight; and, being alighted, the Marſhal ſhall take the Horſe for his Fee, or elſe *C. s.* Then ſhall the Knights conduct him into the Hall, up to the high Table, and afterwards up the End of the ſecond Table, until the King's Coming, the Knights ſtanding on each Side of him, and the Youth holding the Sword upright before him, between the two Governors.

15. And when the King is come into the Hall, and beholdeth the Eſquire ready to receive his high Order, and temporal Dignity, he ſhall aſk for the Sword and Spurs, which the Chamberlain ſhall take from the Youth, and ſhew to the King. And, thereupon, the King, taking the right Spur, ſhall deliver it to the moſt noble and gentle Perſon there, and ſhall ſay to him, Put this upon the Eſquire's Heel; and he, kneeling

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on one Knee, muſt take the Eſquire by the right Leg, and, putting his Foot on his own Knee, is to faſten the Spur upon the right Heel of the Eſquire; and then, making a Croſs upon the Eſquire's Knee, ſhall kiſs him: Which being done, another Knight muſt come, and put on his left Spur, in like Manner. And then ſhall the King, of his great Favour, take the Sword, and gird the Eſquire therewith: Whereupon the Eſquire is to lift up his Arms, holding his Hands together, and the Gloves betwixt his Thumbs and Fingers.

16. And the King, putting his own Arms about the Eſquire's Neck, ſhall ſay, *Be thou a good Knight*, and afterwards kiſs him. Then are the antient Knights to conduct this new Knight to the Chapel, with much Muſick, even to the high Altar, and there he ſhall kneel; and, putting his right Hand upon the Altar, is to promiſe to maintain the Rights of holy Church, during his whole Life.

17. And then he ſhall ungird himſelf of his Sword, and, with great Devotion to God and holy Church, offer it there; praying unto God, and all his Saints, that he may keep that Order which he hath ſo taken, even to the End: All which being accompliſhed, he is to take a Draught of Wine.

18. And, at his Going out of the Chapel, the King's Maſter-Cook, being ready to take off his Spurs for his own Fee, ſhall ſay, *I, the King's Maſter-Cook, am come to receive your Spurs for my Fee; and if you do any Thing contrary to the Order of Knighthood (which, God forbid) I ſhall hack your Spurs from your Heels.*

19. After this, the Knights muſt conduct him again into the Hall, where he ſhall ſit the firſt at the Knights Table, and the Knights about him, himſelf to be ſerved as the other Knights are; but he muſt neither eat nor drink at the Table, nor ſpit, nor look about him, upwards nor downwards, more than a Bride. And this being done, one of his Governors, having a Handkerchief in his Hand, ſhall hold it before his Face when he is to ſpit. And when the King is riſen from his Table, and gone into his Chamber, then ſhall the new Knight be conducted, with great Store of Knights and Minſtrels proceeding before him, unto his own Chamber; and, at his Entrance, the Knights and Minſtrels ſhall take Leave of him, and go to Dinner.

20. And, the Knights being thus gone, the Chamber-door ſhall be faſtened, and the new Knight diſrobed of his Attire, which is to be given to the Kings of Arms, in Caſe they be there preſent; and if not, then to the other Heralds, if they be there; otherwiſe, to the Minſtrels, together with a Mark of Silver, if he be a Knight-Batchelor; if a Baron, double to that; if an Earl, or of a ſuperior Rank, double thereto. And the ruſſet Night-cap muſt be given the Watch, or elſe a Noble.

21. Then is he to be cloathed again with a blue Robe, the Sleeves whereof to be ſtreight, ſhaped after the Faſhion of a Prieſt's; and, upon his left Shoulder, to have a Lace of white Silk, hanging: And he ſhall wear that Lace upon all his Garments, from that Day forwards, until he hath gained ſome Honour or Renown by Arms, and is regiſtered of as high Record, as the Nobles, Knights, Eſquires, and Heralds of Arms; and be renowned for ſome Feats of Arms, as aforeſaid, or that ſome great Prince, or moſt noble Lady, can cut that Lace from his Shoulder, ſaying; *Sir! we have heard ſo much of the true Renown concerning your Honour, which you have done in divers Parts, to the great Fame of Chivalry, as to yourſelf, and of him that made you a Knight, that it is meet this Lace be taken from you.*

22. After Dinner, the Knights of Honour and Gentlemen muſt come to the Knight, and conduct him into the Preſence of the King, the Eſquire's Governors going before him; where, he is to ſay, *Right noble and renowned Sir! I do, in all that I can, give you Thanks for theſe Honours, Courteſies, and Bounty, which you have vouchſafed to me:* And, having ſo ſaid, ſhall take his Leave of the King.

23. Then are the Eſquire's Governors to take Leave of this their Maſter, ſaying, *Sir, we have, according to the King's Command, and, as we were obliged, done what we can; but, if through Negligence, we have in aught diſpleaſed you, or by any Thing we have done amiſs at this Time, we deſire Pardon of you for it. And, on the other Side, Sir, as Right is, and according to the Cuſtoms of the Court, and antient Kingdoms, we do require our Robes and Fees, as the King's Eſquires, Companions to Batchelors, and other Lords.*

The Form of his Majeſty's Summons, in a Letter from the Lord Chamberlain, to the ſeveral Perſons of Honour, who are to be created Knights of the Bath.

SIR,

After my hearty Commendation to you, WHereas his Majeſty hath appointed the Twenty-third Day of *April* next, for his ſolemn Coronation at *Weſtminſter*, and the Day before, to proceed publickly thro' the City of *London*, to his Palace at *White-Hall*; and, according to the antient Cuſtom uſed by his Royal Predeceſſors, his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to advance certain of his Nobility, and principal Gentry, into the Noble Order of the *Bath*, to attend him in thoſe great Solemnities, and, amongſt others, hath vouchſafed to nominate you to be one of that Number: Theſe are, therefore, to will and require you, in his Majeſty's Name, to make your Appearance at his Majeſty's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, upon *Thurſday* in the Afternoon, being the Eighteenth of *April* next, furniſhed and appointed, as in ſuch Caſes appertaineth, there to begin the uſual Ceremony, and the next Day to receive the ſaid Order of Knighthood of the *Bath*, from his Majeſty's Hands. Hereof you are not to fail. And ſo I bid you heartily Farewell.

White-Hall, *March* 1, 1660.

Your very affectionate Friend,

MANCHESTER.

The Names of ſome of thoſe honourable Perſons, who are to be created Knights of the *Bath*, at the Coronation of his Majeſty, *April* 23, 1661.

THE Lord *Richard Butler*, Son to the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*.
Mr. *Hyde*, Son to the Lord Chancellor.
Mr. *Egerton*, Son to the Earl of *Bridgwater*.
Mr. *Berkley*, Son to the Lord *Berkley*.
Mr. *Peregrin Barty*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Lindſey*.
Mr. *Veere Vane*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*.
Mr. *Bellaſis*, Son of the Lord *Bellaſis*.
Mr. *Capell*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*.
Mr. *Francis Vane*, Son of Sir *Francis Vane*.
Mr. *Henry Vane*, Son of *George Vane*, Eſq;
Mr. *Edward Hungerford*, of *Earley Caſtle*.
Mr. *Monſon*, Son of Sir *John Monſon*, Knight of the Bath.
Mr. *Charles Frenaman*, whoſe noble Father was ſlain at *Bevis*.
Mr. *Nicholas Slannying*, Son of that loyal Subject, Sir *Nicholas Slannying*, ſlain at *Briſtol*, 26 *July*, 1643.
Mr. *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Son of Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*.
Mr. *Edward Wiſe*.
Mr. *Carr Scroop*, Grandſon to the valiant Sir *George Scroop*, who received ſo many Wounds in the Royal Cauſe at *Edge-Hill*.
Mr. *Butler*.
Colonel *Edward Harley*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, eldeſt Son of Sir *Robert Harley*, late Knt. of the *Bath*.
Mr. *Alexander Popham*.
Colonel *Richard Ingoldſby*.
Mr. *George Browne*.
Mr. *Bourchier Wray*, Son of Sir *Chicheſter Wray*.
Mr. *Francis Godolphin*.
Sir *Thomas Trevor*.
Mr. *Simon Leech*.
Mr. *John Bramſton*, Son of Sir *John Bramſton*, late Lord Chief Juſtice.
Mr. *Wiſe*.
Mr. *George Freeman*, Son of Sir *Ralph Freeman*.

An Inquiry into the Cauſes of our Naval Miſcarriages: With ſome Thoughts on the Intereſt of this Nation, as to a Naval War, and of the only true Way of Manning the Fleet. Dedicated to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*. [From the ſecond Edition in *Quarto*, containing Thirty-ſeven Pages, printed at *London*, 1707.]

May it pleaſe your Honours:

If Crœſus's *dumb Son could ſpeak, when he ſaw the Knife at his Father's Throat, I hope I may be juſtified, when I plead in Behalf of my Country, our common Mother, whoſe Reputation, Wealth, and Security are now ſo highly concerned.*

How it comes to paſs, I need not ſay; but it is a melancholy Reflexion to conſider, that from the Beginning of the War with France *in King* William's *Reign, to this Day, a Naval War ſeems to have been neglected, and accounted only a Thing by the bye; and a War by Land, carried on in foreign Countries, has been regarded as our principal Buſineſs, though Nature and Reaſon plainly dictate the Contrary.*

Nature has aſſigned us an Iſland, and kind Providence furniſhed us with Materials to build Ships, and with Men of able Bodies and ſtout Hearts to man them; nor has the Divine Goodneſs been wanting to ſupply us with navigable Rivers, and ſafe Harbours; by which we may be enabled to defend ourſelves, and annoy our Enemies.

By all this it is plain, we have had it in our Power, by a right Management of our Fleet, to reduce our common Enemy of France, *and to have had the whole Trade of the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *as the Reward of the Blood and Treaſure we have expended in Defence of our own, and the Liberties of* Chriſtendom. *It has been in our Power, not only to ſeize the* French *Colonies in North and South* America, *but to eſtabliſh our Trade in the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *beyond whatever our Anceſtors could do. We have been engaged in Defence of the Monarchy of* Spain, *from the Uſurpations of* France; *and this intitled us to fix a Place of Arms in any Part of their Dominions, as would beſt ſuit ſuch a Deſign. It is therefore ſtrange, that when our Attempt upon* Cales *miſcarried (the Reaſon of which is ſtill a Myſtery) we did not immediately ſail up the* Streights, *and take Poſſeſſion of* Port-Mahone *in* Minorca, *and make it a Harbour for our Fleet, a Magazine for our Naval Stores, for Careening and Refitting our Men of War, as we did in the Reign of King* Charles the Second, *during our War againſt* Algiers.

This Neglect deſerves ſo much the more Inquiry, that it is common for thoſe, who deſign an Invaſion, to ſecure a Place of Arms and Retreat in the Country they invade, without which an Invaſion ſeldom proves ſucceſsful; for, if there be no ſuch Place, the Invaders by a croſs Accident may be left to the Mercy of the Invaded, or obliged to return Home in Winter, and loſe all the Advantages gained, during the Summer.

Had we poſſeſſed Port-Mahone, *and kept a Fleet there ſuperior to the* French, *it would naturally have had the following Conſequences.*

1. *We might have prevented their ſending Forces to* Italy *by Sea, which would ſoon have put an End to the War in that Country; and, having no Way to recruit their Troops there, they muſt have ſurrendered Priſoners of War.*
2. *We ſhould have ruined the Trade of* Marſeilles *with the* Italians, Spaniards, *and* Turks; *and not only have ſecured, but conſiderably advanced our own Trade in the* Mediterranean.
3. *The Iſle of* Majorca *would have declared immediately for the Emperor, as they have ſince; and the Inhabitants, who are accounted the beſt Seamen, for Privateers, of any in the* Streights, *would have been of conſiderable Uſe to us, having a natural Averſion to the* French *and* Caſtilians.
4. *When* Naples, Sicily, *and* Sardinia *had ſeen us Maſters of the* Mediterranean, *in Winter as well as Summer, they would have caſt off the* French *Yoke, on our ſending a Squadron to viſit their Coaſts, whereby King* Charles *might eaſily have taken Poſſeſſion by Land; and, conſequently, the Charge and Hazard of this Voyage, which we were put to, had been prevented.*
5. *We ſhould have had a conſiderable Trade with the* Spaniards, *even before they had been reduced, by Means of neutral Ships fetching our Goods from* Port-Mahone, *and bringing* Spaniſh *Goods thither for us to carry Home.*
6. *When the Rovers of* Barbary *had once found us Maſters of thoſe Seas, they muſt have given over their Piracies, and applied to a fair Way of Trading; by which we ſhould have enlarged our Trade to* Barbary, *to our great Advantage.*
7. *By being Maſters of* Port-Mahone, *we ſhould naturally become Guarantees of all Treaties betwixt the* Turks *and any* Chriſtian *Nation: For the* Turks, *ſeeing us Sovereigns in thoſe Seas, would never find it their Intereſt to break Treaties. The* French *firſt acquired their Reputation at the* Ottoman Porte, *by pretending to be Sovereigns of the* Mediterranean: *But, ſince the* Turks *have been partly undeceived, by ſeeing us Maſters of that Sea in the Summer Seaſon, the* French *have ſunk, at leaſt, one Half, at the* Ottoman *Court; which clearly proves they muſt have ſunk intirely, had we kept a Fleet all the Year in the* Streights.
8. *We ſhould have ſaved the Lives and Ships loſt in the great Storm, had we wintered in* Port-Mahone; *and, likewiſe, prevented the vaſt Charge of making good thoſe Ships, and repairing the Damage others have ſuſtained, by coming Home late in tempeſtuous Seaſons; to ſay nothing of our great Loſs of Seamen, occaſioned by Want of good Proviſions, and particularly of Clothes, on returning Home from a hot Country in the Winter Seaſon. How it may fare with Sir* Cloudeſly Shovel **, God only knows; but a great many Hearts ake for him, conſidering how indifferently he was provided when he came from before* Thoulon, *and that it is now a Seaſon of long Nights, ſubject to ſtormy and foggy Weather; whereas, had* Port-Mahone *been in our Hands, we might have been ſupplied with all neceſſary Stores, both from* Africa *and* Europe.
9. *To mention no more, had we been Maſters of* Port-Mahone, *we might have maintained our Fleet in the* Streights *with little or no Expence to ourſelves, by obliging the Pope, Princes, and States of* Italy *to contribute towards their Maintenance. This would have been but reaſonable, conſidering we prevented their Falling under the* French *Yoke, which all of them in their Turns have found unſupportable. In this Caſe, it had been juſt, that the Court of* Rome, *who have fomented all the Wars, which now deſtroy* Chriſtendom, *ſhould have borne the greateſt Share. And, had the Pope pretended his Apoſtolical Trea-*

* He was loſt on the Banks of *Scilly*, near the Land's-End, on his Return to *England*.

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ſure was low, it is known he can raiſe Money to carry on a War againſt us, whom he calls Hereticks, and for that End can ſuppreſs Monaſteries; which therefore would be more reaſonable he ſhould do now, to help to maintain thoſe who preſerve his Dominions from being ſwallowed up by the Power of France. *But, had he proved ſtubborn, we could ſoon have made him comply, by blocking up the Mouth of the* Tiber, *and bombarding* Ancona *and* Civita Vecchia: *For, as* * Algernon Sidney *ſays, Rome* was more afraid of *Blake*, and his Fleet, than they had been of the great King of *Sweden*, when ready to invade *Italy* with a Hundred-thouſand Men. *About which Time, the Duke of* Florence, *by* Blake's *Means, was glad to pay Six-hundred Thouſand Scudi's for our Friendſhip.*

Another Omiſſion, in the Beginning of the War, was our not having ten or twelve Men of War conſtantly cruiſing in the Latitude of Martinico, *and* Guardalupa, *which would have cut off their Communication of Supplies from* France, *and ſoon have obliged thoſe Iſlands to ſurrender to us.*

We might likewiſe with five or ſix Men of War, two or three Bomb-Veſſels, and two or three thouſand Men, not only have recovered Placentia, *which is our own, by Right, and have ſeized the great Fleet of Ships, commonly there to catch Fiſh in the Summer; but likewiſe by the Aſſiſtance of* New England, *and* New York, *have ſubdued* Canada, *the Advantage of which is inexpreſſible; for, by this Means all* North America, *the Fiſhery and Fur Trade, muſt have intirely come into our Hands; and this would have occaſioned a vaſt Conſumption of our own Manufactures and Product, eſpecially of our coarſeſt Woollen Cloth, which takes up the greateſt Part of our Wool. On the Whole, this muſt ſoon have occaſioned Buſineſs for two or three hundred Sail of Ships more than ever we had to that Part of the World, the Profit and Advantage of which would much exceed that of our* Eaſt-India *Trade, and be a peculiar Advantage to the Weſtern Parts of this Nation.*

Another Omiſſion, at the Beginning of this War, was our neglecting to ſend a ſtrong Squadron to the Bahama *Iſlands, to intercept the* Spaniſh *Galleons, and prevent the Landing the Plate at* Vigo; *which would have been twenty Times more advantageous, than our accidental Rencounter at that Place.*

The happy Situation of Jamaica, *and our noble Settlement upon it, enables us to make ourſelves Sovereigns of thoſe Seas; which would ſoon put an End to our Enemy's Trade with* New-Spain, *and make all that profitable Trade our own.*

The laſt Omiſſion, I ſhall take Notice of is, was our not ſending two or three Men of War, with ſome Merchant Ships, into the South-Seas, *at the Beginning of the War; by which we had made ourſelves Maſters of thoſe Seas, and put the* Spaniards *there on a willing Neceſſity of Trading with us, and conſequently have brought ſeveral Millions of Gold and Silver into this Nation, which have been carried into* France.

Whatever might have been ſaid againſt our making War with Spain *at firſt, when they had done us no Harm, and of the Provocation they had received by the Treaty of Partition, which was a direct Breach of the Grand Alliance in* 1689, *and declared by the Commons of* England *to be in its Nature unjuſt: Or whatever the* Spaniards *might then plead, from Natural Right, to chuſe what Prince they pleaſe upon the Failure of a Royal Family; it is plain now, that our aſſiſting the Houſe of* Auſtria *to maintain King* Charles *in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Dominions, to which he has been legally called by the Lords of the Soil, is juſt and equitable, on that Conſideration, as well as by Vertue of the ſaid Grand Alliance.*

* Diſcourſes of Government, ſecond Edit. p. 199.

It is upon your moſt auguſt Aſſembly, that the Eyes not only of Great-Britain, *but of all* Europe, *are fixed, as from whom they muſt expect their Fate; for it is in your Power, by God's Bleſſing, in Conjunction with her Majeſty, to recover this Nation, and the whole Confederacy, from their weak and languiſhing State, and to reſtore them to perfect Health and Vigour, by a ſtrong offenſive Naval War.*

The radicated Diſtempers, under which our Strength is conſumed, proceed chiefly from theſe two Cauſes:

1. *That, in ſome late Reigns, our Parliaments were influenced by Places and Penſions. By this Means, in* Charles the Second's *Reign, they ſat ſtill, and ſuffered that luxurious Monarch to aſſiſt* France, *in enſlaving the reſt of* Europe; *and in a later Reign were taken off from that natural Affection and Duty they owed to their Country, and wholly drowned in Covetouſneſs; ſo that, inſtead of contriving how to better the Nation by the happy Revolution, their chief Care was to get Money for themſelves, and to bring in others to ſhare in the Bribery, that they might form a Party ſtrong enough to prevent the* Root of all Evils *being puniſhed as a Crime. Thus our Naval Affairs lay neglected, and nothing was done concerning them, but taking away ſix Pence per Month from the poor Seamen who had too little before. However, it had this Effect, that it occaſioned the Erecting a new Office, which gave Riſe to ſeveral new Places, to gratify thoſe who would blindly purſue the Meaſures of the Court. What great Debts, the Managers then run the Nation into, are too ſenſibly felt to be denied; and the ſcandalous Peace, they ſuffered to be made, ought not to be mentioned, were it known only to ourſelves. From all which it is plain, that it is impoſſible for us to thrive when our Parliaments are influenced by Places and Penſions; for, in that Caſe, be the Miniſtry and the Power of the Parliament in the Hands of what Party ſoever, it is all one. It was a Bleſſing more peculiar to Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign, than to any other we can find almoſt in our Hiſtory: That her Miniſtry and Court purſued the Intereſt of their Country, as knowing their own was thereby beſt ſecured.*

The ſecond Cauſe of our Diſtempers was the Cramping of the executive Power, and not allowing it the inherent Right of all Government to employ whom they think fit to ſerve them. Thus the Adminiſtration is ingroſſed by a Party, and the Subjects as well as the Prince deprived of their Natural Right. This has been the Effect of excluding Men from Civil Employments by Religious Teſts, and making the Conſcience accountable to Man, which has no Sovereign but God; and is ſuch a Hardſhip upon the Diſſenters in this Nation, as ſome Popiſh Countries are not guilty of, where Proteſtants enjoy this Right. It is well known, that, in the Arbitrary Government of France, *the Proteſtants of that Nation were capable of the greateſt Poſts, till the Edict of* Nants *was revoked. And, according to the Treaty of* Weſtphalia, *in thoſe Popiſh Parts of the* * Empire, *where the Proteſtants had the Liberty of their Religion, they were made capable of publick Employments; and what the Papiſts Abroad, and the High-Flyers at Home, have got by purſuing the contrary Meaſures, is of ſo little Value, that they have no Need to boaſt of it.*

Beſides the Example of moſt other Nations, which is againſt us, it is a Proſtitution of the moſt ſacred Ordinance of Religion to a worldly End, for which Chriſt *never appointed it. His Command was,* To do it in Remembrance of him, *and we no where find he has required it to be done, in order to get Money or a Place. I think, upon caſting up our Accounts, it will not appear our Affairs have proſpered better, than they did before the*

* Vid. the Elector of *Palatine*'s Declaration in Favour of his Proteſtant Subjects, lately publiſhed by *A. Baldwin*; and the King of *Sweden*'s late Proceedings, in Relation to *Sileſia*.

Enact-

Enacting that Teſt; and I wiſh the Profanation of ſo ſolemn an Ordinance be not one of the procuring Cauſes of our great Loſſes, by an Infatuation which ſeems to be judicial.

The Deſign of the following Sheets is to propoſe an eaſy, ſafe, and ſpeedy Method for redreſſing ſuch Diſorders in our Naval Management, and to prevent the like for Time to come. And, ſince they have all been approved by Experience, it is hoped they will be the more taken Notice of. Nothing but Integrity, Courage, and Diligence, with the Bleſſing of God, can recover our Naval Glory, and make it the Terror of other Nations, and the Security of our own, as formerly. Then we ſhould quickly be able to reduce France *to Reaſon, which can never be effected without deſtroying its Naval Force; and, how that can be done by a Land War only, I am no more able to comprehend, than how the Sea Officers in a late Reign, voting for a ſtanding Army, were like to maintain the Dominion of the Sea. And, that God may direct your auguſt Aſſembly in the Proſecution of that noble Deſign, ſhall ever be my Deſire, as it is that of all the honeſt People of* Great-Britain.

24th October, 1707.

The Way to retrieve the Glory of the Engliſh *Arms by Sea, as it is done by Land,* &c.

SIR,

SINCE her * Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, the Reputation of the *Engliſh* Arms, by Land, is advanced to ſo high a Pitch in the World, by the Conduct of her wiſe and brave Generals, who have revived the old *Engliſh* Way of Fighting; that there ſeems to be Nothing wanting to compleat our Military Glory, and to make it equal to that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but a Rectification of thoſe Things, which have hitherto obſtructed our being equally glorious in our *Naval* Atchievements, for which our Situation, Genius, and Materials give us the Advantage over all the People of the World.

Therefore, *Sir*, in Order to retrieve our Honour that Way as effectually as we have done the Honour of our Arms by Land, I preſume, to ſollicit your Advice, whom I know to be a Perſon of conſummate Experience in thoſe Matters, and of unqueſtionable Zeal and Affection for your Queen and Country. The Occaſion of my giving you the Trouble is this: Some worthy Gentlemen of our Houſe have under Conſideration, how to man our Fleet with leſs Trouble and Inconvenience than has been done, ſince the Year 1660. As to which our moſt ſenſible Members are at ſome Loſs, conſidering that the Methods taken for this End, ſince that Period, have moſt of them proved ineffectual, and particularly that the *barbarous* Method of *Preſſing* has been as far from anſwering the End, as it is *arbitrary*, *illegal*, and *inconſiſtent* with the *Liberty* of the Subject, upon which, we in *England* have always valued ourſelves. Beſides, it is no inconſiderable Objection to this Method, that it expoſes us, of Revolution-Principles, to the Reproach of thoſe who are Enemies to our Conſtitution. An Inſtance of which be pleaſed to take, as follows:

Being the other Day at the Water-ſide, I ſaw a *Preſs-gang* hauling and dragging a Man, in a moſt barbarous Manner, in Order to ſend him on Board a Preſs-ketch. When I came up, I found him to be a Citizen of Subſtance, and interpoſed in his Behalf (for which, the inhuman Crew threatened to hew me in Pieces with their Cutlaces, and had certainly done it, but that a Gentleman of my Acquaintance ſtepped in, and told them, I was a *Parliament-Man*. Being thus happily reſcued, my Friend and I retired a little from the Crowd; and while we were diſcourſing upon the Subject, and bewailing that free-born *Engliſhmen* ſhould be thus treated like Slaves, a *Non-juring* Parſon, and one of his high-flying Diſciples, who knew us, accoſted us thus, with all the Bitterneſs that their Reſentments againſt our preſent Eſtabliſhment could ſuggeſt: 'Ha! Gentlemen, this 'is one of the Fruits of your Revolution, 'wherein your Managers outdo the Barbarity 'of *Oliver*, and the other Uſurpers; and we

* Queen *Anne*.

muſt

'muſt tell you, Gentlemen, that you Revoluti-
'oners are but mere Bunglers at Rebellion in
'Compariſon of them, for they ordered their
'Matters ſo, that they were feared and dreaded
'Abroad, and became popular at Home; and,
'had they not fallen out among themſelves af-
'ter *Oliver*'s Death, we had never been bleſſed
'with the happy Reſtoration; but the Con-
'duct of your Party is ſuch, that of its own
'Nature it muſt bring about another of the like
'Sort.' I was about to reply, that the *Revolution* was *not* to blame, for the Inſtance, they upbraided us with, ſince it was directly contrary to the Principles of it: But they ſatisfied themſelves with having thus vented their Malice, and immediately marched off.

But to return to my Subject, I am heartily ſorry that, notwithſtanding thoſe Acts of Violence, and that arbitrary Method of manning our Fleet, it is ſeldom or never manned ſo well, and ſo ſeaſonably as it ought to be; and, when any one enquires, why our Naval Preparations neither anſwer the *End* they are deſigned for, nor the *Charge* of the Nation about them, the common Anſwer is, that they cannot get Men, and it is every Year worſe and worſe, in this Reſpect. Therefore, Sir, I am of Opinion that there is ſome other Method to be taken for Redreſſing that Grievance, which has not been hit upon ſince the Reſtoration; for it is evident, we do not want Men in the Kingdom, that are fit, and would be willing to ſerve their Country as chearfully by Sea, as our Soldiers do by Land. Were the Affairs of the Fleet as well managed as thoſe of our Army, we might have our Navy in as good Seaſon at Sea, as we have had our Armies in the Field, by which we have prevented the *French*, and had the Advantage of them in this Reign, as they had the Advantage of us, for the moſt Part, in the laſt.

I muſt then beg of you to help us with your Advice in a Matter of ſo great a Concern, not only to *England*, but to the whole Confederacy: And in Order to this I take the Liberty to put you in Mind of ſome Diſcourſes, we have had together about the Method of breeding and managing Seamen in the Parliament-times, when you had the Command of a Ship. I remember, particularly you told me, that, in 1632, you was bound Apprentice to a Captain that uſed the *Turky* Trade; that when your Time was out, and you had gone two or three Voyages as a Commander for yourſelf, you had a Captain's Commiſſion to ſerve the Parliament by Land, as had ſeveral others, among whom were *Bourn* and *Dean*, who were afterwards Admirals; and that you was at laſt made Captain of a Man of War, and ſerved your Country in that Station, till a Year or two after *Oliver*'s Death, when, Matters falling into Diſorder, you threw up your Commiſſion, and returned again to the Merchants Service. I have heard many Things, from you, relating to the Management of our Fleet in thoſe Days, which I am confident might be ſerviceable now, if you would be at the Pains to recollect and ſet them down in Writing.

I do further remember your frequent Complaints, how the Altering of thoſe Meaſures in King *Charles the Second*'s Reign, when our Parliaments as well as Courts, being engaged in an Intereſt oppoſite to that of their Country, by Bribes, Penſions, and Places, contributed to raiſe *France* to that formidable Height, ſhe ſince arrived to: By this Means it was, that we were brought to join with that ambitious Prince in a War againſt the *Dutch*, and were made deaf to the earneſt Sollicitations of the *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Hollanders* to engage with them in a War againſt *France*, though the *Spaniards* made us very advantageous Proffers; particularly, that they would for ever prohibit all *French* Manufactures and Product from coming into their Dominions in *Europe* or *America*, and offered us the beneficial Trade of ſupplying them, with what of our Product they wanted in both. The Refuſal of this made the Duke of *Bergamonero*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, reflect upon our then Court in the ſevereſt Terms, while he ſpoke with the greateſt Honour of our Nation, who contributed largely towards a War with *France*, but were fruſtrated of their Deſign, and cheated of their Money, by the Managers of that Time. But this was not all, the *French* became ſo inſolent as to rob us of our *Newfound-Land* Fiſhery, to inſult our Ships in our own Seas, on Pretence of Want of Paſſes, and carried ſome Scores of them into *France*, though they had ſuch Paſſports as our Court did then ignominiouſly ſubmit to.

In this Manner was *France* ſuffered to aggrandiſe her Naval Power, without any remarkable Controul from us till the late happy Revolution, ſince which, we have felt the diſmal Effects of it, and have ſeen that Monarch in a Condition to outbrave us and the *Dutch* both at Sea. But now, Sir, we have Reaſon to hope that the

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miſchievous Practices of that luxurious Reign are the juſt Abhorrence of this, though we have not yet been ſo happy as to fall upon proper Methods compleatly to retrieve the Glory of our Naval Arms: And ſince we are now in Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and have advantageous Articles for making ourſelves capable of Enlarging our Trade in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, I hope you will freely impart your Mind on the Subject deſired, ſince Nothing can be more acceptable to Court and Country; an Advantage we could not promiſe ourſelves in ſome of the late Reigns, when you and I were forced to whiſper our Complaints about the Decay of our Shipping and Trade, and our inglorious Loſs of the Dominion of the Seas.

Nor can you have forgot, that, even ſince the Revolution, you and I have frequently bewailed the Nation's Diſappointment in having thoſe Things redreſſed; becauſe ſome, who were then in the Management, deſigned their own Intereſt more than that of the Country, which occaſioned a bungling War, which concluded (to ſpeak in the ſofteſt Terms that Matter will allow of) in a defective Peace.

We are now, Sir, bleſſed with a Reign, when our *Houſe of Commons* is not managed with a Proſpect of *Penſions* and *Places*, *ſplit* and *divided* to *procure* Votes for carrying on the Deſigns of *factious* and *covetous* Miniſters: And, therefore, it is to be hoped, that a *Naval War*, which, as it ſuits our Genius beſt, is alſo moſt for our Advantage, will be fully encouraged in order to a ſpeedy Reduction of *France*, and to the Recovery and Enlargement of our *Weſt-India* Plantations and Trade. I beg your Anſwer, Sir, with all poſſible Speed. *Feb.* 12. 1705.

SIR,

I Have received yours, and, tho' I have no Opinion of my own Capacity, I will anſwer it the beſt I can, rather than be wanting in any Thing that may cultivate our Friendſhip, or ſerve my Country: I very well remember our former Diſcourſes, you ſpeak of about our *Naval* Affairs, and am very ſenſible, that our Want of Seamen is one of the great Cauſes, why our Naval Preparations come ſo far ſhort of anſwering the Deſign and Expence of the Nation; and, in order to redreſs this Grievance, I will recapitulate ſuch of the Methods we took to prevent that Miſchief in the *Parliament Times* *, as I think may ſuit the preſent Occaſion.

1. Particular Care was taken to *puniſh* and *ſuppreſs* thoſe abominable Habits of *Curſing* and *Swearing*, *Drunkenneſs* and *Uncleanneſs*, ſo common among our Seamen, that they can ſcarcely ſpeak, without ſuch horrid Imprecations, and blaſphemous Oaths, as no *Chriſtian* can hear without Horror; and wherever they come, they bring ſuch a Contagion of Vice along with them, as makes all People, of any Morality, to deteſt them: So that none, who have any Regard to the preſent or future State of their Sons and other Relations, care for having them on board the Fleet, but rather diſſuade them from it, which is none of the leaſt Cauſes why we are in ſuch Want of Seamen. For you may believe me, Sir, that tho' theſe Crimes, I ſpeak of, ſeem to have loſt much of that Odiouſneſs, which attends them, by their *Frequency* in the great City, it is not ſo with the Generality of People in the Country; they abhor ſuch profligate Fellows, and neither care that they ſhould keep Company, or match with their Children or Servants; for, beſides the Hatefulneſs of their Crimes, when once they are ſo debauched, they are generally good for nothing after, but bring ſuch Women as they marry to Want, and make them and their Children as diſſolute as themſelves, which contributes to fill the Nation with the worſt Sort of Beggars. Had this commendable Practice been continued, we ſhould not have had ſuch a late ſcandalous Inſtance of an *Admiral* proſecuted, when he ought to have been purſuing the Service of her Majeſty, and his Country, in ſo critical a Juncture, for baſely aſſaulting a Juſtice of the Peace, who had the Courage and Honeſty to put the Law againſt *Swearing* in Execution upon him.

2. In order to give our Seamen a true Taſte of Religion, we choſe the *ſobereſt* and *moſt religious* Men we could get for *Commanders*, provided they were otherwiſe well qualified, as I told you before, and inſtanced in *Bourn*, *Dean*, and others: We generally choſe ſuch as had been *bred to Navigation and Trade*, who, knowing the Sweets of it, were not for prolonging a War for the Sake of their Commands, but endeavoured all they could to bring it to a ſpeedy Concluſion; becauſe they knew *a long War to be deſtructive to Commerce*, which is the great

* *Viz.* The Parliament that began in 1640.

Support of our Country; and, when the War was over, they did not think it below them to return to Trade again, as I inſtanced in myſelf: and, by that Means, our Sea-commanders, in Time of Peace, had no Need of Penſions, or Half-pay, &c. except they were diſabled; and by Conſequence were no Burden to themſelves, or the Government. Beſides, you know, that a Man, who would make any Thing of Trade, muſt be frugal and ſober; and being accuſtomed to that Way of living, they not only ſet their Crew a good Example, but obliged them to follow it. But this is ſcarely to be expected from *poor* and *decayed* Gentlemen, *Pages*, *Valets*, and others of *that Sort*, who, in the *late* Reigns, purchaſed Commands by *Intereſt*, or the *Money* of their Friends; not but that I think it the Intereſt of *England*, to breed as many of the younger Sons of the Nobility and Gentry for Naval Commands as are ſober, and inclinable to it, and otherwiſe qualified. And, ſince it is lawful to be taught even by an Enemy, I think the *French* King's Practice, in that Matter, very commendable, and the Care he takes, to have young Gentlemen of his beſt Families inſtructed in Naval Affairs, very well worth our Imitation.

3. We took ſpecial Care to have *Chaplains* a-board our Men of War, who were *pious* and *diligent*, whoſe Converſation, as well as Doctrine, impreſſed the Seamen with Thoughts, that there was more in Religion than a mere Form; and who took Care to ſee them read their *Bibles* and *practical* Pieces, eſpecially thoſe that were moſt adapted to a Seafaring Life, which the Government took Care to have them provided with. And, that it might not be thought the Deſign was to make them only *Preciſians*, they were likewiſe provided with *Books of Navigation*, and the *Hiſtories* of the brave Atchievements of our own Countrymen, and others, by Sea and Land; and with Accounts of remarkable Deliverances from Dangers at Sea, which were diverting, as well as inſtructive, and kept them from miſpending their Time in Debauches, and other criminal Exerciſes, which are too common amongſt our Seamen of late. This created an honeſt Emulation among them to exceed one another in Improvements of that Sort, and ſhamed the Illiterate into a Neceſſity of learning to read and write, that they might be capable of converſing with their Fellows, and of Preferment, when it offered.

4. When Offenders were *puniſhed*, the Officers ordered it in ſuch a Manner, that the poor Wretches might be convinced, that the *Puniſhments* were inflicted for their *Good*, and *not* to *gratify the Revenge* or *Paſſion* of any Commander. And, to keep the Officers to their Duty in this Matter, the Government demanded an exact Account of the Behaviour of their Commanders in thoſe Reſpects; and ſuch as took no Care of their own Behaviour, or of that of their Ship's-Company, were turned out, and made uncapable of Employment: So that a few Examples of this Nature quickly reformed the Fleet.

5. There was particular Care taken to have our *Proviſions good*, and in *Plenty*: We had few Complaints in thoſe Days of *ſtinking* Meat, or *bad* Drink, on board our Fleet. Thoſe concerned in the Victualling, &c. were not allowed to raiſe themſelves Eſtates, by pinching the Seamen's Bellies, or buying the worſt Sort of Proviſions, and making the Government pay for the beſt. Nor did we hear then of any ſuperior Officers going Shares with Inferiors to connive at them, in defrauding the Government, and cheating the Seamen, &c. of their Proviſions, or Pay. We were alſo very careful to keep them ſweet and clean; and ſuch as were ſick, or wounded, had every Thing neceſſary provided for them, and were carefully looked after. This created ſuch a Love and Eſteem in the Seamen to their Officers, that they were willing, on all Occaſions, to ſacrifice their Lives, rather than ſuffer their Commanders, or Country, to fall under any Diſgrace, by Non-performance on their Part. I cannot omit, on this Occaſion, to tell you what I have frequently heard our great and good Admiral, *Blake*, ſay amidſt his Ships-Company, *That the meaneſt of them were Free-born* Engliſhmen, *as well as himſelf, and that Officers and Mariners were all Fellow-ſervants to the Government of their Country*. This prudent and tender Behaviour towards the Seamen, made them look upon themſelves as indiſpenſably obliged to reſpect their Officers as their Parents; and when any of them fell under due Chaſtiſement, there was nothing like Mutiny, or Diſcontent, at it among their Fellows: So that the Obſtinate ſuffered without Pity; and, for others, they were more aſhamed of their Crime, than of their Puniſhment.

6. There was due Care taken of their *Pay*, which was the *Life* of the Cauſe; for as ſoon as any Ship came to be laid up, or refit, the Books were made up, and Money ready at the Port

to

to pay off the Men as ſoon as the Ship was moored (for the Stores were then taken out by hired Men that belonged to the Yards) the Seamen's ſhort Allowance was paid at the ſame Time to a Farthing ; whereas now they have a double Trouble to get their ſhort Allowance Money at the *Victualling-Office*, which was formerly paid them at the ſame Time with their other Wages. Nor had they any Difficulty in receiving their *Tun* and *Gun*-Money (the ſame now with *Prize-Money)* and, if they had been upon any *extraordinary* Service, there was a *Crown* or *ten Shillings* a Man given them to drink the Government's Health ; and their Plunder was *honeſtly* ſhared among them, *without* any Embezzlement by the Officers. I cannot expreſs the Satisfaction I have had to ſee with what chearful and lively Countenances our Men would come to the Pay-Table ; and, as they ſwept the Money into their Hats, they would pray for the Proſperity of the Government, and for the Health of their noble Captains, and other Officers ; ſo that they parted with mutual Love and Reſpect: And when their Commanders told them, that they hoped they would be ready to ſerve the Government again, upon the firſt Notice given them, they would promiſe it with great Chearfulneſs, and be as good as their Word.

I muſt likewiſe tell you, that our Men, being thus accuſtomed to good Diſcipline, and a regular Way of living, they did not ſpend their Money, as our Seamen frequently do *now*, before they receive it, but carried Home conſiderable Sums to their Families, or other Friends. And the firſt Thing they did, was to put good *Clothes* on their Backs ; and coming Home better clad than their Companions they left a-ſhore, and having more Money in their Pockets, after being a Year at Sea, than their Fellow-Labourers and Servants could ſcrape together in ſeven Years, it raiſed an Emulation among young Men of the like Condition, to ſerve the Government on board the Fleet, ſince they knew not how to diſpoſe of themſelves to ſo much Advantage elſewhere.

7. The Government took ſpecial Care to *pay off the Quarters of the Sick and Wounded every Week* in the Ports where they were; this made them be carefully looked after, and the People were fond of having them in their Houſes, becauſe they knew their Money was good, and ready whenever they wanted it: And their Doctors and Surgeons, knowing this, would not ſuffer them to be in any Houſe, but where they were carefully attended. This ſaved Abundance of their Lives, and ſpeedily effected their Cure; and the Government, knowing the Importance of this, and that it not only ſaved their Men, but their Money, whatever Straits they were under, they never ſuffered Money to be wanting for theſe weekly Payments. But, to ſay the Truth of them, thoſe at the Helm then managed Affairs ſo, that *they ſcarce wanted Money* for any Thing, *tho' they had not two Thirds* in Proportion to what we *now pay to the Charge of the Navy*.

Theſe, Sir, were the Methods we then took, and to which, under God, we owed moſt of our Succeſs by Sea : For it is incredible to think what *Virtue*, joined with *Britiſh Gallantry*, is capable of performing.

We are not then to wonder, ſince *thoſe* Methods fell into *Diſuſe*, that our Succeſs has fallen ſo much ſhort of what it then was ; but I perſuade myſelf, that, if your Houſe * would ſeriouſly take theſe Things into Conſideration, and lay them before her Majeſty, ſhe is a Princeſs of that Piety and Wiſdom, that ſhe would ſoon be induced to take proper Meaſures for retrieving that commendable, but antiquated Practice.

This, I hope, will deſerve more than ordinary Application from yourſelf, and other good Patriots, eſpecially when you conſider, that the great Decay of our Naval Glory has been chiefly occaſioned by the Neglect of thoſe Meaſures ſince the Reſtoration, of which I ſhall take Leave to give you a brief and melancholy View.

1. You know that, in the Parliament-times, Men were *advanced* for their *Merit*, and that furniſhed us with Commanders, who raiſed themſelves by their *Courage* and *Conduct*. I ſhall inſtance only in three, of the County of *Dorſet*, viz. *Cuttins*, *Steyner*, and *Martin*, who, originally, uſed the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery, but were all advanced for their *good Service*, and are very well known to ſuch as have read the Naval Accounts of thoſe Times. *Martin*, you know, was made Captain of a fourth Rate, in which alone, at *Solbay*, he fought four *Dutch* Men of War, and made them run ; and, at *Portland* Fight, being *Captain*, or, as we now ſay, *Commadora*, of ten Men of War, he came in from *Portſmouth* juſt after the Fleets were engaged, and did

ſuch Wonders, that the Government reſolved to have given him a Flag, as the juſt Reward of his Gallantry; but his Death prevented it. In *thoſe* Days, Valour was equally rewarded in a *Merchantman*, as in a Ship of the *State*; nor was *Seniority* the readieſt Step to Preferment, then, without a Proportion of Merit. But, ſoon after the Reſtoration, that Method was altered, and *Men were made Captains for their Standing*, as *Dunces are made Doctors in the Univerſities*. And, inſtead of the good Morals and harmleſs Converſation of our Seamen in the Parliament-times, there was nothing but Curſing, Swearing, Damning, Sinking, and obſcene naſty Diſcourſe to be heard on board our Fleet; ſo that it looked more like the *Suburbs of Hell*, than a *Chriſtian Navy*. On this Occaſion, I cannot but take Notice of an early Inſtance we had of the diſſolute Practices and Profaneneſs of that Reign; which was thus: Some of our Seamen, who brought over King *Charles the Second* in the *Naſeby*, told me, that the firſt Time they ever heard *Common-Prayer* and *God damn ye* was on board that Ship, as ſhe came Home with his Majeſty. Not that I would reflect upon the *Eſtabliſhed* Form; for, be it *Common*, or *Extemporary* Prayer, it is certainly more than *Heatheniſh* to hear People ſay, *Lord, have Mercy upon us*, and cry, *God damn us*, with one and the ſame Breath. One great Cauſe of the Increaſe of this Profaneneſs was the Raiſing of Men, to be Officers and Commanders, from *Letter-Men*, as they call them; a Practice introduced by King *Charles the Second*, on Pretence of recommending, by his Letters, the Sons of the Nobility and Gentry to be bred up for Command on board the Fleet; which at laſt were obtained for *Coachmen*, *Footmen*, and the *Relations* and *Friends*, and ſometimes *Stallions* and *Baſtards* of *lewd Women*, who had Intereſt *at Court*; or other mean and diſſolute Perſons procured ſuch Letters *for Money*; which quickly filled our Fleet with the worſt of Men for Officers, and their contagious Example ſoon infected the Seamen, and made our Fleet a Sink of all Wickedneſs. By this Means, the old and true Method of breeding Sea-Commanders was neglected; and thoſe *Upſtarts*, valuing themſelves upon their Letters of Recommendation, and the Intereſt of vicious Courtiers and debauched Ladies, became inſupportably proud, carried it towards their inferior Officers with Contempt (which deprived them of all Authority) and treated their Seamen like Dogs; ſo that there was neither Virtue, good Underſtanding, or Courage, to be ſeen in any of our Ships of War, except where the Commanders were Men of Sobriety and Merit, which, God knows, was much the leaſt Number: Whereas, in the Parliament-times, as I told you before, our Commanders were not only civil to their Seamen, but, ſometimes, familiar with them; which procured them their Love, and abated nothing of their due Reſpect. We had, then, no *double* Lieutenants to the *Nation's Charge*, but *one* on board a Ship, and he was the *Captain's Companion*; the *Warrant*-Officers were the *Lieutenant's* Companions, but eſpecially the *Maſter*, who had, *then*, the *ſole* Power of ſailing and working the Ship, without depending, as now, on the Lieutenant's Orders. Our *Maſters*, their *Mates*, *Boatſwains*, *Gunners*, and *Carpenters* had, *then*, as much Command over the Seamen, and were better obeyed, than the *Lieutenants* are *now*; and, indeed, they deſerved it. For moſt of our Warrant-Officers, then, were fit to command, and very often did it with great Reputation, when their ſuperior Officers were killed, or diſabled in Fight. I will give you an Inſtance of this, in the Parliament-times: When *twenty-two Dutch* Ships engaged *five* of ours off of *Leghorn*, moſt of our Captains and Lieutenants were killed and diſabled in that *unequal* Conflict; yet the Fight was ſo well managed by the *Warrant*-Officers, that, after a long and bloody Conteſt, the *Dutch* could take but *one* of our Ships, and that too, after the Men were moſt of them killed or wounded.

I ſhall give you another Inſtance of Sir *John Leake*'s Father, who, being *Gunner* of the *Princeſs*, in the firſt *Dutch* War, under King *Charles the Second*, had the Fortune, in two ſeveral Engagements, to command her, after her ſuperior Officers were killed or diſabled, and brought her off ſafe, both Times: The firſt was in an Engagement with the *Dutch*, and the other was in the *Baltick*, with three *Daniſh* Men of War. He expected to be made Captain of her, as he well deſerved, but was diſappointed, another Perſon being made Captain, before he came Home. Mr. *Leake* was afterwards *Gunner* of the *Prince*, in the next *Dutch* War, when, Sir *Edward Spragge* being Admiral, ſhe carried the Flag, and was ſo diſabled, that Sir *Edward* was obliged to leave her. She had near Four-hundred of her Men killed

killed and diſabled; her Rigging was cut in Pieces, and moſt of her upper Tire of Guns diſmounted. As ſhe lay by thus like a Wreck for ſome Time, a great *Dutch* Man of War came down upon her, with two Fire-ſhips, either to burn, or carry her off; and the *Captain-Lieutenant*, thinking it impoſſible to defend her, ordered the Men to ſave their Lives, and the Colours to be ſtruck. Gunner *Leake*, hearing this, forbad it, ordered the *Captain-Lieutenant* off the Quarter-deck, took the Command upon himſelf, and gave the *Dutch* ſo warm a Reception, that he obliged them to ſhear off, and brought the Ship ſafe into Harbour: For which good Service he was deſervedly advanced to be *Maſter-Gunner* of *England*; an Office he diſcharged with great Reputation till the Day of his Death, which was in King *William*'s Reign. To convince you fully of the miſchievous Practice of depriving the Maſter, and other Warrant-Officers, on board our Men of War, of their former Authority, and particularly that of taking from the Maſter the Power of Navigating the Ship, and conferring it on the Lieutenants; if you pleaſe to inquire into the Number of Ships loſt and damaged at Sea, for Want of due Care, within theſe Hundred Years laſt, you will find our Loſs of Men of War, ſince the Lieutenants aſſumed the Power of Navigating to themſelves, to be three Times greater, than when it was intruſted with the Maſters, who were then the ableſt Seamen in the Nation, and made Navigation their conſtant Buſineſs; whereas too many of our Lieutenants ſpend moſt of their Time in a riotous Manner on Shore, and cannot forbear their cuſtomary Exceſſes, when they go on Board.

A ſecond Defect, in the Management of our *Naval* Affairs, was the Neglect of raiſing the Seamen's Wages to twenty-one and twenty-nine Shillings *per* Month, as it ought to have been, in Proportion to the Advance of the Wages of Labourers and Servants on Shore. In King *Charles the Firſt*'s Time, we raiſed their Wages, according to that Proportion, from nine and fourteen Shillings, which was the Eſtabliſhment in King *Henry the Eighth*'s Time, to fourteen and eighteen Shillings *per* Month; which King *Charles* was obliged to do, to prevent the Deſerting of his Seamen, when we had War with *France*; and the Parliament, when the *Dutch* fell upon twenty-one of our Men of War, off of *Dover*, with forty-two of theirs, who were ſoundly beaten, did, for the Encouragement of our Seamen, advance their Pay to eighteen and twenty-four Shillings *per* Month. So that, according to this Proportion above-mentioned, of Servants and Labourers Wages, King *Charles the Second* ought to have raiſed the Seamen's Pay to twenty-one and twenty-nine Shillings *per* Month; but, inſtead of that, Six-pence *per* Month has been deducted from them to build an *Hoſpital* *; which is like Taking from the Poor to build *Alms-houſes*.

Sir, You and our other good Patriots ought to conſider theſe Things, and take Care not to have our Seamen impoſed upon by *French* Projects, ſuch as that for *Regiſtering Seamen*, which can never have any Effect ſo long as the Encouraging Part of it is not put in Practice, eſpecially ſince thoſe Things, wherein the *French* Naval Management is worthy our Imitating, are altogether neglected; ſuch as, his taking Care to have his Seamen *paid* at the End of *every Voyage*, or, at leaſt, at the End of *every Year*; and his particular Care to hinder their *Spending* their Money while they are *in Harbour*, before they are paid off, or when they come in to refit: Concerning which, his † Orders are, That, if any Publick-houſe *truſt* them above the Value of *a Groat*, the People not only loſe what they ſo truſt, but are alſo *fined*, and *made uncapable of keeping a Publick-houſe ever after*. This is ſo much the more reaſonable, that he takes Care they ſhall want for nothing on Board, and therefore he will have them ſpend their Money at Home, with their Friends and Relations.

A third Abuſe, introduced into our Navy ſince the Reſtoration, is, That ſome of their Officers have aſſumed a ſovereign Power, by making ſuch Laws concerning the Seamen, as are contrary to *Magna Charta*, and other good Laws made to preſerve the Rights of *Engliſhmen*; ſuch as, Forcing them to the Service without a Law for it, and Making them loſe their Pay, under Pretence of *Queries* and *Runs*, without due Courſe of Law, or by the Verdict of a Jury. We are not to wonder, that ſuch Practices were connived at, in Reigns when Parliaments were influenced by Places and Penſions; but, if any ſuch Thing be continued, in a Reign *like this*, when the Queen values herſelf upon nothing ſo much, as being a common

* For Seamen, at *Greenwich*.

† The King of *France*'s.

mon Mother to *all* her Subjects, it muſt proceed from our own Neglect to lay ſuch Grievances before her in a regular Way, ſo as to have them redreſſed and prevented. In order to this, I humbly think, it were proper that your Houſe ſhould make an Inquiry, how many Thouſands of our poor Seamen have loſt their Pay, by the *illegal* Methods above-mentioned, without any Hopes of Recovery; for, as long as that wicked Practice paſſes unpuniſhed, it is enough, alone, to prevent our Fleet's being well manned, though you give all the Money of the Nation towards it.

There is another Abuſe, relating to their Pay, which ought to be carefully avoided; and that is, the Paying them when they *go to Sea*, and not when they *come Home*. The Prejudice that this does to the Nation in general, and to the Seamen's Families, Relations, and Creditors in particular, is not eaſy to be expreſſed. The Prejudice it does the Nation is demonſtrable thus: That it carries great Sums out of the Kingdom, which the Seamen ſpend Abroad, and, by Conſequence, never return to circulate here again: I make no Doubt but, upon Inquiry, it would appear, that *many Hundred-thouſand Pounds* have, by this Means, been carried out of the Kingdom. The Damage it does their Families is every whit as evident; for they ſtarve at Home, while the Seamen ſquander away their Money Abroad; and ſo their Wives and Children become a Burden to their reſpective Pariſhes, and many of them think themſelves excuſed, by their Straits, to take lewd and other unlawful Courſes for a Livelihood. And, for ſuch of them as are honeſt enough to give any Part of what they receive, at the Port where they are paid, to their Wives, other Friends, or Creditors, it puts their Wives, *&c.* to an intolerable Charge to go for it; and the poor Sailors themſelves are forced to pay double Rates, in thoſe Ports, for what Clothes and other Things they want, becauſe they had not Money to buy them elſewhere at the beſt Hand. The Damage it does their Creditors is as plain as the other; for, when the Seamen ſpend their Money Abroad, they have nothing left to pay their Debts at Home; and thus their Landladies, who truſted them for Victuals and Drink, and Shopkeepers, who truſted them for Clothes and other Neceſſaries, are likewiſe defrauded of their Money. I will give you one plain Inſtance of this: Our Seamen were never known to have more Money among them on Board, than when they ſailed from *Portſmouth* upon the Deſcent; yet they would not pay their Landladies or Creditors one Farthing; but, laying hold on that Clauſe of the Act of Parliament for Manning the Fleet, That no Seaman ſhould be detained in Cuſtody for any Debt under twenty Pounds, they told their Creditors, with horrid Oaths, that the Parliament had given them their Money, and they would not pay them a Groat: But their Landladies, to be even with them, would not, after this, give them Credit for one Farthing, till the Seamen firſt gave them a Bond for twenty-two Pounds; and thus that Act was eluded. By this you may ſee, Sir, that all the prepoſterous Methods, which have been taken, for Manning our Fleet, theſe forty Years paſt, have ſignified nothing; that the Difficulties in Manning it ſtill grow upon us, and that nothing will prevent it, but our Following the *old* and *laudable* Methods above-mentioned.

Another Abuſe, relating to their Pay, is, the Robbing many Seamen of it, by *Queries* and *Runs* formerly mentioned; by this Means, and the Tricks of *Calls* and *Recalls*, many of thoſe poor Fellows have been kept out of their Pay, for ten or twelve Years; and thus their Creditors, who *advanced* Money on their *Tickets*, to keep their Wives and Children from Starving, have been cheated of their Money, by putting a *Run* upon the Seamen, after thoſe Tickets were given out, when they have been turned over to another Ship.

Another horrid Practice, that has crept into the Management of the Fleet, is, the Difficulty of getting the Pay of Seamen, who *die* in the Service; for the Pay of ſuch is generally put off to the laſt, and many Times never paid at all; by which the Families, Relations, or Creditors of the deceaſed Seamen have ſuſtained great Loſs. You may eaſily imagine, this is a great Hinderance to the Manning our Fleet, and creates a great Averſion in the Seamen themſelves, as well as in their Wives, and other Relations, to the Service of the Government; for we may readily conceive, that it is a ſenſible Argument, when Wives, Children, and other Relations tell a Seaman, that he had better ſtay at Home, and work at Day-labour, for the Maintenance of himſelf and Family, than go into the Fleet; where, in Caſe of his Death, to the Danger of which he is ſo often expoſed, they not only loſe him for ever, but have no Hopes of recovering

vering his Money, by which they are brought to Sorrow and Want at once: Whereas, were this, and the other inhuman Cuſtoms above-mentioned, prevented, the Seamen, and their Relations, would be more willing to ſerve the Government, than to ſerve Merchants; for, though the latter give more Money, yet, the ſame being paid Abroad, at the reſpective Ports of Delivery, it is generally ſpent there, and very little of it brought Home for the Uſe of their Families.

It has likewiſe been the Practice of late to keep Seamen on Board our Men of War for *ſeveral Years together*, by turning them from one Ship to another. This has been a great Diſcouragement to the poor Men; for, beſides the Injury it does to their Health, it deprives them of the Comfort of enjoying their Families and Relations; and by this, and the other Hardſhips above-mentioned, many of them have deſerted the Service, and turned *Pyrates*, or have gone into the Service of *Foreign* Countries.

The *Whipping* and *Pickling* of Seamen, a barbarous Practice, which has been much uſed of late, has likewiſe been a great Hinderance to the Manning of our Fleet, and tends ſo much to debaſe the Spirits of our Seamen, and is ſo inconſiſtent with that good Nature, which has always been obſerved to be peculiar to our Nation, that one would wonder how ſuch a Practice came to be introduced, or ſo long ſuffered, without being declared contrary to *Engliſh* Liberty, and the Authors and Inflicters of it made infamous by the publick Juſtice of the Country.

Theſe, Sir, are a *few* of the many *ill Cuſtoms* that have been brought into the Management of our Navy ſince the *Reſtoration*, and have occaſioned a *Decay* of our Seamen, and by Conſequence of our *Naval* Glory; and, among the other Conſequences of it, this is none of the leaſt, that it diſcourages young Seamen from Marrying; and you know very well, that the Hinderance of Propagation is a Loſs to the Nation's Capital Stock. So that, except thoſe Abuſes be redreſſed, and the War brought to a ſpeedy Concluſion, the Numbers of our People muſt needs diminiſh; and we ſhall not only want Seamen, but Land-Soldiers, and other uſeful Hands that might have been employed in Manufactories, Huſbandry, Planting, and other Ways for the Defence of our Country, and increaſe of our Common-wealth.

The growing Complaints of our great Want of Seamen upon *every Occaſion to ſet out our* Fleet, and the Difficulty to recruit our Land-Forces, is an undeniable Proof of what I aſſert, and therefore deſerves the moſt ſerious Thoughts, and utmoſt Application of your Houſe, to prevent the ill Treatment and Decay of ſo uſeful a Part of our People, as our Seamen muſt always be to us who live in an Iſland.

To this End it is my humble Opinion, that your Houſe ſhould order an Inquiry to be made into thoſe Things, and particularly into the Abuſes relating to their Pay; and that this ſhould not be wholly intruſted to a Committee, but be made the Buſineſs of the whole Houſe; and that thoſe Grievances may be fully and freely debated there, for avoiding ſuch Practices as have been too frequent in managing Committees, ſo as to have Complaints of Publick Grievances, rather ſtifled than duly inquired into and redreſſed.

For my Part, I ſhould think it proper, that the Commiſſioners of the Navy be ordered to bring in an exact Account of all the Money remaining due to the Seamen ſince 1688, with the Names of thoſe Seamen, the Ships they belonged to, and the Time of their Service, and where one Man has been in ſeveral Ships; that the Money due to him in every ſuch Ship be ſet down againſt his Name, with the Reaſons why he has not been paid. This would help you to unravel the Myſtery of Iniquity, and put you upon a certain Method of preventing ſuch Practices in Time to come: For to whom ſhould thoſe poor Men make Application for Help, but to the Commons of *England*, to whom they are ſo uſeful? There they might expect a fair Hearing, and impartial Juſtice, without being brow-beaten, hectored, and tricked out of their Rights, which they ſo often complain is their hard Lot elſewhere.

This would quickly retrieve the Loſs of our Trade and Honour, and humble *France* effectually; which I am afraid we ſhall ſcarce be able to do, notwithſtanding our glorious Succeſſes *by Land*, until we have utterly deſtroyed, or at leaſt broke, their *Naval* Power; which, in all Probability, had been *long e're now*, and the *War brought to a happy Concluſion*, but for our *Naval Miſmanagements* above-mentioned, and others of the like Nature.

I ſhould think, Sir, that nothing can better deſerve the Inquiry of the Commons of *England*, than how it comes to paſs, that we and *Holland*, the two greateſt Maritime Powers of the World,

World, have been ſo long in Confederacy, yet ſo many of our *American* Settlements have been ruined by the *French*; and the reſt of our valuable Plantations there are expoſed to continual Danger, by that ſame Enemy, whom for ſeveral Years we have run down by Land, and to whom we are ſo much ſuperior at Sea? It is really a Surpriſe to every thinking Man, that we have not been able hitherto to prevent the *French* King's being Maſter of the Treaſures of the *Weſt-Indies*, and to ſtop his bringing Home their Plate continually to his own Country; while we ourſelves are in ſuch Want of Bullion, that we are forced to melt down vaſt Quantities of our Current Money.

Had any Man pretended to foretel twenty Years ago, that *England* and *Holland* ſhould be in War with *France* and *Spain*, and not be able in a Courſe of fifteen or ſixteen Years War to prevent ſuch Loſſes as both of us have had by Sea, and in our Plantations, by the *Naval* Power of *France*, nor to make ourſelves ſo much Maſters at Sea, as to hinder their continual Supplies of Money from the *Weſt-Indies*, while we ourſelves are in ſuch Want of it: I ſay, any Man, that ſhould have pretended to foretel this, would have been looked upon as a falſe Prophet, and brain-ſick Enthuſiaſt, void of all Reaſon; nor would he have been leſs ridiculed and deſpiſed, who ſhould have ventured to ſay, That two ſuch wiſe and warlike Nations could have failed of effectual Meaſures, to prevent ſuch a bloody, laſting, and expenſive War by Land, when it was in their Power to have brought it to a ſhort Concluſion, by a vigorous War at Sea: For had we once ſeized the *French* King's Purſe in the *Weſt-Indies*, which one would think we might eaſily have done by our own Native Strength there, ſeconded by a ſtrong Squadron of Men of War, and a competent Number of briſk Cruiſers upon his Trade, he muſt ſoon have dropped his Sword; for in that Caſe *Spain*, inſtead of being an Advantage to him, muſt have proved ſuch a Burden as would have broke his Back. I am the more confirmed in this Opinion, becauſe I have very good Information, that had we but a few Years ago ſent a competent Squadron, well manned, to the *Weſt-Indies*, we might have eaſily been Maſters of *Canada*, the *French* Plantations there being in ſo great Want, till they were ſupplied by a Convoy of about ſixty Sail, that they could not have avoided Submitting to us; and by that Means we ſhould have effectually ſecured our own Plantations in Northern *America*; whereas now, from Memorials and other Papers that I have ſeen by Men who are concerned to underſtand the State of that Country, it appears that we are ſtill in Danger of greater Loſſes in thoſe Parts, than any we have yet ſuſtained.

There is one Thing more I cannot but take Notice of, as the Reſult of our Want of Seamen, occaſioned by the Miſmanagements abovementioned; and that is, that many Times our Loſſes, by Storms at Sea, proceed from *Want of Convoys in due Time:* And thus it happens that our *Virginia* and *Barbadoes* Fleets, which, in Time of Peace, uſed to come regularly Home in *July*, *Auguſt*, or *September*, now, for Want of Convoys in due Time, do often make it *September* or *October* before they ſet out from thence, and are by Conſequence expoſed to the Tempeſts of the Seaſon: Many Times our Merchant Fleets outward-bound, alſo, loſe their Seaſons and Markets for Want of Convoys; which is not only a great Loſs to our Merchants and Tradeſmen, but alſo to the Government, who loſe in Proportion of their Cuſtoms, what the Merchants loſe in Trade.

Though Merchants and other private Adventurers may be under Difficulties, and inſuperable Diſcouragements, in repreſenting thoſe Things to ſuch Perſons as they think capable to give them Eaſe and Redreſs; the Commons of *England* can never be under ſuch Circumſtances, as to make it inconvenient or unſafe for them to make due Inquiries into the Cauſes of ſuch Misfortunes, and to adviſe to ſuch Methods as may prevent the like in Time to come.

Whatever Views others may have in *proloning a War*, it is the Intereſt of the People of *England*, whoſe Repreſentatives you are, to bring it to a *ſpeedy and honourable Concluſion*. And I think it is plain, that the Reducing of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* to the Obedience of King *Charles* * would be the ſpeedieſt, as well as the moſt effectual Way of doing it. This would give us, at the ſame Time, an Opportunity of enlarging our Trade in thoſe Parts, and of getting ſome convenient Ports to ſecure it, which, by the Articles of the Treaty †, we are allowed to retain, if we take them out of

* The late Emperor, who laid Claim to the Crown of *Spain*; ſee above Page 198.
† With the ſaid King *Charles* the Fifth.

the Hands of the *French*; and this is the leaſt the *Spaniards* ought to grant us, in Conſideration of the Blood and Treaſure we have ſpent on their Account. Nor is there any Reaſon why we ſhould, not rather be intruſted to conveigh and bring Home their Plate, to be made Uſe of for our mutual Wealth and Defence, than that it ſhould be ſuffered to come under the *French* King's Management, to be made Uſe of againſt us both. I know it is objected by ſome, that this would give Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, and increaſe the Averſion of that Country againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. But this can have no Weight with any Man of Thought, for to ſuffer the Treaſures of the *Weſt-Indies* to continue in the *French* King's Power, is the moſt effectual Diſſervice that can be done, not only to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but to all *Europe*; nor is there any more Reaſon that the *Spaniards* of King *Charles*'s Party ſhould conceive Umbrage at having their *Weſt-Indies* under the Management and Protection of us and the *Dutch*, during the War, than thoſe of the Duke of *Anjou*'s * Party do at the *French* King's having the Management and Protection of it at preſent; or, if both of them be jealous at it, there is no Cauſe to be given why we ſhould regard the one, more than he does the other.

The Caſe being thus, Sir, I hope that you and our other Patriots will take it into Conſideration; and ſince we have already contributed ſo much towards the Security of the *United Provinces*, by procuring them a good *Frontier*, and have likewiſe done ſo much for the Empire; it would ſeem but reaſonable that we ſhould think of doing ſomething that may be of Advantage to ourſelves, with Relation to our *Trade*, leſt it take another Channel, and ſo we, who have done moſt of any of the Allies, ſhould alſo come to ſuffer more than any of them by this long and expenſive War.

This is the more reaſonable, becauſe our Allies the *Dutch* are very careful of *their Trade*, and maintain an *advantageous* Commerce with the *French*, notwithſtanding the War; and likewiſe with the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* by Way of *Curaſſaw*; ſo that they have brought Home double the Plate from thence ſince the War, that they did in Time of Peace, whereas we have brought Home far leſs. And, on this Occaſion, I cannot but think the *Spaniards* of King *Charles*'s Party might eaſily be induced to grant us and the *Dutch* the ſame Conditions of Trade to the *Spaniſh* Dominions, excluſive of all others, that the Marquis *de Bergamanero* offered us in King *Charles the Second*'s Reign, as has been mentioned already.

I am not of Capacity to judge, whether it be abſolutely neceſſary, in Order to carry on the War in *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, that we ſhould diminiſh the Number of our Forces in the *Netherlands*: But, according to my poor Way of Reaſoning, I ſhould think, if the Emperor would redreſs the Grievances of the *Hungarians*, and perſuade the other *Popiſh* Princes of the Empire to redreſs the Grievances of the *German* Proteſtants; our Allies in *Germany* and the *Netherlands* might find the *French* Employment enough on that Side, and leave us and the *Dutch* with Part of our Fleet and Forces to manage the War in *Spain*, and the *Weſt-Indies*. And, ſince both of them require a Naval Force, we ſhould have the Money for their Proviſions and Pay circulate among ourſelves; whereas vaſt Sums of our Money are now ſpent by our Army beyond Sea, to the Inriching of our Allies, while we ourſelves are impoveriſhed.

We ſhould alſo, by this Means, recover the Plantations we have loſt, ſecure thoſe that are in Danger, deprive the *French* of theirs, and retrieve our *New-found-Land* Fiſhery, which would be a conſtant Nurſery for Seamen, and recover our Trade to the *Streights*, &c. that depended upon it.

This, Sir, in my humble Opinion, would be a ſpeedy and effectual Way to retrieve our *Naval* Glory and Trade, and to humble *France*, ſo as to put it out of their Power to impoſe the St. *Germains* Family †, upon us, and enſlave *Europe*, which is the chief Deſign of the War.

But I am afraid we ſhall be far from obtaining it by a Land War *only*, while the *French* King is Maſter of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, of ſuch a Naval Force, of ſo good a Trade, of ſuch large Dominions, ſecured by ſtrong Frontier Gariſons, and of ſuch an abſolute Power over his Subjects.

I ſhall conclude with this Obſervation, that, ſince we are in an Iſland, it ought to be our principal Care to be always in a Condition to *man our Fleet well*, and *betimes*, as it ought to

* Now *Philip* King of *Spain*.

† Thoſe that claim the Crown of *Great-Britain*, by Hereditary Right, from King *James the Second*, who reſided at St. *Germains*.

be that of Governments on the Continent to be always in a Condition to man and provide well their Frontier Towns; becauſe the Neglect of the one may be as fatal to us, as the Neglect of the other to them: And, ſince our Situation is ſo happy as to make us need no ſtanding Army, in Time of Peace, it would ſeem to be our Intereſt to enlarge and advance our Trade, ſo as we may always have a competent Number of Seamen in Readineſs to man our Fleet, whenever Occaſion requires it.

This is what I have to ſuggeſt about Retrieving our Naval Glory; and, if it may be of any Uſe to the Publick, it is wholly due to you who impoſed this Taſk upon me; only, I beg your Pardon, that I could not ſend it Time enough for you to make Uſe of laſt Year, but, I hope, it may do as well this. I am,

SIR,

January 4, 1706.

Your humble Servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIR.

I have been longer than I intended, but hope you will excuſe me, becauſe you know when once I am engaged in this Subject, I cannot tell how to leave it. But to make the Thing as eaſy as poſſible to yourſelf, and others to whom you may impart this, I ſhall make a brief Recapitulation of the Whole, that you may have the Subſtance of what I have ſaid at one View:

1. Take Care to reform the Morals of your Officers and Seamen, according to the Methods above-mentioned, leſt otherwiſe Heaven as well as the common Enemy be engaged againſt you; and, though there was Nothing in this, you ſee there are Political Reaſons, why our Officers and Seamen ought to be ſober and regular in their Converſation.

2. Be ſure that the Puniſhments on Board the Fleet be ſuch as may convince the Seamen, of the Odiouſneſs of their Crimes, and not ſuch as may debaſe their Spirits, or make them think that the Officers ſeek to gratify their own brutiſh Revenge, contemn their Fellow-Creatures and Subjects, uſurp a Legiſlative Power, or invade *Magna Charta*, and the Birth-right of *Engliſhmen*.

3. Take Care, their Proviſions be good and plentiful; that there be no Connivance at Frauds to the Prejudice of the Seamen; and let them be kept ſweet and clean, carefully looked after, when ſick, and in all other Reſpects uſed kindly.

4. Let them be duly paid, when they come Home, that they may have ſome comfortable Enjoyment of themſelves, with their Wives, Relations, and Friends; and that the Money, we pay them, may circulate among ourſelves. Let their ſhort Allowance, and Prize-money, be duly paid, at the ſame Time with their Wages, and their Plunder be duly ſhared among them.

5. Let the Quarters of the Sick and Wounded be duly paid, and let their Doctors and Surgeons on Board, or a-ſhore, be skilful and careful, and furniſhed with good Medicines.

6. Take Care that Men be advanced, according to their Merit; and let not Seniority, without other Qualifications, or Letters of Recommendation, and Money or Intereſt, be the ordinary Steps to Advancement. And, to this End, let a Liſt of all thoſe, who behave themſelves well on any Occaſion, be carefully kept, and at the End of every Expedition laid before the Prince and Parliament.

7. Let Seamen's Wages be raiſed according to the preſent Proportion of the Wages of Servants and Labourers, as was the old commendable Practice: For it is a Diſgrace to the Government, that private Perſons ſhould pay and reward better than they.

8. Let there be Money always at the Pay-Office to ſatisfy the Executors of thoſe who die in the Service, or thoſe who have lawful Powers to receive the Pay of ſuch as have been turned over into other Ships, before the Ships, they belonged to, were paid: And let an End for ever be put to that miſchievous Practice of Calls and Recalls, in attending upon which, many have ſpent the greateſt Part of their Pay, before they received it.

9. In a Word, let all thoſe Abuſes introduced into the Management of our Fleet, ſince the Reſtoration, be inquired into and redreſſed; and let Commiſſions be given to ſuch as have been bred to Navigation, and have a good Repute, among the Mariners: For ſuch Officers will be able

able to raiſe moſt of their Men by their own Reputation.

Theſe Methods will ſave many Thouſands of Pounds to the Nation, that are ſpent by Preſs-Gangs, Preſs-Ketches, and in Proviſions and Wages to keep Men on board Ships, that are laid up, during the Winter, to prevent their Running away.

Had theſe Things been put in Practice at the Beginning of this War, there had been no Complaint for Want of Seamen; the Decay that has ſince happened in our Trade and Manufactories (the natural Conſequences of War) would have brought more into the Service, than we ſhould have needed; and when the War had been over, and Trade reſtored, thoſe Tradeſmen would have returned from the Fleet to their former Employments, which would have prevented our being overſtocked with Seamen, for the reſt muſt have been employed by Merchantmen.

Before I conclude, I muſt put you in Mind, of what you and I diſcourſed before the preſent War was proclaimed, when you aſked my Thoughts about the great Naval Expedition, we had then in Hand.

You may remember, I told you, that, if it was deſigned for *Spain*, my Opinion was, that we ſhould, in the firſt Place, ſeize the Iſle of *Minorca*, and, by Conſequence, poſſeſs ourſelves of the noble Port of *Mahon* *, erect a Magazine of Naval Stores there, and ſend thither our Hulks to careen as we did in King *Charles the Second*'s Time, when we had a War with the *Algerines*, and as we did during the laſt War at *Cales*.

By having a good Fleet, or at leaſt a ſtrong Squadron, there all the Year, we ſhould have been Maſters of the *Mediterranean*, and have prevented the *French* from ſending Recruits to *Italy* and *Spain*: And as the plain Reſult of this the Duke of *Savoy* had not been reduced to ſuch Straights, nor the Confederacy obliged to ſo much Expence and Danger in ſending him Relief; nor had *Barcelona*, and all the Advantages which King *Charles* gained in *Spain*, been in ſo much Danger of being loſt by the Opportunity which the *French* had to attack *Barcelona* by Sea and Land, in Retaking of which they were viſibly diſappointed by the immediate Hand of Heaven. Nor ſhould the *French*, after ſuch a Blow as they received there, have been in a Condition to march their Troops round, to regain *Caſtile*, diſpoſſeſs our Allies of *Madrid*, retake *Carthagena* on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and *Alcantara* on the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to the evident Hazard of driving King *Charles* again out of all thoſe *Spaniſh* Dominions, the Reducing of which has coſt *England* ſo much Blood and Money.

Nor ſhould we have been under any Neceſſity of courting the expenſive, and hitherto almoſt uſeleſs, Alliance of the *Portugueſe*; but, having ſuch a good Harbour and Place of Arms as *Port-Mahon*, we ſhould quickly have been Maſters of *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily*, have reduced *Naples* to the Obedience of King *Charles*, and obliged the *Italian* Potentates, the Pope not excepted, either to come into the Alliance, or to pay Contributions: Which would have prevented his viſible Partiality in Favour of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, that has kept the War ſo long on Foot, and has ſo much endangered the Liberty of *Europe*, and the *Proteſtant* Religion, and given the *French* King ſo fair a Chance to deſtroy our own Liberty and Religion, by impoſing, with the Aſſiſtance of our Male-contents at Home, the St. *Germains* Pretender upon us, and making him real as well as titular King of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

I ſhall only add, that had we, according to the Maxims of all wiſe Invaders, firſt ſecured ourſelves of a Port and Place of Arms upon the Skirts of their Dominions, as we might eaſily have done by Seizing *Port-Mahon*, we ſhould have prevented the fatal Miſmanagement of the War, in *Italy* and *Spain*, where ſometimes the *French*, and ſometimes the Allies, have had the Advantage of one another, by a ſudden Run, as happens in a Game at Football; and had we kept that Port after the War was over, which could not well have been denied us, we might have made it a Magazine and Station for Ships, to command the *Mediterranean*, and protect our *Streights* Trade, and ſhould thereby have been in Condition, by a Naval Power (without incurring any Danger from Standing Armies) to hold the Balance of *Europe* in our Hands; which, as it is our natural Province, is *England*'s greateſt Security and Glory.

From all this, Sir, I hope, that you and the reſt of our good Patriots will take Care to propoſe due Methods for retrieving our Naval

* This was done afterwards.

Glory, and to ſee that the War be ſo carried on, as it may be brought to a ſpeedy and honourable Concluſion; which, in my humble Opinion, can never be done, except by our *Naval Force* we deprive the *French* King of the continual Supplies of Money he has from the *Weſt-Indies*, or carry the War into his own Country. And, I think, Sir, it is but reaſonable, that having done ſo much already for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and our other Allies the *Dutch*, we ſhould now begin to think of doing ſomething for ourſelves, that others may not run away with the greateſt Part of the Profit, while we have borne the *greateſt Proportion* of the Charge of the War.

Adieu.

A Deſcription of the famous Kingdom of *Macaria*; ſhewing its excellent Government, wherein the Inhabitants live in great Proſperity, Health, and Happineſs; the King obeyed, the Nobles honoured, and all good Men reſpected; Vice puniſhed, and Virtue rewarded. An Example to other Nations: In a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Traveller. [From a *Quarto*, containing fifteen Pages, printed at *London* for *Francis Conſtable*, *Anno* 1641.]

To the high and honourable Court of Parliament *.

Whereas I am confident, that this honourable Court will lay the Corner-ſtone of the World's Happineſs, before the final Receſs thereof, I have adventured to caſt in my Widow's Mite into the Treaſury; not as an Inſtructer, or Counſellor, to this honourable Aſſembly, but have delivered my Conceptions in a Fiction, as a more mannerly Way, having for my Pattern Sir Thomas Moore, *and Sir* Francis Bacon, *once Lord Chancellor of* England; *and humbly deſire that this honourable Aſſembly will be pleaſed to make Uſe of any Thing therein contained, if it may ſtand with their Pleaſures, and to laugh at the reſt, as a Solace to my Mind, being inclined to do Good to the Publick. So humbly craving Leave, that I may take my Leave, I reſt, this Twenty-fifth of* October, 1641.

* This was the Parliament which met at *Weſtminſter*, on the Third of *November*, 1640, and, having choſen Mr. *Lenthall* their Speaker, fell immediately upon their Grievances, as Ship-money, Innovations in Religion, *&c.* To accuſe Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, of being a great Promoter of *Popery*; to vote Archbiſhop *Laud* a Traitor, and the Author of all the Troubles in *Scotland*; to impeach the Lord *Strafford* of high Treaſon, and to declare the Lord Keeper *Finch* to be a Traitor. And inſtead of driving out the *Scots*, who had invaded *England*, with a powerful Army, and offered to put themſelves under the Protection of the *French* King, ſuffered them to remain in a Body, in the North of *England*, advanced them three-hundred thouſand Pounds, and obliged the King to disband his Army, and to leave himſelf and Kingdom to the Mercy of thoſe Rebels. Hence we may gather the Intention of this little Treatiſe, which, compoſed by Way of Novel, was deſigned to intimate a new Model of Government therein ſpecified, as the propereſt Means to reconcile the deſtructive Breach, that then was beginning to appear between the King and his Parliament.

Traveller.

Traveller.

WELL met, Sir, your Habit profeſſes Scholarſhip; Are you a Graduate?

Scholar.

Yes, Sir, I am a Maſter of Arts.

Trav. But, what do you hear in the *Exchange?* I conceive you trade in Knowledge, and here is no Place to traffick for it; neither in the Book of Rates is there any Impoſition upon ſuch Commodities: So that you have no great Buſineſs either here, or at the *Cuſtom-Houſe.* Come, let us go into the Fields; I am a Traveller, and can tell you ſtrange News, and much Knowledge; and I have brought it over the Sea, without paying any Cuſtom, though it be worth all the Merchandiſe in the Kingdom.

Schol. We Scholars love to hear News, and to learn Knowledge; I will wait upon you, go whither you will.

Trav. Well, we will go into *Moor-fields*, and take a Turn or two; there we ſhall be out of this Noiſe, and Throng of People.

Schol. Agreed; but, as we go, What good News do you hear of the Parliament?

Trav. I hear that they are generally bent to make a good Reformation; but that they have ſome Stops and Hinderances, ſo that they cannot make ſuch quick Diſpatch as they would; and if any Experience, which I have learned in my long Travels, may ſtand them in Stead, I would willingly impart it for the publick Good.

Schol. I like that well; I pray you declare ſome good Experience, that I may ſay that I have gained ſomething by the Company of Travellers.

Trav. In a Kingdom called *Macaria*, the King and the Governors do live in great Honour and Riches, and the People do live in great Plenty, Proſperity, Health, Peace, and Happineſs, and have not half ſo much Trouble as they have in theſe *European* Countries.

Schol. That ſeemeth to me impoſſible: You Travellers muſt take Heed of two Things principally in your Relations; *firſt*, That you ſay nothing that is generally deemed impoſſible; *ſecondly*, That your Relation hath no Contradiction in it, or elſe all Men will think that you make Uſe of the Traveller's Privilege, to wit, *to lye by Authority.*

Trav. If I could change all the Minds in *England*, as eaſily as, I ſuppoſe, I ſhall change yours, this Kingdom would be preſently like to it: When you hear the Manner of their Government, you will deem it to be very poſſible, and, withal, very eaſy.

Schol. I pray you, Sir, declare the Manner of their Government, for I think long till I hear it.

Trav. As for Brevity in Diſcourſe, I ſhall anſwer your Deſire. They have a *great Council*, like to the *Parliament* of *England*; but it ſitteth once a Year for a ſhort Space, and they hear no Complaints againſt any but Miniſters of State, Judges, and Officers; *thoſe they trounce ſoundly, if there be Cauſe*: Beſides, they have five under Councils; to wit,

A Council of *Huſbandry.*
A Council of *Fiſhing.*
A Council of *Trade by Land.*
A Council of *Trade by Sea.*
A Council for *new Plantations.*

Theſe ſit once a Year, for a ſhort Space, and have Power to hear and determine, and to puniſh Malefactors ſeverely, and to reward Benefactors honourably, and to make new Laws, not repugnant to the Laws of the great Council, for the whole Kingdom, like as Court-Leets and Corporations have, within their own Precincts and Liberties, in *England.*

Schol. I pray you, Sir, declare ſome of the principal Laws made by thoſe Councils.

Trav. The Council of *Huſbandry* hath ordered, that the twentieth Part of every Man's Goods, that dieth, ſhall be employed about the improving of Lands, and making High-ways fair, and Bridges over Rivers; by which Means the whole Kingdom is become like to a fruitful Garden, the High-ways are paved, and are as fair as the Streets of a City; and, as for Bridges over Rivers, they are ſo high, that none are ever drowned in their Travels.

Alſo, they have eſtabliſhed a Law, That, if any Man holdeth more Land than he is able to improve to the utmoſt, he ſhall be admoniſhed, *firſt*, of the great Hinderance which it doth to the Commonwealth; *ſecondly*, of the Prejudice to himſelf; and if he do not *amend* his Huſbandry, within a Year's Space, there is a Penalty ſet upon him, which is yearly doubled, till his Lands be forfeited, and he baniſhed out of the Kingdom, as an Enemy to the Commonwealth.

In

In the Council of *Fiſhing*, there are Laws eſtabliſhed, whereby immenſe Riches are yearly drawn out of the Ocean.

In the Council of *Trade by Land*, there are eſtabliſhed Laws, ſo that there are not too many Tradeſmen, nor too few, by enjoining longer or ſhorter Times of Apprentiſhips.

In the Council of *Trade by Sea*, there is eſtabliſhed a Law, that all Traffick is lawful, which may inrich the Kingdom.

In the Council for *new Plantations*, there is eſtabliſhed a Law, that every Year a certain Number ſhall be ſent out, ſtrongly fortified, and provided for at the publick Charge, till ſuch Times as they may ſubſiſt by their own Endeavours: And this Number is ſet down by the ſaid Council, wherein they take diligent Notice of the Surpluſage of People that may be ſpared.

Schol. But you ſpoke of Peace to be permanent in that Kingdom, How can that be?

Trav. Very eaſily; for they have a Law, that, if any Prince ſhall attempt any Invaſion, his Kingdom ſhall be a lawful Prize: And the Inhabitants of this happy Country are ſo numerous, ſtrong, and rich, that they have deſtroyed ſome, without any conſiderable Reſiſtance; and the reſt take Warning.

Schol. But you ſpoke of Health, How can that be procured by a better Way, than we have here in *England?*

Trav. Yes, very eaſily; for they have an Houſe, or College of Experience, where they deliver out, yearly, ſuch Medicines as they find out by Experience; and all ſuch as ſhall be able to demonſtrate any Experiment, for the Health or Wealth of Men, are honourably rewarded at the publick Charge, by which their Skill in Huſbandry, Phyſick, and Surgery, is moſt excellent.

Schol. But this is againſt Phyſicians.

Trav. In *Macaria*, the Parſon of every Pariſh is a good Phyſician, and doth execute both Functions; to wit, *cura animarum, & cura corporum* *; and they think it as abſurd for a Divine to be without the Skill of Phyſick, as it is to put new Wine into old Bottles; and the Phyſicians, being true Naturaliſts, may as well become good Divines, as the Divines do become good Phyſicians.

Schol. But you ſpoke of the great Facility that theſe Men have in their Functions, How can that be?

Trav. Very eaſily; for the Divines, by Reaſon that the Society of Experiments is liable to an Action, if they ſhall deliver out any falſe Receipt, are not troubled to try Concluſions, or Experiments, but only to conſider of the Diverſity of Natures, Complexions, and Conſtitutions, which they are to know, for the Cure of Souls, as well as of Bodies.

Schol. I know divers Divines in *England* that are Phyſicians, and therefore I hold well with this Report; and I would that all were ſuch, for they have great Eſtimation with the People, and can rule them at their Pleaſure.

But how cometh the Facility of becoming good Divines?

Trav. They are all of approved Ability in human Learning, before they take in Hand that Function; and then they have ſuch Rules, that they need no conſiderable Study to accompliſh all Knowledge fit for Divines, by Reaſon that there is no Diverſity of Opinions amongſt them.

Schol. How can that be?

Trav. Very eaſily; for they have a Law, that, if any Divine ſhall publiſh a new Opinion to the common People, he ſhall be accounted a Diſturber of the publick Peace, and ſhall ſuffer Death for it.

Schol. But that is the Way to keep them in Error perpetually, if they be once in it.

Trav. You are deceived; for, if any one hath conceived a new Opinion, he is allowed every Year freely to diſpute it before the great Council; if he overcome his Adverſaries, or ſuch as are appointed to be Opponents, then it is generally received for Truth; if he be overcome, then it is declared to be falſe.

Schol. It ſeemeth that they are *Chriſtians* by your Relation of the Parochial Miniſters, but whether are they *Proteſtants* or *Papiſts?*

Trav. Their Religion conſiſts not in taking Notice of ſeveral Opinions and Sects, but is made up of infallible Tenets, which may be proved by invincible Arguments, and ſuch as will abide the grand Teſt of extreme Diſpute; by which Means none have power to ſtir up Schiſms and Hereſies; neither are any of their Opinions ridiculous to thoſe who are of contrary Minds.

* The Care both of Souls and Bodies.

Schol. But you ſpoke of great Honour, which the Governors have in the Kingdom of *Macaria*.

Trav. They muſt needs receive great Honour of the People, by Reaſon that there is no Injuſtice done, or very ſeldom, perhaps once in an Age.

Schol. But how come they by their great Riches which you ſpeak of?

Trav. It is holden a principal Policy in State, to allow to the Miniſters of State, Judges, and chief Officers, great Revenues; for that, in Caſe they do not their Duty, in looking to the Kingdom's Safety, for Conſcience-ſake, yet they may do it for Fear of loſing their own great Eſtates.

Schol. But how can the King of *Macaria* be ſo rich as you ſpeak of?

Trav. He taketh a ſtrict Courſe that all his Crown Lands be improved to the utmoſt, as Foreſts, Parks, Chaces, *&c.* by which Means his Revenues are ſo great, that he ſeldom needeth to put Impoſitions upon his Subjects, by Reaſon he hath ſeldom any Wars; and, if there be Cauſe, the Subjects are as ready to give, as he to demand; for they hold it to be a principal Policy in State, to keep the King's Coffers full, and ſo full, that it is an Aſtoniſhment to all Invaders.

Schol. But, how cometh the King's great Honour which you ſpeak of?

Trav. Who can but love and honour ſuch a Prince, who, in his tender and parental Care of the publick Good of his loving Subjects, uſeth no Pretences for Realities, like to ſome Princes, in their Acts of State, Edicts, and Proclamations?

Schol. But you Travellers muſt take Heed of Contradictions in your Relations; you have affirmed, that the Governors in *Macaria* have not half ſo much Trouble, as they have in theſe *European* Kingdoms, and yet by your Report they have a great Council, like to our Parliament in *England*, which ſits once a Year; beſides that, they have five Under-councils, which ſit once a Year; then how cometh this Facility in Government?

Trav. The great Council heareth no Complaints, but againſt Miniſters of State, Judges, and chief Officers; theſe, being ſure to be trounced once a Year,* do never, or very ſeldom, offend: So that their Meeting is rather a Feſtivity, than a Trouble. And, as for the Judges and chief Officers, there is no Hope that any Man can prevail in his Suit by Bribery, Favour, or corrupt Dealing; ſo that they have few Cauſes to be troubled withal.

Schol. I have read over Sir *Thomas Moore*'s *Utopia*, and my Lord *Bacon*'s *New Atalantis*, which he called ſo in Imitation of *Plato*'s old one; but none of them giveth me Satisfaction, how the Kingdom of *England* may be happy, ſo much as this Diſcourſe, which is brief and pithy, and eaſy to be effected, if all Men be willing.

Trav. You Divines have the Sway of Men's Minds, you may as eaſily perſuade them to Good as to Bad, to Truth as well as to Falſhood.

Schol. Well, in my next Sermon I will make it manifeſt, that thoſe, that are againſt this honourable Deſign, are, *firſt*, Enemies to God and Goodneſs; *ſecondly*, Enemies to the Commonwealth; *thirdly*, Enemies to themſelves and their Poſterity.

Trav. And you may put in, that they are Enemies to the King and his Poſterity, and ſo, conſequently, Traitors; for he that would not have the King's Honour and Riches to be advanced, and his Kingdom to be permanent to him, and to his Heirs, is a Traitor, or elſe I know not what a Traitor meaneth.

Schol. Well, I ſee that the Cauſe is not in God, but in Men's Fooleries, that the People live in Miſery in this World, when they may ſo eaſily be relieved; I will join my Forces with you, and we will try a Concluſion, to make ourſelves and Poſterity to be happy.

Trav. Well, what will you do towards the Work.

Schol. I have told you before, I will publiſh it in my next Sermon, and I will uſe Means that, in all Viſitations and Meetings of Divines, they may be exhorted to do the like.

Trav. This would do the Feat, but that the Divines in *England*, having not the Skill of Phyſick, are not ſo highly eſteemed, nor bear ſo great a Sway as they do in *Macaria*.

Schol. Well, what will you do towards the Work?

Trav. I will propound a Book of Huſbandry * to the high Court of Parliament, whereby the Kingdom may maintain double the Number of People, which it doth now, and in more Plenty and Proſperity than now they enjoy.

* This alludes to *Hartlib*'s Book of Huſbandry, which was offered with ſuch Propoſals.

Schol.

Schol. That is excellent; I cannot conceive, but that, if a Kingdom may be improved to maintain twice as many People as it did before, it is as good as the Conqueſt of another Kingdom, as great, if not better.

Trav. Nay, it is certainly better; for, when the Towns are thin and far diſtant, and the People ſcarce and poor, the King cannot raiſe Men and Money upon any ſudden Occaſion, without great Difficulty.

Schol. Have you a Copy of that Book of Huſbandry about you, which is to be propounded to the Parliament?

Trav. Yes, here is a Copy, peruſe it, whilſt I go about a little Buſineſs.——— Well, have you peruſed my Book?

Schol. Yes, Sir, and find that you ſhew the Tranſmutation of ſublunary Bodies, in ſuch a Manner, that any Man may be rich that will be induſtrious; you ſhew alſo, how great Cities, which formerly devoured the Fatneſs of the Kingdom, may yearly make a conſiderable Retribution without any Man's Prejudice, and your Demonſtrations are infallible; this Book will certainly be highly accepted by the high Court of Parliament.

Trav. Yes, I doubt it not, for I have ſhewed it to divers Parliament-men, who have all promiſed me fair, as ſoon as a ſeaſonable Time cometh for ſuch Occaſions.

Schol. Were I a Parliament-man, I would labour to have this Book to be diſpatched, the next Thing that is done; for, with all my ſeven liberal Arts I cannot diſcover, how any Buſineſs can be of more Weight than this, wherein the publick Good is ſo greatly furthered; which to further, we are all bound by the Law of God and Nature.

Trav. If this Conference be ſeriouſly conſidered of, it is no Laughing-matter; for you hear of the Combuſtions in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other *Chriſtian* Countries; you know that *a Houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand*; this may give the *Turk* an Advantage, ſo that *England* may fear to have him a nearer Neighbour than they deſire. Why ſhould not all the Inhabitants of *England* join, with one Conſent, to make this Country to be like to *Macaria*, that is numerous in People, rich in Treaſure and Ammunition, that ſo they may be invincible?

Schol. None but Fools or Madmen will be againſt it; you have changed my Mind, according to your former Prediction, and I will change as many Minds as I can, by the Ways formerly mentioned, and I pray you, that, for a further Means, this Conference may be printed.

Trav. Well, it ſhall be done forthwith.

Schol. But one Thing troubleth me, that many Divines are of Opinion, that no ſuch Reformation, as we would have, ſhall come before the Day of Judgment.

Trav. Indeed, there are many Divines of that Opinion; but I can ſhew an hundred Texts of Scripture, which do plainly prove, that ſuch a Reformation ſhall come before the Day of Judgment.

Schol. Yea, I have read many plain Texts of Scripture to that Purpoſe; but, when I ſearched the Expoſitors, I found that they did generally expound them myſtically.

Trav. That is true; but worthy St. *Jerom*, conſidering that thoſe Places of Scripture would not bear an allegorical Expoſition, ſaid thus, *Poſſumus, ſicut & multi, alii omnia hæc ſpiritualiter exponere, ſed vereor, ne hujuſmodi expoſitionem prudentes lectores nequaquam recipiant* *.

Schol. I am of St. *Jerom*'s Mind, and therefore with Alacrity let us purſue our good Intentions, and be good Inſtruments in this Work of Reformation.

Trav. There be natural Cauſes alſo to further it; for the *Art of Printing* will ſo ſpread Knowledge, that the common People, knowing their own Rights and Liberties, will not be governed by Way of Oppreſſion; and ſo, by little and little, all Kingdoms will be like *Macaria*.

Schol. That will be a good Change, when as well Superiors as Inferiors ſhall be more happy; Well, I am imparadiſed in my Mind, in thinking that *England* may be happy, with ſuch Expedition and Facility.

Trav. Well, do you know any Man that hath any Secrets or good Experiments? I will give him Gold for them, or others as good in Exchange; that is all the Trade I have driven a long Time; thoſe Riches are free from Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, and I have travelled thro' many Kingdoms, and paid neither Freight nor Cuſtom for my Wares, though I valued them above all the Riches in the Kingdom.

Schol. I know a Gentleman that is greatly addicted to try Experiments, but how he hath pro-

* We, as many others, can expound all thoſe Things in a ſpiritual Senſe; but, I fear, that the prudent Reader will, by no Means, receive ſuch an Expoſition.

ſpered I am not certain; I will bring you acquainted with him, perhaps you may do one another Good.

Trav. Well, I have appointed a Meeting at Two of the Clock this Day; I love to diſcourſe with Scholars, yet we muſt part; if you meet me here the next *Monday* at the *Exchange*, I will declare to you ſome more of the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Manners of the Inhabitants of *Macaria*.

Schol. I will not fail to meet you for any worldly Reſpect; and, if I ſhould be ſick, I would come in a Sedan; I never received ſuch Satisfaction and Contentment by any Diſcourſe in my Life; I doubt not but we ſhall obtain our Deſires, to make *England* to be like to *Macaria*; for which our Poſterity, which are yet unborn, will fare the better; and, though our neighbour Countries are pleaſed to call the *Engliſh a dull Nation*, yet the major Part are ſenſible of their own Good, and the Good of their Poſterity, and thoſe will ſway the reſt; ſo we and our Poſterity ſhall be all happy.

A Philoſophical and Medicinal Eſſay of the Waters of *Tunbridge*. Written to a Perſon of Honour; by *Pat. Madan*, M. D.

Temporibus Medicina juvat; data tempore prodeſt,
Et data non apto tempore Lympha nocet.

[From a *Quarto*, containing 26 Pages, printed at *London*, for the Author, in 1687.]

My Lord,

IT was your Honour's Pleaſure to aſk my Judgment, concerning *Tunbridge-waters*, becauſe I often recommend my Patients to them; which, in my Opinion, are not inferior in Medicinal Vertues to any *Spaw* of that Kind; for, by their Effects, which is an * After-demonſtration, they are impregnated with a chalcanthous or vitriolate Juice; which, with its ſulphureous Particles, irritates and moves the Belly to a blackiſh Excretion, and, by frequent Drinking thereof, blackeneth the Tongue, becauſe this Member, being of a ſpongy Subſtance, imbibes ſome ſooty ſulphureous Minims into its Poroſity, occaſioning this Tincture.

Thro' its more ſubtle piercing chalcanthous Spirits, it provokes Urine in a plentiful Manner.

To theſe is admixed ſome ferrugineous Juice, that contains a great deal of the volatile Salt, which is it that is diſſolved in the chalybeate Wine, now ſo much in Vogue amongſt Phyſicians.

His Aquis ferrum ineſſe videtur in principiis ſolutis, unde earum vis chalybeata intimius ſanguine permiſcetur, & potentius morbos expugnat, quam ferrum quocunque demum artificio nobilitatum.

'Theſe Waters ſeem to contain Iron in its 'unconcrete and ſeminal Principles, whereup-'on their chalybeate Vertue is more intirely 'mixed with the Blood, and more powerfully 'attacks Diſeaſes, than Iron prepared to the beſt 'Advantage can.'

Dr. *Sydenham.*

'*Mars* in itſelf conſiſts chiefly of Salt, Sul-'phur, and Earth. It has very little of Spirit 'and Water, and Particles of the former Ele-'ments, eſpecially the ſulphureous and ſaline in 'the mixt are combined together with Earth, 'remain wholly fixed; but being looſed and 'divided from each other (as in theſe Waters) 'have a very efficacious Energy.'

Dr. *Willis* de Chalybeatis.

* Demonſtrativo a poſteriori.

In them Galls ſhaven or Oak-leaves added; or, by pouring to them ſome Infuſion of Tea made in Water, they will become of an atro-purpureous Colour; to which inſtilling ſome Drops of Spirit of Vitriol, or pouring thereunto ſome Sherry, they become clear again and redintegrate their priſtine Colour. On the Surface of theſe Waters there is a grey Film in the Morning; they have a Roughneſs in the Mouth; with them no arſenical Vapours are intermixed, but, void of all noxious Quality, are limpid and ſalutiferous; many do daily receive Benefit by the Uſe of them; wherefore, by * the Concurrence of theſe Appearances, they have the Characteriſtick of a good and wholeſome *Spaw*.

As for their Vertues and Properties in Phyſick, I believe, if there be any ſuch Remedy in Being as a *Panpharmacon*, or Univerſal Remedy, it is here; for even as Soap, put to foul Linnen with Water, purgeth and cleanſeth all Filth, and maketh them to become white again; ſo theſe Waters with their ſaponary and deterſive Quality clean all the whole Microcoſm or Body of Man from all Feculency and Impurities. *Vid.* the *firſt* Region, by Stool; the *Second*, by Urine; the *Third*, by Tranſpiration, ſending forth from the Center to the Circumference many footy and fetid Effluviums, which, in ſome, colour their Shirts blackiſh; † an obſervable Quantity of this liquid Subſtance, gliding through the inner Paſſages of the Bowels, bruſhes off the peccant Humours that ſtagnate in their proper Channels, and roots out the Cauſe and Origin of Diſeaſes. The *Acidulæ* alſo diſſolve tartarous and viſcous Matter, and correct the hot Indiſpoſition of the Liver and Kidnies. See the Author *Fridericus Loſſius* in Conciliis Medicis.

Wherefore the Uſe of theſe Waters have deſervedly gained a great Eſteem and Reputation in curing many chronick and rebellious Diſeaſes, which are accounted the Shame of Phyſicians; for they cure, even to a Miracle, ſuch as are quite given over by Doctors; they may well be named *Aquæ Vitæ*, or Waters of Life, becauſe they reſtore Men to Life, and make them live twice; ‡ to enjoy their former Health is to live again, for Sickneſs, and Neutrality of Health, as the *Greeks* ſay, is but Βίος ἀβίωλος, *To live without Life*; wherefore ‖ Life is not only to live and breathe, but alſo to have perfect Health; and that is got here by Drinking.

§ Phyſicians, when they have tired their miſerable afflicted Patients with tedious and chargeable Courſes of Phyſick (finding all Ways elſe unſucceſsful) at laſt ſend them to theſe Waters, which they lay Hold of, as a ſacred Anchor, for they are the moſt efficacious and powful Remedy againſt the greateſt and moſt inveterate Diſeaſes, by the Appointment of Almighty God, provided they are made Uſe of in a due and right Manner; which the Poet expreſſes in theſe Words:

Publica morborum requies, commune medentum
Auxilium, præſens numen, inemptaque ſalus,
Amiſſum reparant lymphis impune vigorem,
Pacaturque ægro luxuriante dolor.

'Diſeaſes publick Eaſe; a common Heal,
'A free-coſt Health; a God does never fail,
'Vigour to Men reſtore with Eaſe, avail,
'All Pain in wanton Patients does aſſail.'

'But if you take them in the left Hand, or 'by the wrong Handle, they cauſe Thouſands 'of Diſeaſes, and haſten even Death itſelf.'
Fredericus Loſſius in Conciliis de Morbis Hypochondriacis.

** Chalybeates cure not ſo much by opening

* Syndrome Phainomenon.

† Harum enim ſubſtantia liquida notanda quantitas, per intimos viſcerum receſſus præterfluens, peccantes & in propriis cuniculis ſtagnantes ſuccos egregie everrit morborumque cauſam averruncat, materiam tartaream & viſcoſam diſſolvit: hepatis quoque & renum calidam intemperiem corrigit.

‡ Quia vita priori poſſe frui eſt bis vivere.

‖ Non eſt vivere, ſed bene valere, Vita. *Martial.*

§ Ad has aquas medici, poſtquam ægros magno & ſumptuoſo medicamentorum apparatu longo tempore defatigarunt, cum vident res ſibi ex voto non ſuccedere, miſeros relegant, tanquam ad ſacram anchoram; ſunt enim efficaciſſimum & potentiſſimum remedium ad profligandos graviſſimos morbos a Deo conceſſum, ſi dextra manu porrigantur, quod Poeta exprimit his verſibus.

** Etenim maſſa ſanguineæ effœtæ & languefcenti volatile quoddam fermentum, ſeu calcaria, ſubdit, a quo excitantur & quaſi erriguntur ſpiritus antea jacentes & ſuo pondere preſſi: ſanguinem vigorat ejuſque vim ἐνμοομένην redintegrat: nam, quoties Chalybeata in chloroſi ſeu febre alba vel amatoria propinantur, pulſus derepente major fit & celerior: exteriora corporis incalefcunt, facies non amplius pallida & morti concolor, ſed vivida cernitur & ſanguine purpurata. *Fridericus Loſſius.*

Obſtructions

Obſtructions of the *Viſcera*, as by depreſſing the Exaltations of Sulphur and fixed Salts, and by volatiliſing the Blood much depauperated and made effete as in Cachectick Bodies; for they communicate a volatile Sort of Ferment, as a Spur to the effete and languid Maſs of Blood, by which the Spirits, that before lay gaſping as it were, and preſſed down with their own Weight, are excited and made more lively, by invigorating the Blood, and renewing the Ferment; for, as ſoon as chalybeate Medicines are made Uſe of in the Green-ſickneſs, the Pulſe becomes ſuddenly greater and quicker; the external Parts of the Body grow hot; the Face is no longer pale and dead-coloured, but freſh and purpled with Blood itſelf.

Betwixt the Ferment of the Stomach and Chalybeates, there is a mutual Conflict, as appears by the nidorolent Belches and Eructations after Taking them, as if one had eaten hard fried Eggs; in this Re action Chalybeates undergo a Diſſolution within the *Viſcera* of Concoction, and the active Particles, both ſulphureous and ſaline, diſplay themſelves and, mixing with the nutritive Juice, are carried into the Blood which they inactuate.

Chalybeate Waters, by their many and divers ſeminary Principles with which they are embryonated, are very powerful and efficacious in curing of many and divers Diſeaſes, though they be of a contrary Nature and Diſpoſition; for they ſerve not only as a Bridle, but alſo as a Spur; yet, I would not adviſe them to be drank indifferently by all Conſtitutions and Sexes, without the Advice of a Phyſician, who by his prudent Conduct and Management, weighing all * Indications, Contra-indications, and Co-indications according to Diſcretion, may obviate all Symptoms that may ariſe, and thereby render them more uſeful and effectual; the Potation of Waters, thus circumſtantiated, may deſerve to be called the moſt powerful Hand of God; and keep their Reputation untainted; but, without this Caution, they may prove a Sword in a Mad-man's Hand, and not at all auxiliary, but pernicious and hurtful; hence comes the Saying, † 'That Steel is the worſt 'Inſtrument of Death, and beſt of Life;' Wherefore our learned and well-experienced Doctors now-a-days abbreviate the tedious and various theraupeutick Method of Phyſick, and in Lieu of it preſcribe their Patients only a Chalybeate Courſe, to ſatisfy all Intentions, judging it to be *inſtar omnium*, or equivalent to all other Preſcriptions ‡, and, as a learned Phyſician was wont to ſay: *As true as Steel.*

The ſanative Vertues and Energies of thoſe Waters are beyond any *Polypharmacon* Preſcription imaginable, being very prevalent againſt frequent Giddineſs and *Scotomia*, Paſſions of the Heart, and Fainting of Spirits, with a Fear and Dread, as it were, of preſent Death. In hypochondriacal and hyſterick Fits, by ſuppreſſing the *Anathymiaſis* of ill Vapours, and hindering Damps to exhale to the Head and Heart, no Remedy more effectual. In Scurvy, which is an endemick Diſeaſe, it is an appropriated and ſpecifick Remedy, by correcting the depraved Ferments, and dulcifying the Blood. In Hemorrhages, taken with Advice, it is of great Strength and Force; in both Obſtructions and Overflowing of the Terms alſo, an excellent Remedy. It is good againſt all Obſtructions of the Liver, Spleen, and Meſentery; *Leucophlegmatia*, *Febris Alba*, *ſeu Amatoria*, or Green-ſickneſs, Stone, and Gravel; nay, it cures *Hydrophobia*, or the Diſeaſe, called *The Fear of Water*, commonly contracted by the Bite of a mad Dog, methodically drank.

Moreover, theſe Waters are endowed with an admirable and powerful Faculty, in rendering thoſe who drink of them fruitful and prolifick; by Reaſon of their ſpirituous Ferment, they enliven, invigorate, and actuate the whole Maſs of Blood, the nobler Parts of the Body and Spirits thereof: Likewiſe reduce them from a ſaline or ſulphureous Dyſcraſy, and ſometimes from both, to a ſweet balſamick, ſpirituous, and ſanguineous Temperament, ‖ which naturally incites and inſpires Men and Women to amorous Emotions and Titillations, being previous Diſpoſitions, enabling them to Procreation; This may be the Aitiology of this Product in ſome Senſe.

Venus comes from the ſalt Sea, through many Crannies, Interſtices, Pores of the Earth, and dangerous Precipices, foaming to meet her beloved *Mars* in the Bowels of the Earth; whom ſhe no ſooner embraces, but ſhe is impregnated and big with a valiant Hero, in the Bed of

* Κατ' ἀγχίνοιαν. † Peſſimum mortis ſed optimum vitæ inſtrumentum.
‡ Ut hujus veluti panaceæ uſus cætera poſſit excuſare medicamenta.
‖ Actiones ſequuntur temperamentum corporis.

Honour, with no inſipid Delight: From thence? ſoon after this Digreſſion, ſhe riſes triumphing in our Hemiſphere at *Tunbridge*, generouſly imparting and diſtributing this impregnative Faculty to her *Votaries*, in order to preſerve and perpetuate Mankind *.

To her, *Mars*, in a Poetical Rhapſody, ſpeaks:

Tu Dea! tu rerum naturam ſola gubernas,
Nec ſine te quidquam, dias in luminis oras,
Exoritur: nec ſit lætum nec amabile quicquam.

'Thou Goddeſs! turneſt Nature's Wheel,
'To thee all Beings do appeal;
'Without thee, neither Joy nor Love we feel.

So paſſionate was he for a married *Venus*; to theſe Lines I may annex a Poetical Hypotheſis, *de Aquis Chalybeatis*, or *Chalybeate Waters*, made by a learned and ingenious Man, alluding to the preceding Diſcourſe:

Quid valet obdurum placide diſſolvere Martem?
Ecce Venus *madidans mollit amore Deum.*
Spuma maris tranſit telluris ſedula rimas,
Quemq; ardet juvenem; quærit ubiq; furens.
Non erit ergo novum ſi noſtris emicet undis,
Hic Martem exultans convenit illa ſuum.
Salſis in Terræ thalamo complexibus hument,
Surgit & exploſus colliquefactus Amor.
Hinc tantis dignæ ferratæ laudibus undæ:
Mars *præbet robur: Dat* Venus *alma decus.*
Huc queis forma perit: huc, huc, properate puellæ,
Vos pulchras reddit candida lympha Deas.
Huc properate ſenes, curvans quos deprimit ætas,
Ecce Dei vires exhibet unda ſui.
Ventriculos implete mares: implete puellæ,
Quos bibitis fontes rivus Amoris erunt.
Poſthac de Baccho *ſileant proverbia: friget*
Non ſine Lenæo, ſed ſine Marte Venus.

'What Thing can reach *Mars* his hard Heart?
'Tis *Venus* only has the Dart.
'The foaming Sea finds *Terra*'s Chinks,
'And mad with Love into 'em ſinks.
'Tis nothing ſtrange if *Venus* riſe,
'And both in Joy, here, ſympathiſe.
'Moiſten'd in ſalt Embraces Bed,
'She melted ſwimming rears her Head.
'Hence Waters Fame of iron Race,
'*Mars* gives the Strength, *Venus* the Grace;
'Come hither, Dames, whoſe Beauties fade,
'A Goddeſs in a Trice is made.
'Come hither, Old, whom Age has bent,
'God's Power is omnipotent.
'Drink, Men and Women, drink and ſwell,
'You can't drink dry kind *Cupid*'s Well.
'Drink, Sirs and Ladies; He, She Dove,
'What here you drink, increaſes Love.
'No more of *Bacchus*; *Venus* chill
'Appears, when *Mars* has no Good-will.
'Nay, only then, to ſay I'm bold,
'*Venus* is ſo, when *Mars* is cold.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Encomiums of the *Waters*, yet ſome are of Opinion, they are not proper in ſome Kind of Maladies: As in a Rheumatiſm, nor in Hectick Fevers, or Conſumptions: *Firſt*, by Reaſon of the ill Succeſs they are wont to have in uſing theſe *Waters*. *Secondly*, Becauſe in them the Parts are much weakened, and Nature cannot throw off the Glut of Waters ſent into the Blood: In rheumatick Perſons the nervous Juice degenerates from its *Craſis*, and inclines to a ſharpiſh Nature, and is wont to be perverted by the fluid Salts of the *Spaw-Waters*: As Dr. *Willis* well obſerves, *As for Hecticks, they are commonly of a fine Texture of Body, much diſtempered with Heat, Dryneſs, and Coſtiveneſs; all which Symptoms are rather increaſed by* Chalybeates, *than abated*: Wherefore the learned Dr. *Willis*, in his Chapter of *Chalybeates*, ſays, *That Steel is not very proper in very hot and ſpirituous Blood, nor where the Bowels are of a hot Temperament*: Neither are theſe *Waters* good, but rather hurtful to thoſe who are in perfect Health, according to *Hippocrates*'s Sentiments, who ſays, *Medicamenta non conveniunt ſanis*: Medicaments are not convenient for ſound and healthy Perſons. Moreover, they are judged not proper for Women with Child; becauſe whatever provokes Urine, as theſe *Waters* do, provokes alſo the Terms; and whatever provokes them in Women, cauſes Miſcarriage; therefore not fit for them in this Circumſtance.

Old and ancient Perſons are not to be too bold in drinking theſe *Waters*, becauſe their Ferments, and natural Faculties, are much debilitated by Decay of Nature, and not ſufficient to exert their Function, in diſtributing theſe Waters, which, if remaining in the Body, and not carried off, ſuffocate the vital Flames of the Heart and Arteries: Wine therefore for

* Omne bonum ſui communicativum.

them

them is moſt convenient. * For God has given Wine as a Phyſick-help againſt the moroſe Auſterity of Age, that, by the moderate Uſe thereof, old Men may, in a Manner, renew their Lives, and forget their Achs; even the Habit of the Mind, from a hardened Condition, is become ſoft, as Iron, by the Help of Fire, is made more tractable; whereupon Wine is called *Lac ſenum*, the old Man's Milk.

The Method, which is to be obſerved in drinking theſe Waters, is as followeth: *Firſt*, To drink for three or four Days every Morning *Epſom* or *North-Hall* Waters, to purge the Body, and prepare it in order to *Tunbridge*; for, unleſs the firſt Paſſages are cleanſed, Medicines, deſigned for any Uſe, will be depraved by the Filth reſiding in them. Theſe purging Waters may be drank to three or four Pints, either raw or boiled, and altered with Milk. This being done, drink of *Tunbridge*, walking gently to the Fountain-head. † For Waters are more pleaſant and profitable, taken at the Fountain-head: Whence once removed, they loſe their *vivifick* Spirits, in which all Vertue does reſide: which afterwards no Diligence can recover.

For, being impregnated with ſpirituous and volatile Exhalations, they eaſily loſe their Vertue by the Avolation of fugitive Parts being carried at a Diſtance: That they are embodied with ſuch ſubtile Parts, you may experience it ſenſibly, by putting a Bottle half full of them, about Sun-riſing, to your Eyes; and from thence you will perceive ſuch Emanations of Effluviums to come *analagous* to thoſe of Orange-peel when ſqueeſed, as will ſtimulate and irritate the tender *Tunicles* of your Eyes. This I have by Tradition from a Phyſician, who for many Years frequented *Tunbridge*, and made great Scrutiny into the Nature and *Idioſyncraſia* of theſe Waters; yet this I know, that *Chalybeate Waters* in long Deportation, or being ſome Space of Time out of the Fountain, will not tinge with Galls or oaken Leaves, at leaſt not ſo intenſely as before; whence I deduce that, in Carriage to ſome Diſtance, or being long out of the Fountain, they are diveſted of their Martial, and conſequently Medicinal Power ‡.

They are to be drank gradually, and with Leiſure, not in great Draughts, with little or no Intermiſſion, becauſe they are chiefly preſcribed to purify and keep in its due *Craſis* the Blood and nervous Juice, to open Obſtructions, and ſtrengthen the Tone of the *Nervous Plexus*: Now this they effect, by inſinuating ſubtile and active Particles, of a different State and Origin, into the *Morbifick Minera*, conquering and ſubduing *ſaline* and *irritative Particles* reſiding in the Blood, and carrying ſome forth as Priſoners, by Urine. This mutual ‖ Conteſt, betwixt the Combatants of *Chalybeates* and their Antagoniſt, cannot be expected to be at an End in Haſte, or in a ſhort Space of Time; but after many Attacks and ſeveral Colliſions, and, as I may ſay, broken Pates: But precipitate Drinking deſtroys all theſe Intentions, and leaves no Time for Alteration, Aſſimilation, or Mortification of Particles of a different Nature and Figure; wherefore it is better to ** haſten ſlowly, and drink them leiſurely, with due Intervals.

Moreover, great Draughts are generally held pernicious, deſtructive, and rather oppreſſing than alleviating Nature; and, conſidering theſe Waters are not vertuated ſo much by their Quantity as Quality inherent in them, the Body participates more of the latter, frequently drinking a little, than by pouring in a vaſt and ſtupendious Quantity at one Time, like *Tricongius Mediolanenſis*, who drank three Gallons at one Draught, and from thence took his Name.

The Compaſs of Time, wherein the Waters are uſually drank, is an Hour, or an Hour and a Half, walking betwixt Whiles moderately ††, till you look red, but not ſweat, leſt you divert them from the Urinary Paſſage to the Periphery of the Body, for the ſame Matter goeth by Sweat as by Urine, and cauſe too great an Effervescency in the Blood.

* Deus enim Vinum hominibus quaſi auxilium adverſus ſenectutis auſteritatem pharmacum largitus eſt, ut reviviſcere videantur, & mœſtitiæ oblivio capiat: atq; ipſe animi habitus, mollis e duro factus ut ferrum igni impoſitum, tractabilior fiat, unde Vinum a nonnulis lac ſenum nominatur. *Loſſius.*

† Nam dulcius & utilius ex Fonte bibuntur: delatæ enim ex propriis Fontibus fieri non poteſt quin amittant vivificos illos Spiritus in quoq; omnis vivamenti vis conſiſtit, quos nullo poſtea labore reſtitui poteſt. *Bacchius* de Thermis.

‡ Unumquodq; quo magis elongatur a principio eo magis langueſcit.

‖ συμμαχία. ** σπεύδε βραδέως. Feſtina lente *Hippes*, omne nimium Naturæ inimicum, quod vero paulatim fit, tutum eſt, præſertim ſi ab uno ad aliud progrediatur.

†† Ad Ruborem ſed non ad Sydorem.

The Meaſure of Time to continue the Drinking of theſe Waters, for good Effect, is commonly a Month, or ſix Weeks: But, by the Authority of *Claudinus*, and many other Doctors, we may continue *a* Steel Courſe for the Space of a Year: Why not *a Fortiori*, or much more, the Uſe of theſe Waters with as much Safety and Benefit, they being the moſt perfect Courſe of Steel; becauſe here the Elements of Steel are in unconcretē and ſeminal Principles, and diſplay themſelves, as I before mentioned out of Dr. *Sydenham*: Suppoſing, in this Adminiſtration, there be Reſpect had to the Patient's Strength, Diſeaſe, Euphory, or Well-bearing, Temperament of the Air, and other Circumſtances.

They are to be taken, gradually increaſing and leſſening the Doſe at the Beginning, and before the End of the whole Space of Time appointed for the Taking of them. In Reference to the Number of Glaſſes, in my Judgment, you may make it either odd, or even: Tho' ſome *Philoſophers*, who are of Opinion, that all Things are compoſed of Number, prefer the odd before the other, and attribute it to a great Efficacy and Perfection, eſpecially in Matters of *Phyſick*: Wherefore it is that many Doctors preſcribe always an odd *Pill*, an odd *Draught*, or *Drop*, to be taken by their Patients. For the Perfection thereof, they alledge theſe following Numbers. As *Seven Planets*, *Seven Wonders of the World*, *Nine Muſes*, *God is Three and One* *; with many other Examples, which, for Brevity, I ſuperſede, and let them abound in their own Senſe.

If there fall Rain, then the *Waters* are not ſeaſonable, becauſe they will be too much diluted and weakened; but a little Wet does no Harm, but rather Good, becauſe it waſhes the Salt in the † Crannies and Interſtices of the Earth into the Fountain, and more intenſely impregnates them.

To correct the *Crudities* and *Rawneſs* of the *Waters*, and to accelerate their Paſſing, *Carraway Confects*, and ſuch like candied Seeds maſticated, are very good, and much commended, taken betwixt Whiles: Likewiſe a Glaſs of ſmall *White-wine* is a proper Vehicle: and for all thoſe who are inured to *Tobacco* ‡ nothing better than a Pipe of it for this Effect taken betwixt Whiles. Thoſe, to whom it is offenſive, taken alone, may add thereunto ſome *Tea* Leaves, or *Catechu*, to qualify the Ingratefulneſs thereof, and render it inoffenſive, taken Pipe-wiſe. This warms the Stomach without mixing any *heterogeneous* Body with the *Waters*, that may obſtruct their Diſtribution and Paſſing, for it rarefies the *Pores* and *Meatus* in Order thereunto.

It is obſerved, that, in ſome, the *Waters*, being drunk at the Fountain-head, either by the Inclemency of the Weather, or Indiſpoſition of Patient, will not eaſily paſs, but remain too long in the Body, to their great Prejudice and Detriment. To theſe Perſons my Advice is, to drink them in their warm Bed, without Sleeping (which hinders all Evacuation) for, as I ſaid before, the gentle Heat of Bed dilates the Paſſage, and conſequently the Diſtribution of the Waters is much facilitated.

The Regimen, which is obſerved in eating and drinking at thoſe Waters, is as followeth: *Firſt*, Eſchew all groſs and obſtructive *Meats*, as, Pork, Beef, Duck, Pudding, Sauſages; all fried Victuals, as, Eggs, Collops of Bacon, moſt Sorts of Fiſh and Salads; all ſouſed and pickled Meats, as, Anchovies, Cucumbers, &c. refrain from Milk, and all Milk-Meats; eat no Roots, or any Sort of Fruit; let your Meat be of eaſy Digeſtion, and nutritive, as the *Greeks* ſay, εὔχυμοι καὶ πολύτροφοι. Keep no Days of Faſt or Abſtinence, during this Time, if I may adviſe you as a Phyſician, and not as a Caſuiſt, leſt I incroach upon another's Province, *tractent fabrilia fabri*, every one in his own Sphere.

Faſt three or four Hours after the Waters, and, if at Dinner you have an eſurine Appetite, take Care not to eat too much, becauſe the Quantity of Waters, you drank, has relaxed and diſtended your Stomach; therefore little Eating is beſt, according to the *Latin* Proverb, *Qui multum edere optat parum comedat*: He, that deſires to eat much, muſt eat little. Avoid Variety of Meats; but, if you indulge yourſelf to ſeveral Sorts, let the eaſier of Digeſtion precede the groſſer, and not be poſtponed, as the *Greeks* adviſe us, εὐπεπῆ δυσπεπέων.

Let your Drink be clear, well fermented, not ſtale, nor ſowre, not thick, nor muddy, not heating, nor cooling, but temperate; all Ale is prohibited, becauſe thick and muddy.----

* Numero Deus impare gaudet. † Virtus unita fortior ſe ipſa diſperſa.
‡ Nulla ſalutifero præſtantior herba Tabaco.
Interpone tuis interdum pocula fumis.

Nihil ſpiſſius illa dum ingeritur; nihil clarius cum egeritur:
Ergo in corpore relinquit multas fæces.

'It goes in thick, and comes out thin,
'And therefore leaves its Dregs within.'

Begin your Meals with a Glaſs of White-Wine *; I recommend *Anjou* Wine beyond others, becauſe it is ſmall, clear, light, very diuretick, and of a ſingular Vertue againſt the Stone, or Gravel, and all Obſtructions of the Meſentery: Yet, tho' you begin with Liquids, nevertheleſs, be adviſed to conclude with Solids: By this Means you firſt waſh and fortify your Stomach, and at laſt cloſe the Orifice thereof, that no Fumes or Vapours ariſe to diſturb your Head. The *French*, who are eſteemed a wiſe Nation, are always obſerved, *boucher la Bottle*, to ſtop the Bottle, leſt nothing exhale; ſo likewiſe they cloſe their Stomach with ſome *Deſair*, or Sweet-Meat, after Eating, for the ſame Intent.

All Exceſſes and Debauchery, with late Sitting up at Nights, is pernicious and deſtructive, during this Time, for many Reaſons, which I here omit, becauſe every one may experience it eaſily in himſelf, after ſuch Nocturnal Lucubration; therefore, *Bibas ut vivas, ſed non vivas ut bibas:* Drink to live, but not live to drink.

To change your Linnen often will be convenient, if not neceſſary, while you drink theſe Waters, becauſe many ſooty, fetid, ſulphureous Steams come from them, which render your Shirt black, and ſome other Particles obſtruct the Pores of your Body, and make them impervious, and hinder inſenſible Tranſpiration; which is an Evacuation far greater, and more conſiderable, than any manifeſt or ſenſible one, either by Stool, or Urine, according to *Sanctorius de Sanctorio*, in his *Medicina Statica*.

During the Time you drink theſe Waters, it is neceſſary to take ſome gentle Medicine every fourth or fifth Night going to Bed, or in a Morning early, drinking theſe Waters thereupon, after the Phyſick hath begun to work.---Here Aloetick Medicine is held offenſive, by reaſon it conſiſts of acrimonious and lixivial Parts, apt to heat and corrode the *Viſcera:* But this is eaſily reſolved, if to the Aloetick Phyſick you mix ſome reſinous, or balſamick Subſtance, which may lenify, mitigate, hebetate, and obtund the fiery Alkalies of Aloes: And with this Correction, or Preparation, it is not only rendered leſs hurtful, but particularly an appropriated Medicine to be taken with theſe Waters: My uſual Pill is ℞ *Maſſæ Pilul. Ruffi* ℈i. *reſinæ Jalap* gr. iij. *Balſam Peru* q. ſ. f. *Pilulæ* iij. *ſumendæ hora ſomni, ſuperbibendo mane aquas prædictas ad* ℔ iiij. *plus minuſve.* Many Doctors give *Diacaſſia cum Manna* to an Ounce over Night, which is a good Eccoprotick, fit for all Ages and Conſtitutions, and leaves no ill *Diatheſis* in the *Viſcera*. Another rare Eccoprotick and Ecphractick Remedy is highly commended with theſe Waters, which is *Tinctura Cathartica*, an Ounce of which, or an Ounce and a Half, given in the firſt Glaſs, purgeth *cito, tuto, jucunde*, ſoon, ſafe, and pleaſantly: For no violent Catharticks are proper with theſe Waters, for Fear of agitating and irritating Nature too much, and making an ill Impreſſion on the Blood and *Viſcera*. I know ſome, who, in Lieu of Phyſick, will take in the firſt Glaſs, to purge them, a Spoonful of common Salt, with very good Succeſs; but this Remedy is not proper for all Conſtitutions.

Thoſe who are obnoxious to Stone or Gravel, and frequent theſe Waters, my Advice is, that, the Night preceding Drinking them, they take an emollient Clyſter; and in the Morning, an Hour or two before the Waters, to ſwallow four or five Pills of *Venice*, or *Chios* Turpentine.

Likewiſe, in the firſt Glaſs, to take an Ounce of Syrup of Marſh-Mallows; or let them take the Bigneſs of a Bean of *Lucatellus* Balſam, or Turpentine Pills, eſpecially if there be any Excoriation in the Kidnies, or Bladder, every Night going to Bed, with an Ounce of the ſaid Syrup in the firſt Glaſs every Morning, and an emollient Clyſter every third or fourth Night; becauſe, by theſe Means, the Paſſages are lubricated, and the Diſtribution of the Waters rendered more eaſy.

Hypochondriacal Perſons may take, in the firſt Glaſs, a Spoonful or two of the Syrup of Steel, or a Dram of Cremor Tartar in Powder; and ſo likewiſe in all other Diſtempers, to mix Specifick with Chalybeates, is the Opinion of Dr. *Willis*, *de Morbis Hypochondriacis*, and many other learned Phyſicians; for in ſo doing, they aſſociate their Operation againſt the Malady.

* Incipe cum liquido: ſicco finire memento. Schola Salernitana.
Ut vites pœnam, de potibus incipe cœnam.

Now

Now, as to the *Animi pathemata*, or Paſſions of the Mind: Thoſe, who drink theſe Waters, muſt be facetious, merry, chearful, gay, jovial, free from Melancholy, Jealouſy, Suſpicion, Diſcontent, Peeviſhneſs, *&c.* * becauſe ſuch Paſſions as theſe corrode both Soul and Body; impede the Benefit they may reap by the Waters; nay, in Lieu of Health, they may catch their Death; ſo great is the Sympathy betwixt Body and Soul in their Diſorders.

ἀδύνατον καλῶς ψυχῆς ἐχούσης μὴ ὃ κ᾽ σῶμα αὐτῇ συνοικεῖν: *Non ſine animo corpus, nec ſine corpore animus, bene valere poteſt:* The Mind without the Body, nor the Body without the Mind, cannot be well.---What a Cataſtrophe have Paſſions of the Mind with Fear and Apprehenſions of Death (which of all Things is the moſt terrible) made in condemned Perſons Bodies in few Days? Inſomuch that thoſe, who were, before Condemnation, young, vigorous, intrepid, magnanimous, *&c.* were afterwards metamorphoſed into old, effete, puſillanimous, decayed Bodies, with grey Hair, and *Hippocratical* Faces, which is the Viſage of a dying Man, after being waſted away with long Sickneſs. We experimentally ſee that Women impart their Marks of Fancy, even to the Child they carry in their Womb: It is to be obſerved, that Phyſicians prepoſſeſs their Patients with Hopes of Cure, to the End, that the Effect of Imagination may ſupply the Defect of their Phyſick. A Doctor being aſked the Queſtion, Why he could not cure his Mother-in-law, as well as his Father? He wittily replied, That his Mother-in-law had not the ſame Confidence, or rather Fancy, for him, as his Father had, otherwiſe the Cure would be effected. So great you ſee is the Influence of the Fancy, or Imagination, on the Body of Man.

Likewiſe the Effects of the Body are communicated to the Mind: You ſee, for Example, valiant, heroick, magnanimous Souls, by Change of Temperament of Body, either by Diſeaſe, or old Age, become timorous, ſuſpicious, puſillanimous, Cowards (*Omnia tuta timent*) more like Statues than Men. Of theſe *Hippocrates* ſays, *Vidi mortuos ambulantes*; I have ſeen dead Men walk; their Body is a Sepulchre to their Soul, and, as the *Greeks* ſay, σῶμα, which is the Body, is become σῆμα, a Sepulchre: *Corpus quod corrumpitur aggravat animam*; A decayed and corrupting Body is a Load and Burden to the Soul, and, by its Impurities and Feculency, is infected: *Inficitur terræ ſordibus unda fluens.*

'The cleareſt Currents, as they glide,
'Take Foulneſs from the River's Side.'

† *Ad nullum conſurgit opus, cum corpore languet.*

'For, when the Body languiſhing doth lie,
'The Soul itſelf to nothing can apply.'

Wherefore, the Way to have *mens ſana* ‡ *in corpore ſano*, or to be every Way ſound, is, to leave pinching Cares behind, when you come to *Tunbridge*; expatiate your Mind, and hearken ſometimes to the charming Muſick you have here, the choiceſt and beſt that can be had; it is an Antidote againſt the Spleen.

Dulciſonum reficit triſtia corda melos.

'Melodious Songs do oft impart
'Refreſhment to the ſaddeſt Heart.'

For Melody, gently ſoothing Nature, diſpoſes and directs the Spirits into a Dancing, and obſerving regular Motions. You ſee Muſick, by its Influence, forces ſound and ſober Men, even againſt their own Wills, or thinking of other Things, to Actions emulating the Tune heard. *Willis*, de Convulſione à Tarantula.

Phyſicians, whom Almighty God has created for the Neceſſity and Uſe of Mankind, and commands us to honour ‖, are here many able, worthy, and eminent of that Profeſſion; who, by their diligent Scrutiny into the Receſſes of Nature, are come, of late Years, to great Perfection and Knowledge of Phyſick, here in *England*, far excelling thoſe of former Ages, wherein Phyſick laboured under a dying *Hippocratical* Face, and in *Cimmerian* Darkneſs. Theſe Doctors are, in this Place, ready to aſſiſt, with their learned Preſcriptions and wholeſome Advice, according to the Exigency of every one, in order to their Health, and methodically

* Edaces animi curæ, ſolicitudines, triſtitiæ mœrores, atque ejus generis & farinæ alia animi pathemata abigenda. † Animus. ‡ εὐθυμία. ‖ *Eccleſiaſticus* xxxviii. 1. 2.

Ἰατρὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀνιάτερος ἄλλων.

cally Drinking the Waters. — Many learned Divines and ſpiritual Guides are not here wanting, whom you may freely conſult, and make Choice of, according to your Inclination, in order to the Good and Safety of your Soul.

Here are Women, whom they call Dippers, *ready to fill you Glaſſes of Water.*

Confeſtim advolitat, quæ pocula porrigat ultro
Plena perennis aquæ, quam fons ſine munere donat ;
Qualem nec Latium novit, nec Græcia jactat :
Illa beat ſiccos fœcunda ſtirpe parentes ;
Deciduumque facit, poſt funera, vivere nomen :
Illa domat febres ; &, ſi male calculus hærens
Renibus, aut peni, languentia viſcera torquet,
Illa fugat ; pellit curas ; &, nubila menti
Diſcutiens, aptat Doctis, ſacratque Camœnis.

'With winged Speed, one to you Glaſſes brings,
'With Water fill'd, free as the living Springs ;
'Whoſe Fame, far above *Rome*'s, or *Greece*'s, rings :
'This bleſſeth Parents with a fruitful Race,
'That even Death itſelf cannot deface :
'This Waters, Fevers, and the Stone caſhiers,
'That vex'd the Shaft and Kidnies many Years :
'This chaceth Sorrow ; clears a cloudy Mind ;
'Fits it for Learning ; which, with Muſes join'd,
'All here a Seat, and Temple too, do find.

The Air, than which, to the Preſervation of Man's Life, nothing is more neceſſary, as all Philoſophers agree (and the Derivation of the very Word *Air*, from the *Greek* Word ἀω, *ſpiro*, denotes the ſame, being compoſed of two Vowels, *Alpha* and *Omega*, as *principium & finis vitæ*, which is the Beginning and End of Man's Life) is here clear, ſerene, lucid, void of any ſtinking *Mephitis*, or Damps ariſing from Bogs or Fens, which may occaſion epidemical Diſtempers in the Blood; but, on the Contrary, the whole Ambient of the Horizon is filled with an inexhauſtible Series of odoriferous and fragrant Effluviums, inceſſantly exhaling from ſweet-ſcented Herbs and Plants, that grow in theſe Parts. The Air, thus embodied, we perpetually inſpire, which raiſes, and, analogically ſpeaking, ſpiritualiſes our Minds far beyond all exotick, either natural or artificial, Perfumes.

Moreover, at *Tunbridge*, you find Conference with eminent and famous Wits, which is the moſt fruitful and natural Exerciſe of the Mind; the Uſe of which is more ſweet, than any other Action of our Life. The Study of Books is a languiſhing and feeble Motion, in Reſpect of it; for what is delivered *viva voce*, with a lively Voice, makes a deeper Impreſſion on the Mind, and, conſequently, is more advantageous than Reading. Much more may be ſaid of the various and manifold Benefits and Comforts you may receive at *Tunbridge**, which I now ſuperſede, hoping theſe, I have mentioned, are Allurements ſtrong enough to invite, if not a Magnetiſm to draw Men thither.

It is rare to write any Thing to that Perfection, as to reſcind the Occaſion of all Objections from Cavillers; wherefore, what I have ſaid of the Vertues of theſe Waters would not be ſufficient, if I do not obviate alſo ſuch Objections, as may raiſe Scruples in the Minds of thoſe who make Uſe of them.

The *firſt* Objection is, That many, ſoon after Drinking of theſe Waters, died; and that others, by the Uſe of them, receive no Benefit: Whence they infer theſe Waters to be improper, noxious, lethiferous, and not fit to be drank by Men.

Vina bibant homines, animantia cætera fontes ;
Abſit ab humano pectore potus aquæ.

'Let none but Cattle Water drink,
'That fit for Men no Men can think.'

As for the *firſt* Objection, I confeſs, one may die ſoon after Taking Waters; and ſo he may after Taking any Thing elſe: Not that the Waters, duly preſcribed, are the Occaſion of Death, but, through Irregularity, Diſorder, or Neglect of ſomething, that was to be done in order to the Taking of them, Death may

* Sic variis animum ſtudiis *Tunbrigia* mulcet,
Ut vix abſentes poſſis lugere Penates.

may enſue: Nay, Men may die immediately, or ſoon after Taking Things indifferent in themſelves, and void of any medicinal, or alterative Quality, as, for Example, after Eating Bread and Butter, or Drinking a Glaſs of Wine; it doth not therefore follow, that this laſt Thing, they eat, or drank, cauſed their Bane, and that no Man ought to eat, or drink, any more of this Kind of Food.

Secondly, Some of thoſe, who drink Waters, may have a Malady of a *Cacoethes*-Nature, or of ſuch a Contumacy, and ſo far radicated, that it illudes all Energy of Chalybeates, or any Sort of Phyſick. * It does not follow therefore, that this Martial Remedy is ineffectual, in itſelf, in order to cure other Maladies of a different Nature, by Reaſon of the impregnable Habit and Rooting of ſome incurable Diſtempers: *Non defamanda præſidia, quæ aliis profuere.* Celſus. Remedies, which have done others Good, are not to be undervalued; † they exert their Operation according to the Diſpoſition of the Subject, on which they work: The Sun, for Example, with the ſame Heat, melts the Wax, and hardens the Clay:

Limus ut hic dureſcit, & hæc ut cera liqueſcit
Uno eodemque igni. ——— Virgilius.

And, by this Reaſon, that, which is one Man's Meat, may prove another's Poiſon. So, likewiſe, theſe Waters, if uſed with a Phyſician's Advice, and due Conſideration, prove effectual and ſalubrious; but, taken without it, and by an indiſpoſed, or unprepared Body, may be noxious, and ſometimes mortiferous: Wherefore, ſince all Things do not agree with all Perſons; nay, nor the ſame Thing always, or a long Time, with the ſame Perſon; therefore the careful Obſervation, and daily Advice, of a prudent Phyſician is here neceſſary, that, by Indications taken from Things that do Good, or Hurt, the Method of Cure may be rightly ordered, and now and then changed. *Willis*, Capite de Colico.

Theſe *Waters* kill and expel all Manner of Worms, ingendered either in the Stomach, Inteſtines, Matrix, or any other Part of the Body.——*Ryetius*, in his Obſervations of the *Spaw*-Waters, makes Mention of a Woman, who laboured a long Time with a chronick Diſtemper under the Doctor's Hands, without receiving any Benefit by all their Preſcriptions and Phyſick that ſhe had taken, but was, at laſt, adviſed to chalybeate Waters, and, by Drinking of them with Method and Continuance, avoided ſeveral Worms of divers Shapes, Figure, and Longitude, and was perfectly cured.

They are a polychreſt Remedy, ſerving for many Uſes and Intentions; they both looſen and bind; cool and make hot; dry and moiſten: Cure Diſtempers of divers States and Origins, nay, of contrary Natures and Diſpoſitions, as I ſaid before. Certainly, a perfect Knowledge of their *Idioſyncraſia* and Properties would reduce Phyſick to a narrower Compaſs, and to preſcribe well the *Stadium Chalybeatum*, or chalybeate Courſe, would make the Studying of ſo many Volumes of the Parts of Phyſick unneceſſary; for, by the Help of theſe Waters, we prolong Man's Life by a more facile and eaſier Means, than has hitherto been known, *Veritas ex puteo exathlanda:* Truth muſt be drawn out of a Well.

Provocat hæc leniter Tunbrigia *menſtrua pridem,*
Suppreſſa, & nimium ſiſtit ubi illa fluunt.
Noſtraque ſuppreſſos ut provocat ipſa viciſſim,
Immodicos Fluxus ſic quoque ſiſtit Aqua:
Stringunt quippe ſuâ vi lymphæ ſive relaxant,
Frigore tum corpus ſive calore juvant.
Ecquis idem Medicamen eodem in corpore credat,
Adverſa inter ſe pellere poſſe mala!

‘ Theſe Waters Vertue have to ope and cloſe,
‘ What may be called the Females *Monthly*
‘ *Roſe.*
‘ Theſe Waters looſen, and as firmly bind,
‘ As in all Fluxes any one may find.
‘ By their own Vertue, ſtrengthen and relax,
Both heat and cool, dry Clay, and harden
‘ Wax.
‘ 'Tis ſtrange, that, in one Body, the ſame
‘ Thing
‘ Shou'd croſs-grain'd Maladies to Cure bring.

Ecce quam ſint Naturæ Omnipotentis Dei, prudentia & poteſtate ductæ, admiranda opera quæ Aquæ iſtius limpidæ ac puræ beneficio tot tamque inter ſe contrarios morbos curat, id quod ars Medica ſine Corporis noxâ præſtare nequit.—Ryetius, *in his Obſervations* de Aquis Spadanis.

* Non eſt in medico ſemper, relevetur ut æger;
Nam doctâ interdum plus valet arte malum. *Ovidius.*

† Actiones activorum ſunt in ſubjecto diſpoſito.

'Behold the wonderful Works of Nature, 'guided by the Prudence and Power of the Al- 'mighty God, that, by the Help of a limpid 'and clear Water, ſhe cures manifold, nay, 'contrary and oppoſite Maladies, which the 'Art of Phyſick, without great Detriment to 'the Body, cannot do.'

To accelerate and promote the Paſſing of theſe Waters by Urine, *Ryetius* adviſes ſome Drops of Spirit of Vitriol to be inſtilled into their Glaſſes of Water, for Acids, being endowed with a diuretick and penetrative Faculty, depoſe the *Serum*, and conveigh it to the Reins, to be ſent forth by the *Ureters*.

To promote Evacuation by Stool, he adviſeth to mix ſome common Salt in Powder with the Waters, and a Dram to every Pint, more or leſs, proportioning the Quantity to the Bearing of the Patient. This gently expels the looſe Matter contained in the Ventricle and Inteſtines, and purgeth viſcous Phlegm adhering to their Tunicles and bilous Humours from the pancreatick Paſſages: But it is not to be taken indifferently by all Perſons.

Dum juga montis aper, dum flumen piſcis habebit,
Anchora fons ægris, hic ſacra ſemper erit;
Ut bibat accurret (rumpantur ut ilia Codris)
Germanus, Scotus, Belga, Britannus, Iber.
Hinc Populus floret, creſcet Tunbrigia, *quicquid*
Bellum deſtruxit, mox reparabit Aqua.

'Whilſt Boars on Mountains ſhall abide,
'Or Fiſhes in the River glide;
'So long, both ſure and uncontroul'd,
'Will laſt this Health-firm Anchor-hold.
'This Drink (let *Codrus* burſt with Rage)
'Will *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* Sage,
'With *German*, *French*, and *Dutch* engage.
'Hence People's Glory, *Tunbridge* praiſe,
'What *War* throws down, *Water* will raiſe.

Thus much for *Chalybeates*, to comply with your Honour's Solicitations, hoping this rude Eſſay, upon a barren Subject, may be cultivated by other Philoſophers and Phyſicians, better qualified, to the Benefit and Advantage of Mankind, eſpecially to your Honour's Satisfaction and Welfare; whom Almighty God, the everlaſting Fountain and Source of living Waters, preſerve with long Life and Health in this World, and grant immarceſcible Laurels in that which is to come; which is the earneſt and unfeigned Deſire of,

My Lord,

Your Honour's moſt humble
and obedient Servant,

P. M. *M. D.*

A Deſcent from *France*: Or, the *French* Invaſion of *England*, conſidered and diſcourſed. [From half a Sheet, *Folio*, printed at *London*, 1692.]

THAT there is, or at leaſt has been, an intended Invaſion from *France*, headed by King *James*, is too apparent; and that the greateſt Encouragement to ſuch an Undertaking muſt be the expected, if not promiſed Succours ready to join him upon the Deſcent, is as plainly evident. Now that there can be ſuch a Party of *Engliſhmen*, and thoſe profeſſing themſelves Proteſtants too (for the *Romaniſts* are no Part of our Wonder) whoſe Reaſon and Senſe can be ſo loſt and depraved, as to conſpire with ſuch a Deſign, is not a little ſtupendious.

The Buſineſs of this Paper, therefore, is to examine, what Conſequences they can expect, from the Succeſs of ſuch an Invaſion; and what Patriots they ſhall make themſelves, in aſſiſting the Return of King *James?*

In the firſt Place, do they flatter themſelves, becauſe, forſooth, the greateſt Part of our Invaders, for the more plauſible Pretext, are compoſed of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, Natives and

Subjects to the Crowns of *England*, that therefore King *James*'s Service (ſo poor a Mask) is all the Buſineſs of this Expedition? Have we forgot ſince ſo lately, in *Ireland*, the *French* King could hardly hold the Vizor on till the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, where the very *Iriſh* themſelves began to be jealous (and with too much Cauſe) of their pretended Friends, but intended Lords, the *French?* And that no *Anguis in Herbâ*, no *French* Reſerve, lies at the Bottom of this Invaſion.

Secondly, Do they think this Succour to King *James*, though in ſo important a Service as Reſettling him upon this Throne, can deſerve any grateful Return; and upon that Encouragement they found the Safety of their Religion and Liberties, in any Promiſes of Security from that Obligation? Alas! is it ſo late ſince woful Experience convinced them, that Acknowledgment or Gratitude are no Part of a Popiſh King's Principle; witneſs the unkind Return he made to that very *Church of England*, that, more than *once*, were ſo exemplarily zealous for ſecuring the Crown upon his Head, in their ſtrenuous Oppoſition againſt both the *Bill of Excluſion*, and *Monmouth*'s *Inſurrection*. And if both thoſe deſerving Services, thoſe accumulated Obligations, were ſuch feeble Cobweb-Lawn; ſhall any Thing, done in his Service now, make a ſtronger Tie upon him? No, quite to the Contrary. For Example, the Church of *England* had then twice obliged him, and never once offended him; beſides, there was not only a Coronation-Oath, but his firſt voluntary Declaration, at his Aſſumption of the Government; one would reaſonably think enough to bind him to Performance. But how little all thoſe Bonds ſignify, when the Cancelling Hand of *Rome* came into Play; we have but too much Reaſon to remember. And if all thoſe Ties, I ſay, could not hold then; what can we hope for, when there neither is, nor can be any Tie at all to hold him now? For Example, ſuppoſe the blind and miſtaken Frenzy of ſome of our Proteſtant Zealots (if that Name can be proper for them) could remount him to his Throne; what ſhall they deſerve for it, any more than the Title of *unprofitable Servants?* Their *Turning him out* from the Throne, together with the Remembrance of the dear *Iriſh* Blood ſhed by them, and the reſt of our Faults, are ſuch Capital Tranſgreſſions, that the *Reſtoring him into it again* will not be half our Expiation. And ſuppoſing he publiſhes the moſt mollifying Declaration upon his Landing, that all the Eloquence of *Rome* can put together; ſhall that oblige him? No, ſo far from it, that it neither is, nor can be any more than a Scroll of waſte Paper. For ſuppoſing the Contents of it ſhould run in theſe flattering Inſinuations, *viz.* What wonderous Clemency he would ſhew us upon our Return to our Allegiance, and with what Moderation he would reign over us, upon our Re-admitting of him to his Throne, with all the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations, and what not. Now as it is unlikely, that King *James* ſhould ever return without *Oppoſition*, and undoubtedly a very ſtrenuous one; it being impoſſible we ſhould be all drawn in, with the ſpecious Bait of ſweet Words, and fair Promiſes; and conſequently, he muſt have a Blow for it. Suppoſing, nevertheleſs, I ſay, his Party ſo ſtrong, and his Succeſs ſo great, as to recover his Kingdoms: Upon ſuch a Recovery, whatever he promiſes, in his Declaration, is, from that Moment, null and void. For the Conſideration is not performed, and conſequently, the Obligation cancelled. For Inſtance, he comes not in by our *Submiſſion*, and *Return to our Allegiance*, but by *Force* and *Conqueſt*. And as ſuch, not only his Declarations, but his very Coronation-Oath, without the Stretch of a mental Reſervation, are all actually *abſolved*. And if *Law*, nor *Oaths*, *Service*, nor *Fidelity*, as before-mentioned, were able to keep his *Romiſh* Zeal in any Bounds or Limits before; what ſhall the Looſening of them all expect now? And conſequently what driving *Jehu* muſt we look for, when that black Day comes (which Heaven of its Mercy keep far from us.) And whatever private Gratuities or Favours ſome particular eminent Proteſtant Hands may poſſibly receive for their ſignal Services in this Revolution, nothing of Senſe, but muſt conclude us the miſerableſt Nation and People in the World.

Beſides, could we look for Miracles, and expect a Reign of Clemency from him, our Religion and Civil Rights ſecured, what a Crew of *Iriſh* Dear-Joys, that come over with him, are here to be rewarded, all Preferment and Honours, nay, the Fat of the Land to be cantoned out amongſt them: And conſequently the Power in theſe confiding Hands, the whole Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England* muſt live under the Check and Awe of Tories and Rapparees, and ſubmit to all the Inſults of Miſcreants and Vagrants; and well we compound ſo cheap.

Nay, though ſome People fancy we ſhall at leaſt

leaſt enjoy this Bleſſing of being eaſed from Taxes by his Return; it is ſo much a Miſtake, that, in the other Extream, that very Shadow vaniſhes too. For what muſt this Expedition coſt the *French* King, and what muſt all his *Iriſh* Arrears, and other infinite unaccountable Sums, amount to, which muſt all lie upon this ruined Nation to ſatisfy, with a very courteous Compliment into the Bargain, if the *French* King will graciouſly and mercifully pleaſe to demand no more. Nay, perhaps, the whole Charge of his ſeveral Years Naval Preparation; (for had King *James* continued on his Throne, moſt of all that Expence had been ſaved) muſt lie at our Door, a Score too terrible, even to think of; and, take it altogether, a very grateful Payment out of the Proteſtant Pockets, to ſo prodigious a Champion of the Proteſtant Religion, as King *Lewis*.

But for once (though contrary to common Senſe) granting we ſhould allow all in his Favour, that the moſt zealous *Jacobite* can pretend, *viz.* That King *James*, upon his Return to the Throne, ſhall to a Tittle perform every particular Article in his very Declaration, as plauſible ſoever as it may be penned, *viz.* We will ſuppoſe, that the *French* King ſhall diſclaim, directly or indirectly, all Pretenſions whatever to *England*; that the Reſtoration of his Friend King *James* is his only Part and Deſign in this Expedition; and King *James*, on the other Side, ſhall abjure all Manner of Violation to the Laws, ſhall ſupport the Proteſtant Religion, and (making a Sea-mark of his former Wreck) ſhall peaceably keep up to the full Obſervance of ſo generous a Profeſſion; granting all this, I ſay, and whatever other imaginary Security, his dreaming Party can form to themſelves; nevertheleſs, in the faireſt Face, let us obſerve the diſmal and tremendous Effects of his Reſtoration. It is known to the whole World to what the *French* Ambition tends, *viz.* Univerſal Monarchy. And it is as notoriouſly famous, what Deſolations and Ravages the Arms of *France* have made, and how formidable that ſucceſsful Deſtroyer is, even to the whole united Powers of *Europe*. And as his preſent Majeſty King *William* is, poſſibly, (without Vanity) the Leading Champion of the whole Confederacy, and all little enough to make Head againſt *France*; upon King *James*'s Return to the Throne, here is not only ſo potent an Arm as the Alliance of *Britain* lopped off from the Confederacy, but added to the Strength of *France*. For though, in his Reign before, he only ſtood Neuter, with little, or no other Aſſiſtance, to his idoliſed grand *Lewis*, than his heartieſt Vows and Prayers for the Succeſs and Proſperity of that incroaching Enſlaver of Mankind: Yet now he will lie under a more preſſing Obligation; and the leaſt Return even of common Gratitude, for his Remounting him on his Throne, will be to liſt under that Tyrant's Standard, and joining the Arms of *England*, to the Finiſhing and Crowning the whole Deſigns of that univerſal Aſpirer. And as the whole Confederacy, already, is little enough to match him; upon this Revolution in *England*, it is impoſſible to expect leſs than that the whole Cauſe of *Chriſtendom* muſt ſink, and all *Europe* truckle beneath him. And whilſt the *Engliſh* Hands muſt bear ſo great a Part in this fatal Turn (to give it no harder Name) what is it but a making ourſelves the Monſters of Mankind, the inevitable Inſtruments and Tools to that grand Cut-throat of *Chriſtendom*? And what has ſome little Palliation on his Side, as having the Pretence of Renown and Honour, in the Queſt of Laurels and Enlargement of Empire, *&c.* will on our Part amount only to Butchery and Deſolation, for meer Butchery and Deſolation's Sake. The Glory, if any, will be *Lewis*'s, and the Infamy *England*'s. Infamy indeed (if we meet with no worſe Reward) when we conſider what a barbarous Part we muſt act in the Yoking and Shackling of *Europe*. But ſuppoſe it ends there, and that will be the only Brand in the *Engliſh* Eſcutcheon: And that *Lewis*, in his Graſp of univerſal Empire, ſhall exclude *England* from any Part of his Feudatories, and Tributaries, *viz.* he ſhall make golden Promiſes to King *James*, and once in his Life (his firſt Virtue of that Kind) keep Faith, and no worſe follow (a very unlikely Flattery) yet what an eternal Shame to the old *Engliſh* Honour, the ſleeping Duſt of our Third *Edward*, and Fifth *Henry*, and indeed the whole *Britiſh* Chronicles, is our Portion, in aggrandiſing of *France*, to that prodigious Bulk and Growth, and dwindling ourſelves to that diminutive and deſpicable State and Condition, as are, and muſt be, the unavoidable Conſequences of King *James*'s Reſtoration.

Granting the *Jacobites*, therefore, all their own Deluſions can ſhape, that King *James* ſhall forget and forgive; ſhall rule by Law, and turn a Saint upon a Throne: And that the diſintereſted *Lewis* ſhall have no other Deſigns upon *England*, but purely King *James*'s Aſſiſtance;

tance; yet ſtill the moſt, they can look for, is perhaps, to enjoy a little *Engliſh* Liberty (upon their own Suppoſition) during the ſhort Remnant of King *James*'s Days, whilſt his gray Hairs, perhaps, ſhall fill the Seat: But I wonder any reaſonable Man, that pretends but to common Senſe, can think it poſſible, that *France* ſhould ingroſs the Dominion of *Europe*, and *England* ever hope to continue the only Exempt from the univerſal Yoke; is there that Frenzy, ſo mad as to fancy it? No, all our beſt Hopes will be to be ſwallowed laſt, and the annexing of *Britain*, a Province to *France*; and conſequently to groan under all the Slavery and Vaſſalage of a *French* Government, is the undoubted Fate of *England*; and hereby the Reſtoration of King *James*, in its favourableſt Aſpect, brings no leſs Fatality along with it, than Entailing of Miſery upon us, to the End of the World; and all the Honour, our Proteſtant Reſtorers will reap, is to be the Ruin and Curſe of their whole Poſterity, their very Names and Memories loathed and abhorred to all ſucceeding Generations.

The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*.

1. SEveral Treatiſes have been formerly written, and more (*I doubt not*) will be in this Juncture publiſhed, with Directions and Informations to the People of *England* for chuſing fit and proper Repreſentatives for the enſuing Parliament, wherein ſufficient Notice will be taken of the Failures and Defects of ſeveral who have already been entruſted in that Service, and the due Qualifications of ſuch, who are now to be elected. I ſhall, therefore, confine my preſent Thoughts only to one particular Head, which yet, in my Opinion, ſeems to involve in it the inevitable Fate of *England*, which wholly depends upon the Choice of Members for the next Seſſion of Parliament: I mean *the Chooſing or Refuſing of ſuch Perſons, who are now poſſeſſed of any Places and Preferments, depending upon the Gift and Pleaſure of the Court.* If herein my Endeavours prove unſucceſsful, I ſhall have Nothing left, but the Satisfaction of my own Conſcience to ſupport me under the deplorable Conſequents and Effects, which muſt neceſſarily attend the Choice of a Houſe of Commons filled with Officers and Court Penſioners. This is the laſt Struggle and Effort the People of *England* have left them for their Properties; and, ſhould we now miſcarry in this, we may ſit down and idly ſhew our Affections for our Country, and fruitleſly bewail the Loſs of our Liberties, but ſhall never meet with another Opportunity [illegible]ring ourſelves in its Service. That I may, therefore, *ſet the Minds of People right, in this Particular, before it be too late, I think* it will be only neceſſary to ſhew the Danger of chuſing Members that are in Places, from two Conſiderations:

Firſt, From the Nature of ſuch a Parliament, conſidered in itſelf: And,

Secondly, From what has already been done by Parliaments ſo qualified.

In both which, I ſhall be very brief, and content myſelf with much fewer Arguments than might be urged upon this Subject: For I ſhould almoſt deſpair of being ſurvived by the Liberties of *England*, if I could imagine there was a Neceſſity of ſaying much, in a Caſe not only of ſuch irreſiſtible Evidence and Demonſtration, but alſo of the utmoſt Concern and Importance to us.

2. *Firſt*, then, we ſhall beſt be able to underſtand the Nature of ſuch an ill-choſen Parliament, by comparing it with a true one, and with the original Deſign of Parliaments in their Inſtitution. I hope it need not be told, that they were, at firſt, intended for a Support to the King's juſt Prerogative, and a Protection to the Subjects, in their as juſt Rights and Privileges: For maintaining all due Honour to the Executive Power, and all ſuitable Reſpect and Encouragement to thoſe, who are intruſted with

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the Adminiſtration of the Laws: For a Poiſe and Balance between the two extreme contending Powers of abſolute Monarchy and Anarchy: For a Check and Curb to inſolent and licentious Miniſters, and a Terror to ambitious and overgrown Stateſmen: For giving their Advice to his Majeſty in all Matters of Importance: For making neceſſary Laws, to preſerve or improve our Conſtitution, and abrogating ſuch as were found burthenſome and obſolete: For giving the King Money for defraying the Charges and Expences of the Government, or maintaining a neceſſary War againſt Foreign and Domeſtick Enemies: For examining and inſpecting the publick Accounts, to know if their Money be applied to its true Uſe and Purpoſes: In ſhort, for the beſt Security imaginable to his Majeſty's Honour and Royal Dignities, and the Subjects Liberties, Eſtates, and Lives.

3. This being the Nature and true Deſign of a Parliament, let us now ſee whether a Houſe of Commons, full of Officers and Court-Penſioners, will anſwer thoſe noble and laudable Ends of their Conſtitution: And, here indeed, I begin already to be aſhamed of my Undertaking; the Proof of the Negative is ſo ridiculous, that it looks too much like a Jeſt, to aſk any one in his Wits, Whether a Parliament, filled with Delinquents, will ever call themſelves to an Account, or what Account would be given, if they ſhould? Whether an Aſſembly of publick Robbers will ſentence one another to be puniſhed, or to make Reſtitution? Whether it is poſſible, our Grievances can be redreſſed, that are committed by Perſons, from whom, there is no higher Power to appeal? Whether there is any Hope of Juſtice, where the Malefactors are the Judges? Whether his Majeſty can be rightly informed in Affairs relating to himſelf or the Publick, when they are repreſented to him, only by ſuch Perſons, who deſign to abuſe him? Whether the publick Accounts will be faithfully inſpected by thoſe, who embezzle our Money to their own Uſe? Whether the King's Prerogative can be lawfully maintained by ſuch, who only pervert it to their own ſiniſter Ends and Purpoſes? Whether a Parliament can be a true Balance, where all the Weight lies only in one Scale? Or, laſtly, Whether a Houſe of Commons can vote freely, who are either prepoſſeſſed with the Hopes and Promiſes of enjoying Places, or the ſlaviſh Fears of loſing them? Methinks it is offering too much Violence to human Nature, to ask ſuch Queſtions as theſe; I ſhall therefore, leave this invidious Point.

4. Yet, leſt ſtill any ſhould remain unſatisfied, or lulled into a fond Opinion, that theſe Miſchiefs will not enſue upon the Elections they ſhall make, I ſhall further endeavour to convince thoſe, who are moſt moved by the Force of Examples, by coming to my ſecond Particular, and ſhewing how Parliaments, ſo qualified, have all along behaved themſelves. And here I muſt confeſs there are not many Inſtances to be given, the Project of corrupting Parliaments being but of a late Date, a Practice firſt ſet on Foot within the Compaſs of our own Memories, as the laſt and moſt dangerous Stratagem that ever was invented by an incroaching Tyrant to poſſeſs himſelf of the Rights of a free-born People; I mean King *Charles the Second*, who, well remembering, with how little Succeſs, both he and his Father had made Uſe of open Arms and downright Violence to ſtorm and batter down the Bulwarks of our excellent Conſtitution, had Recourſe at laſt to thoſe mean Arts, and underhand Practices, of Bribing and Corrupting, with Money, thoſe who were intruſted with the Conſervation of our Laws, and the Guardianſhip of our Liberties. And herein he ſo well ſucceeded, that the Miſchiefs and Calamities, occaſioned by that Mercenary Parliament, did not terminate with his Life and Reign; but the Effects of them are handed and continued down, and very ſenſibly felt by the Nation, to this very Hour. For it is to that Houſe of Commons the formidable Greatneſs of *France* was owing, and to their Account, therefore, ought we to ſet down the prodigious Expences of the late War: It was by thoſe infamous Members that Money was given to make a feigned and colluſive War with *France*, which, at the ſame Time, was employed either in Subduing the Subjects at Home, or Oppreſſing our *Proteſtant* Neighbours Abroad: It was this Venal Parliament in Effect that furniſhed the King of *France* with Timber and skilful Workmen for building Ships, as well as expert Mariners, and a prodigious Quantity of Braſs and Iron Canon, Mortar-pieces, and Bullets from the *Tower*; by the Help of which, our own treacherous King was able to boaſt publickly, and thank God, that he had at laſt made his Brother of *France* a Seaman: By this Means the Honour of *England* was proſtituted, and our Natural and Naval Strength betrayed, with which, like *Sampſon*, we ſhould eaſily

eaſily have broken all the Cords that *Europe*, or the whole World, could have made to bind and enſlave us, had not this Parliament made a Sacrifice of all to the Charms of a *French Dalilah*. To this profligate and villainous Reign, we are to aſcribe the Loſs of all the conſiderable Charters of *England*, the Deaths of our beſt Patriots, the Encouragement and almoſt Eſtabliſhment of *Popery* *, the Decay of Trade, the Growth of Arbitrary Power, the ill Effects of diſhonourable

* Which will better appear, from the following Letter, publiſhed in the Year 1679, on Half a Sheet of Paper, *Folio*.

A Copy of a Letter, written by a Jeſuit *to the Father-Rector at* Bruſſels, *diſcovering their Deſigns upon* England; *and their Judgment of the Temper thereof: With a Conjecture of the Succeſs of the Parliament.*

Father-Rector!

LET not the Damp of Aſtoniſhment ſeize upon your ardent and zealous Soul, in Apprehending the ſudden and unexpected Calling of a Parliament: We have not oppoſed, but rather furthered it; ſo that we hope as much in this Parliament, as ever we feared any in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Days.

You muſt know the Council is engaged to aſſiſt the King, by Way of Prerogative, in Caſe the Parliamentary Way ſhould fail. You ſhall ſee this Parliament will reſemble the Pelican, which takes a Pleaſure to dig out, with her Beak, her own Bowels.

The Election of Knights and Burgeſſes have been in ſuch Confuſion of apparent Faction, as that, which we were wont to procure heretofore, with much Art and Induſtry (when the *Spaniſh* Match was in Treaty) now breaks out naturally, as a Botch or Bile, and ſpits and ſpews out its own Rancour and Venom.

You remember how that famous and immortal States-man, the Count of *Gondamar*, fed King *James*'s Fancy, and rocked him a-ſleep with the ſoft ſweet Sound of Peace, to keep up the *Spaniſh* Treaty. Likewiſe, we were much bound to ſome States-men of our own Country, for gaining Time, by procuring thoſe moſt advantageous Ceſſations of Arms in the *Palatinate*, and advancing the Honour and Integrity of the *Spaniſh* Nation, vilifying the *Hollanders*; remonſtrating to King *James*, that that State was moſt ungrateful, both to his Predeceſſor Queen *Eliſabeth*, and his Sacred Majeſty: That the States were more obnoxious than the *Turk*, and perpetually injured his Majeſty's loving Subjects in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and likewiſe, they have uſurped from his Majeſty the Regality, and invaluable Profit of the Narrow Seas, in Fiſhing upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, &c.

This great States-man had but one principal Means to further that great and good Deſign, which was to ſet on King *James*, that none but the *Puritan* Faction, which plotted Nothing but Anarchy, and his Confuſion, were averſe to this moſt happy Union. We ſteered on the ſame Courſe, and have made great Uſe of this Anarchical Election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the Great One, that none but the King's Enemies, and his, are choſen for this Parliament, &c.

We have now many Strings to our Bow, and have ſtrongly fortified our Faction, and have added two Bulwarks more: For when King *James* lived (you know) he was very violent againſt *Arminianiſm*, and interrupted (with his peſtilent Wit and deep Learning) our ſtrong Deſigns in *Holland*, and was a great Friend to that old Rebel and Heretick, the Prince of *Orange*.

Now we have planted that Sovereign Drug, *Arminianiſm*; which, we hope, will purge the *Proteſtants* from their *Hereſy*; and it flouriſhes, and bears Fruit in due Seaſon.

The Materials, which build up our Bulwark, are the Projectors, and Beggars of all Ranks and Qualities: Howſoever, both theſe Factions co-operate to deſtroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new Species and Form of Government, which is Oligarchy:

Theſe ſerve as direct Mediums and Inſtruments to our End, which is the Univerſal Catholick Monarchy. Our Foundation muſt be Mutation; a Mutation will cauſe a Relaxation, which will ſerve as ſo many violent Diſeaſes, as the Stone, Gout, &c. to the ſpeedy Deſtruction of our perpetual and inſufferable Anguiſh of Body, which is worſe than Death itſelf.

We proceed now by Council and mature Deliberation, how, and when, to work upon the Duke's Jealouſy and Revenge, and, in this, we give the Honour to thoſe which merit it, which are the *Church-Catholicks*.

There is another Matter of Conſequence, which we take much into our Conſideration, and tender Care, which is to ſtave off the *Puritans*, that they hang not in the Duke's Ears; they are impudent and ſubtle People, and it is to be feared, leſt they ſhould negotiate a Reconciliation between the Duke and the Parliament; it is certain, the Duke would gladly have reconciled himſelf to the Parliament at *Oxford* and *Weſtminſter*

ble Leagues, the Shutting up of the Exchequer, the Progreſs of all Sorts of Debauchery, the ſervile Compliances at Court of a rampant *Hierarchy* in the Kingdom, the inſolent Deportment of the inferior *Clergy* both in the Univerſities and elſewhere, their ſlaviſh Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience and Nonreſiſtance; in ſhort, a general Depravation of Manners, and almoſt utter Extirpation of Virtue and moral Honeſty. Theſe and all the other Miſchiefs of that Reign are juſtly chargeable to the Account of that penſioned Parliament, who either were the immediate Authors, or the undoubted Cauſers of them: Who, though they ſat long and often, and could not be ignorant of our deplorable Condition, yet having their Eyes blinded with the Duſt of Gold, and their Tongues locked up with ſilver Keys, they durſt not cry out for the Reſcue of their Country, thus inhumanly raviſhed in their very Preſence. It will not conſiſt with my deſigned Brevity, nor is it here neceſſary to give the Reaſons that induced the Court to diſſolve that Parliament; nor ſhall I take any further Notice of their great and fortunate Overſight in doing it, nor of their unfeigned Repentance afterwards for it; I ſhall only obſerve, that, if the Nation had been ſo ſenſeleſly ſtupid to have choſen the ſame Members a ſecond Time, who were Penſioners in the foregoing Parliament, we had long ago ſuffered the diſmal Conſequences of our Folly and Madneſs in ſuch a Choice; nor ſhould we now have had this Liberty to warn one another againſt Splitting upon the like Rocks, and Falling into the ſame Precipices. But they were wiſer in thoſe Times, and the Conſideration of the dreadful Shipwreck, they had ſo lately eſcaped, made them chuſe Pilots of a quite contrary Diſpoſition, who, as far as in them lay, and as long as they were permitted to ſit at the Helm, repaired the ſhattered Veſſel of the Commonwealth, reſtored its Honour, revived its drooping Genius, gave Force to its Laws, Countenance to its Religion, and, in a great Meaſure, reduced our baniſhed Liberties, and expoſed the Perſons, who ſold them, to the univerſal Hatred and Reproach of their Fellow-Subjects; a Puniſhment indeed infinitely leſs, than they deſerved for the higheſt Crime, a Member of Parliament is capable of committing.

Weſtminſter; but now we aſſure ourſelves we have ſo handled the Matter, that both Duke and Parliament are irreconcileable.

For the better Prevention of the *Puritans*, the *Arminians* have already locked up the Duke's Ears, and we have thoſe of our own Religion, which ſtand continually at the Duke's Chamber, to ſee who goes in and out: We cannot be too circumſpect, and fearful, in this Regard.

I cannot chuſe but laugh, to ſee how ſome of our own Coat have accoutred themſelves; you would ſcarce know them, if you ſaw them: And it is admirable, how in Speech and Geſture they act the *Puritans*. The *Cambridge* Scholars, to their woful Experience, ſhall ſee we can act the *Puritans* a little better than they have done the *Jeſuits:* They have abuſed our Sacred Patron St. *Ignatius* in Jeſt, but we will make them ſmart for it in Earneſt, I hope, you will excuſe my merry Digreſſion; for, I confeſs unto you, I am at this Time tranſported with Joy to ſee how happily all Inſtruments and Means, as well great as leſs, cooperate unto our Purpoſes.

But to return unto the main Fabrick; our Foundation is *Arminianiſm*; the *Arminians*, and Projectors, as it appears in the Premiſes, affect Mutation; this we ſecond, and infer by probable Arguments. In the firſt Place, we take into Conſideration the King's Honour, and preſent Neceſſity; and we ſhew how the King may free himſelf of his Ward, as *Lewis the Eleventh* did. And, for his great Splendor and Luſtre, he may raiſe a vaſt Revenue, and not be beholden to his Subjects; which is, by Way of Impoſition of Exciſe. Then our *Church-Catholicks* proceed to ſhew the Means how to ſettle this Exciſe, which muſt be by a mercenary Army of Horſe and Foot. For the Horſe, we have made that ſure; they ſhall be *Foreigners* and *Germans*, who will eat up the King's Revenues, and ſpoil the Country whereſoever they come, though they ſhould be well paid; what Havock will they make there, when they get no Pay, or are not duly paid? They will do more Miſchief, than we hope the Army will do.

We are provident and careful that this mercenary Army of Two-thouſand Horſe, and Twenty-thouſand Foot, ſhall be taken on, and in Pay, before the Exciſe be ſettled. In forming the Exciſe, the Country is moſt likely to riſe; if the mercenary Army ſubjugate the Country, then the Soldiers and Projectors ſhall be paid out of the Confiſcations; if the Country be too hard for the Soldiers, then they muſt conſequently mutiny, which is equally advantageous unto us. Our ſuperlative Deſign is, to work the *Proteſtants*, as well as the *Catholicks*, to welcome in a Conqueror, and that is by this Means: We hope inſtantly to diſſolve Trade, and hinder the Building of Shipping, in deviſing probable Deſigns, and putting on the State upon Expeditions, as that of *Cadiz* was, in taking away the Merchants Ships, ſo that they may not eaſily catch and light upon the *Weſt-India* Fleet.

5. As for King *James*'s Reign, though it was notoriously guilty of the Breach and Violation of moſt of our fundamental Laws, which ſufficiently juſtifies our Carriage towards him, yet, cannot we ſay that his Miſmanagement is to be aſcribed to the Corruption of any Parliament ſitting in his Time. It is true, indeed, he reaped too much Advantage from the Conduct of the bribed Parliament in his Brother's Reign, and uſed all poſſible Endeavours to procure ſuch another for himſelf, well knowing it to be the moſt effectual Means for carrying on his ruinous and deſtructive Projects; yet, either from the unſhaken Conſtancy of the People, or Want of Dexterity in his Miniſters, he was altogether defeated in his Expectation.

6. This miſerable Diſappointment of King *James*'s Hopes made Way for our late glorious Revolution, which was brought about by the hearty Endeavours, and accompanied with the moſt unfeigned Vows and Wiſhes of all true Lovers of their Country, who, from hence, expected a full Deliverance from their preſent Miſeries, and a ſure Remedy from their future Fears: For what Happineſs might not the People well hope for under the Government of the beſt of Kings, ſupported by the beſt of Titles, *viz.* The general Conſent and Election of his People? We were filled with golden Dreams, not only of a bare Security for our Eſtates and Lives, but an inexhauſted Affluence of all Manner of Bleſſings a Nation is capable of enjoying. But, though we have dreamt the Dreams, yet have we not ſeen the Viſions. And though the Nation is, by this Time, ſadly ſenſible, how wretchedly they have fallen ſhort of their expected Happineſs, yet are they not all acquainted with the true Spring and Fountain from whence all their Misfortunes flow; which is, indeed, no other, than that bare-faced and openly avowed Corruption, which, like an univerſal Leproſy, has ſo notoriouſly infected and overſpread both our Court and Parliament. It is, from hence, are plainly derived all the Calamities and Diſtractions under which the whole Nation at preſent groans: *It is this that has changed the very Natures of Engliſhmen*, and, of valiant, made them Cowards; of eloquent, dumb; and, of honeſt Men, Villains: *It is this can make a whole Houſe of Commons eat their own Words*, and counter-vote what they had juſt before reſolved on: *It is this could ſummon the mercenary Members from all Quarters of the Town in an Inſtant*, to vote their Fellow-Criminals innocent: *It is this that can make a Parliament throw away the People's Money with the utmoſt Profuſion, without enquiring into the Management of it: It is this that put a Stop to the Examination of that ſcandalous Eſcape of the Thoulon Fleet into Breſt: It is this that has encouraged the Miſmanagements of the Admiralty, in Relation to the Loſs of ſo vaſt a Number of Men of War, and Merchant Ships, as well as other Miſcarriages, which were by all Men judged to proceed, not from their Want of Underſtanding in Sea-Affairs: It is this that has hindered the Paſſing a Bill ſo often brought into the Houſe for incapacitating Members to bear Offices: It is this that could not only indemnify, but honour a leading Member, for his audacious procuring and accepting a Grant of Lands, which, by the Parliament, had been ſet a-part for the publick Service; a Vote that ſhall ſtand recorded in their own Journals, to the never-dying Infamy of that mercenary Aſſembly: It is this could make the ſame Perſon moſt confidently affirm, that he was ſure the Majority of the Houſe would agree to what he was going to propoſe: It is this that could make Men of peaceable Diſpoſitions, and conſiderable Eſtates, vote for a ſtanding Army: It is this that could bring Admirals to confeſs, that our Fleets, under their Command, was no Security to us: It is this could make wiſe Men act againſt their own apparent Intereſt: In ſhort, it is this that has infatuated our Prudence, ſtaggered our Conſtancy, ſullied our Reputation, and introduced a total Defection from all true *Engliſh* Principles. Bribery is, indeed, ſo ſure and unavoidable a Way to deſtroy any Nation, that we may all ſit down and wonder, that ſo much as the very Name of a free Government is yet continued to us. And, if, by our wary Choice of Members, we ſhould happen to recover our ancient Conſtitution, we ſhall, with Horror and Amazement, look back, and reflect upon the dreadful Precipice we ſo narrowly eſcaped.*

7. Fatal Experience has now, more than enough, convinced us, that Courts have been the ſame in all Ages, and that few Perſons have been found of ſuch approved Conſtancy and Reſolution, as to withſtand the powerful Allurements and Temptations which from thence have been continually diſpenſed, for the Corrupting of Men's Minds, and Debauching their honeſt Principles. Such Inſtances of the Frailty of human Nature may be given, within theſe few

Years

Years paſt, as might make a Man even aſhamed of his own Species, and which, were they not ſo open and notorious, ought, out of Pity to Mankind, to be buried in perpetual Silence. Who can enough lament the wretched Degeneracy of the Age we live in? To ſee Perſons, who were formerly noted for the moſt vigorous Aſſertors of their Country's Liberty, who, from their Infancy, had imbibed no other Notions, than what conduced to the publick Safety, whoſe Principles were further improved and confirmed by the Advantages of a ſuitable Converſation, and who were ſo far poſſeſſed with this Spirit of Liberty, that it ſometimes tranſported them beyond the Bounds of Moderation, even to unwarrantable Exceſſes: To ſee theſe Men, I ſay, ſo infamouſly fall in with the arbitrary Meaſures of the Court, and appear the moſt active Inſtruments for enſlaving their Country; and that, without any formal Steps or Degrees, but, all in an Inſtant, is ſo violent and ſurpriſing a Tranſition, from one Extream to another, without paſſing the Mean, as would have confounded the Imaginations of *Euclid* or *Pyrrho*. All the ſtated Maxims, in Relation to the Nature of Mankind, which have been long ago ſettled and eſtabliſhed by Philoſophers, and obſerving Men, are now baffled and exploded; and we have nothing left us to contemplate, but the wild Extravagancies of romantick Fables, the ſudden Conveyances of nimble-fingered Jugglers, the inimitable Diſpatches of tranſubſtantiating Prieſts, or the now more credible Metamorphoſes of Men into Beaſts.

8. The Neceſſity we have lain under of frequent Meetings of Parliament, during the War, has taught our Managers ſo much Dexterity and Addreſs in their Applications to the Members of that Aſſembly, that they are now become conſummate Maſters in that moſt deteſtable Art of corrupting our Repreſentatives, by Hopes and Fears of attaining or loſing Offices and Preferments. And though I here name Offices, yet thoſe Offices are downright Bribes and Penſions, ſince they are held precariouſly from the Court, and conſtantly taken away upon Non-compliance with the Court-meaſures; though I am not ignorant, that ſeveral conſiderable Penſions were alſo paid out of the *Exchequer* to Members of both Houſes: For Places could not be had for all, though they have tried all imaginable Arts, for dividing among themſelves the conſiderable Poſts of the Kingdom: For, either by ſplitting of Offices among ſeveral Perſons which were formerly executed by one, or by reviving ſuch as were ſunk, or by creating others which were altogether uſeleſs and unneceſſary, or by Promiſes of Preferment to thoſe who could not preſently be provided for, they had made above two-hundred Members abſolutely dependent upon them. And what Points may not ſuch a Number carry in the Houſe, who are always ready, and conſtantly attending, with more Diligence to deſtroy our Conſtitution, than the reſt were to preſerve it? Who repreſented not their Country, but themſelves, and always kept together in a cloſe and undivided *Phalanx*, impenetrable either by Shame or Honour, voting always the ſame Way, and ſaying always the ſame Things, as if they were no longer voluntary Agents, but ſo many Engines, merely turned about by a mechanick Motion, like an Organ, where the great humming Baſes, as well as the little ſqueaking Trebles, are filled but with one Blaſt of Wind from the ſame Sound-board. Yet a few of them may, in ſome Meaſure, be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe *pointblank* Voters, whom neither their Country's Safety, nor their own more dear and valued Intereſt, nor the Perſuaſion of their once intimate Friends, nor Fear of Reproach, nor Love of Reputation, could ever prevail to join in an honeſt Point, or diſſent from a Queſtion that carried in it the Violation of the Rights and Properties of the Subject. Theſe are the Men who have perſuaded his Majeſty, or rather aſſumed to themſelves, not to fill up any vacant Offices, whilſt the Parliament is ſitting; but to keep all Pretenders in a Dependence till the End of the Seſſion, and bind them up to their ill Behaviour, which will then be their beſt Pretence to demand their Wages of Unrighteouſneſs: Witneſs the Commiſſion of Exciſe the laſt Seſſion, which was ſued for by, and promiſed to above thirty Competitors, who all did their utmoſt to ſignaliſe their ſeveral Merits for an Office, which, doubtleſs, will be at laſt divided amongſt thoſe who have deſerved worſt of their Country. By theſe Means, they made their Numbers and Intereſt in the Houſe ſo great, that no Miſcarriage in the Government could ever be redreſſed, nor the meaneſt Tool, belonging to them, be puniſhed: Some of which they did, indeed, take into their own Hands, which raiſed in the People a high Expectation that ſome extraordinary Penalties would be inflicted upon them; when their Deſign, at the ſame Time, was nothing elſe but

to protect and screen them from the ordinary Course *of Justice*: Such is now the Difference, in Point of Corruption, between a common Jury, and the Grand Jury of the Nation! such a mutual Assistance and Support have they been to one another, in the several Mismanagements of their Trusts; so favourable have they been to their own Creatures, and so implacable to those who have any Way opposed their unjust Proceedings, witness their scandalous Partiality in the Case of *Duncomb*, which I hope to see printed at large, for the Satisfaction of the Publick. If it were truly represented, I am sure there needs nothing more to excite in the People an universal Detestation of their Arrogance and Injustice. And yet do these Apostates pretend to value themselves upon their Merit, in contriving that most destructive Project of *Exchequer Bills*, by which all impartial Men must either think they notoriously dissemble with us, or that they have indeed lost their Senses, when they speak of publick Service; the Word is so unbecoming in their Mouths, and so aukwardly pronounced, that they seem not breathe in their own Element, when they usurp the Name. These are the Men who have endeavoured to render our Condition hopeless, even beyond the Power of the King himself to relieve us: For though his Majesty be deservedly loved and honoured by his People, for his Readiness to do them Justice, and ease their Oppressions, yet can we not expect it from him, whilst he is thus beset and surrounded, and his Palaces invested by these Conspirators against his own Honour, and the Welfare of his Kingdoms. The only Remedy, therefore, that remains is, to chuse such a Parliament who lie under no Temptations, and are acted by no other Motives, but the real and true Interest of his Majesty and his Dominions; a Parliament that will fall unanimously upon publick Business, and be free from those petty Factions, and personal Piques, which in the late Session so shamefully obstructed and delayed the most important Service of the Commonwealth.

9. If it should be pretended, That the Nation is yet unsettled, and the Fear of King *James* has forced them upon these extraordinary Methods for their own Preservation; I answer, That no Cause whatsoever can be justly alledged in Vindication of such vile Arts, and pernicious Practices. But, I would farther ask them, What Necessity there is, upon that Account, for their gaining such prodigious Estates to themselves, in so short a Time, and in so merciless a Way, when the Nation was racked to the utmost by Taxes in a long and expensive War? Is it the Fear of King *James*, that has brought such a Reproach upon our Revolution, as if it needed to be supported by such mean and unjustifiable Practices? Is it the Fear of King *James*, that makes us content he should live so near us, or that he should be maintained at our own Charge of Fifty-thousand Pounds *per Annum*? Or has not rather King *James* been made the Pretence for the unwarrantable Proceedings of our Conspirators, during the War, and since the Conclusion of the Peace? It is very strange, that King *James*, who is but their Jest in private, should be thus made their publick Bugbear, to frighten us out of our Senses, like Children; so that King *James* must be at last our Ruin Abroad, who could not compass it by all his Power and Interest at Home. And, in this Sense, I am of their Opinion, That we are not yet quite delivered from the Fear of King *James*, who must be made the Instrument of our Slavery, by those very Persons who pretend their greatest Merit to consist in delivering us from him. But what is this, but making the old abdicated Tyrant a Footstool to ascend the Throne of absolute Power, and a Scaffold for erecting that proud and stately Edifice, from whence we have so justly tumbled him down headlong? But, it is to be hoped, the Nation will be no longer imposed on by such stale Pretences as these, and that a well chosen Parliament will not fail to pass their severest Censures upon those who would thus jest us out of all that is dear and valuable amongst us: That they will no longer resemble a Flock of Sheep (as *Cato* said of the *Romans* in his Time) that follow the Bell-wether, and are contented, when all together, to be led by the Noses of such whose Counsels not a Man of them would make Use of in a private Cause of his own: That they will at last vindicate the Honour of *England*, and imitate their wise Ancestors, in Hunting down these Beasts of Prey, these noxious Vermin to the Commonwealth, rather than suffer themselves to be led in Collars and Couples by one mighty *Nimrod*, who, upon the Turning up his Nose, shall expect a full Cry of sequacious Animals, who must either join Voices, or be turned out of the Pack.

10. Notwithstanding what I have said, I would not have any of them either really imagine themselves, or falsly suggest to others, that I envy them their Places and Preferments, which I am so far from doing, that I wish they

rather had them, for the Term of their Lives; I desire only they may be subject to the Laws, and to some Power on Earth, that may call them to Account for their Misbehaviours, that they may not be their own Judges, that our sovereign Remedy may not prove our chief Disease, and that the Kid may be seethed in something else than its Mother's Milk. Nor would I, by any Means, deny them their Seats in Parliament, provided they are in a Condition to speak and act freely, and discharged from those Temptations, which I find they have not Constancy enough to withstand; for, after all, I still believe many of them so honest, that nothing but Money, or Preferments, will corrupt them: But if nothing will satisfy them, but the downright Subversion of our Constitution; if they will be content with nothing but the utter Abolishing of all Laws, and the Rooting up of those Fences, and Securities, provided by our Ancestors, for the Preservation of all Things that are sacred and esteemed amongst Mankind; it is high Time for the Electors to look about them, and disappoint their unreasonable and exorbitant Hopes, and to spew them out as detestable Members of the Commonwealth; not only as unfit to be trusted with their Liberties, but as unworthy to breathe in the Air of a Free Government.

11. If any should say, That the Alterations in Elections will stand us in no Stead, since whoever are chosen, will still be bought off and bribed by Court-preferments: I answer, It will require a considerable Time to new model and debauch a House of Commons, nor can it be done but by displacing all those, who are already possessed, to make Room for these new Comers, which will make the Trade and Mystery of Bribery more plain, and consequently more abhorred. And, since no Parliament can now sit above three Years, the Court will meet with fresh Difficulties, to interrupt them, which may possibly at last make them weary of these Practices. It is true indeed, this Consideration ought to make us more circumspect, in our Choice of Members, for though we should chuse but an inconsiderable Number of Pensioners, yet will they soon be able to work over a Majority to their Side; so true is the Saying, *A little Leaven leavens the whole Lump.* Whoever therefore out of any particular Friendship, or other Motives of Fear or private Interest, should vote for any one Person, so qualified; let him consider, that, as much as in him lies, he makes a Compliment of all the Liberties of *England* to the unsatiable Avarice and Ambition of Statesmen and Court-Ministers. Since, therefore, we have so narrowly escaped our Destruction, and one Session more of the last Parliament would infallibly have ruined our Constitution, we cannot surely be so grosly overseen as to neglect the Opportunity, now put into our Hands, for avoiding the like Hazards, in Time to come; which may easily be done, if the Free-holders and Burghers in *England* will petition, and engage their Representatives to consent to a Bill which shall be brought into the House, to incapacitate all Members for holding Offices and Preferments; or, if it should be thought too much to debar them, altogether, from the Enjoyment of Posts of Honour and Advantage, let them keep them, during good Behaviour, and not otherwise; that such Places may not be reserved in Store for those, who shall be from Time to Time elected, and thereby a continued Course of Corruption be carried on successively through the whole Nation, who will, in a few Years, insensibly find themselves so universally infected with this insinuating Vice, that we shall be thoroughly ripe for Destruction, and readily expose to Sale the Liberties of *England*, by Auction, to the fairest Bidder. If it was deservedly thought one of our most dangerous Grievances, that the Judges, who only declare the Law, should hold their Places, *ad beneplacitum*; what Condition must we be in, when our Law-makers themselves are subjected to the same Temptations? Or what Advantage have we got by having our Judges Commissions for Life, when our very Legislature itself is prostituted to Bribery and sordid Gain? The Fortune of *England* is now brought to the nicest Point, and there are critical Seasons, which, if neglected, will never again be offered; and, should we now fail in our Duty to our Country, we shall assuredly fall unpitied by the rest of the World. But if, on the other Hand, we can, by our Foresight and Diligence, prevent, for the Future, the Bribing and Corruption of Parliaments, it is not to be imagined what Security, what Happiness, and what immortal Reputation will be the never-ceasing Concomitants of such a Settlement. If the very Rump of a Parliament, even in the midst of domestick Discontents, and beset on all Sides with foreign Assaults and Invasions, were able, by that one *self-denying Act*, to maintain the publick Welfare from the Danger of inward Convulsions at Home, and violent Concussions from Abroad; if that small and broken

broken Number, without any Head, and under ſo many Diſadvantages, could by this only Means ſecure our Peace, and ſo widely extend the Repute and Honour of the *Engliſh* Name; what Country or what Religion could ever give Limits to the unbounded Reputation of a full and legal Parliament, ſo nobly qualified? What Nation could there be ſo powerful as to reſiſt our Forces, or ſo politick as to infatuate our Counſels? There is nothing within the Compaſs of human Wiſhes, that we might not aſſure ourſelves from the Wiſdom and Virtue of ſuch a diſintereſted Aſſembly, headed and encouraged by the moſt auſpicious Prince that ever yet ſwayed the *Engliſh* Scepter. A Prince who only waits the Opportunity of our own Willingneſs to be happy, and is fixed with a longing Eagerneſs to ſee the Nation deſerve the glorious Effects of his inimitable Conduct, and inexhauſted Beneficence; who only wiſhes a happy Conjuncture of a free and unbyaſſed Parliament, that he might join with them, in the Reſcue of himſelf and us, from the Oppreſſion of thoſe devouring Harpies, who would tear off the yet green and flouriſhing Lawrels from his Majeſtick Brows, and ungratefully caſt a Tarniſh upon the Luſtre of his bright and ſhining Atchievements: That he might diſſipate thoſe inauſpicious Vapours, which have hindered him from breaking out in the Height of his meridian Glories, and intercepted his benign and noble Influence upon his inferior and dependent Orbs: That he might deliver up to Juſtice thoſe traiterous and inſinuating Paraſites, who endeavour to inſpire into his ſacred Breaſt an unworthy Jealouſy of his People, as if he wanted the Aſſiſtance of a ſtanding Army to ſecure and eſtabliſh to himſelf that Throne, which he has already ſo firmly erected in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects: And laſtly, that he might wholly diſcharge himſelf of thoſe wretched and perfidious Stateſmen, who endeavour to fix the Brand of their own acquired Infamy upon their Maſter, that they may make him as hateful to one Party, for their Vices, as he is already to another, for his own Virtues, and deprive him of the glorious Title, of the World's greateſt Benefactor, which he has ſo juſtly purchaſed to himſelf, by his immortal Performances.

12. I ſhall conclude with one Word, in Anſwer to ſuch who may poſſibly think I have reflected too much upon the Supineneſs and baſe Neglect of the People of *England*; as if it were poſſible they could be ſuch monſtrous and unnatural Self-murderers, as to give away with their own Breath, and free Conſent, all their Rights to their Eſtates and Lives. I confeſs I ſhould be glad to find my Labour loſt upon this Account: But I deſire ſuch to conſider, that there are many honeſt and well-meaning *Engliſhmen*, who do not diſtinguiſh between our preſent Government, and our preſent Way of governing; whoſe Diſtance from the Parliament, Multiplicity of Buſineſs, or other Circumſtances in the World, render them leſs able to penetrate the Deſigns that are now carrying on, for the total Subverſion of our moſt excellent Conſtitution. And it is plain on the other Hand, that the great and unwearied Diligence of the preſent Conſpirators, againſt our Government, in order to ſupport their future Elections, does infer their Thoughts, that the Majority of the Electors are capable of being impoſed upon, in this groſs and unexampled Manner. Since, therefore, thoſe, who are making us Slaves, think it no great Difficulty to effect their Purpoſes, I ſee no Reaſon, why I ought to be ſo tender as to forbear Expreſſing my Fears and Apprehenſions of their Succeſs.

A new Looking-Glaſs for the Kingdom: Wherein thoſe, that admire the late Governments *, may have a true Proſpect of Liberty and Slavery, and take their Choice. [From a Half Sheet, *Folio*, printed at *London*, for *J. C.* near *Fleet-Bridge*, 1690.]

* Of King *Charles the Second*, and King *James the Second*.

IN

IN the twelfth Year of King *Charles the Second*, being the firſt of his Reſtoration, there was granted to him a Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage, and other Sums of Money, payable upon Merchandiſe imported and exported, in Conſideration of the great Truſt and Confidence which the Parliament repoſed in his Majeſty, *in* and *for the Guarding the Seas*, againſt all Perſons that ſhould attempt the Diſturbance of his Subjects in the Intercourſe of *Trade*, or by *Invaſion* of the Kingdom.

The ſame Year came forth another Act, for the ſpeedy Proviſion of Money, for Diſbanding and Paying off the Forces of the Kingdom, by Land and Sea, by a Contribution of all Perſons, according to their ſeveral Ranks and Degrees.

The ſame Year likewiſe, by two Acts more, were given to the King, by the one, Seven-ſcore-thouſand Pounds, for the compleat Diſbanding of the whole Army, and Paying off ſome Part of the Navy, by a two Months Aſſeſſment of Seventy-thouſand Pounds a Month: By the other, Seventy-thouſand Pounds, as a preſent Supply to his Majeſty.

After which, followed the Act for ſettling certain Impoſitions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the Increaſe of his Majeſty's Revenue, during his Life.

The ſame Year alſo, the Poſt-Office was erected by the Parliament, with a conſiderable Revenue accruing to the King. This Parliament, after theſe great Gifts, being diſſolved, the next Year, being the Thirteenth of the King's Reign, ſat a new Parliament, which, in the firſt Place, paſſed an Act for the *free and voluntary Preſent*; and then paſſed an Act for granting to the King Twelve-hundred and Threeſcore-thouſand Pounds, to be aſſeſſed and levied by an Aſſeſſment of Threeſcore and Ten-thouſand Pounds a Month, for eighteen Months.

In the fourteenth Year of the King, the additional Revenue of *Hearth-Money* was ſettled upon his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

In the fifteenth Year of the King, were granted four intire Subſidies from the Temporality, and four from the Clergy.

In the ſixteenth Year of the King, a Royal Aid was granted by the ſame Parliament, of Twenty-four-thouſand Four-hundred Threeſcore and Seventeen-thouſand and Five-hundred Pounds, to be raiſed, levied, and paid, in three Years Space, for the King's extraordinary Occaſions. As an Addition to which, in his ſeventeenth Year, Twelve-hundred and Fifty-thouſand Pounds were granted for his Majeſty's farther Supply, by the Parliament at *Oxon*.

In the eighteenth Year of the King, more Money was raiſed by a Poll-Bill, for the Proſecution of the *Dutch* War.

In his nineteenth Year came forth another Act, for raiſing Three-hundred and Ten-thouſand Pounds, by an Impoſition on Wines, and other Liquors.

After which followed, in his Twenty-ſecond Year, an Impoſition upon all Wines and Vinegar, for eight Years, which was attended by the Impoſition upon Brandy: Together with another Act, for advancing the Sale of Fee-Farm-Rents, and other Rents; both valued at One-million Thirteen-hundred and Threeſcore-thouſand Pounds.

In the Twenty-ſecond and Twenty-third Years of the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, was granted another Subſidy for Supply of his Occaſions; twelve Pence in the Pound upon all Lands, and Money at Intereſt; fifteen Shillings in the Hundred for all Money owing to the Bankers, and ſix Shillings in the Hundred upon perſonal Eſtates.

After which, there followed an Act for additional Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors; to which ſucceeded the Law-Bill: Which three, being ſummed up together, were eſtimated at no leſs than two Millions and a Half.

After this, at the Adjournment of the Parliament, upon the Sixteenth of *April*, 1677, being the Twentieth of the King, paſſed an Act, for Raiſing the Sum of Five-hundred Eighty-four-thouſand Nine-hundred Seventy-eight Pounds, two Shillings, and two Pence Half-penny, for the ſpeedy Building thirty Ships of War. Together with an additional Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for three Years.

Upon the Fifteenth of *July*, 1678, being the Thirtieth of the King, paſſed an Act, for granting a Supply to his Majeſty, of Six-hundred and Nineteen-thouſand Three-hundred Eighty-eight Pounds, eleven Shillings, and nine Pence, for Diſbanding the Army, and other Uſes therein mentioned.

With another Act, for granting an additional Duty upon Wines for three Years.

To all which may be added (for it cannot be forgotten in Haſte) the Shutting up of the *Exchequer*.

This, if it be not a perfect arithmetical Account to ſome Thouſands of Pounds, perhaps, yet it comes pretty near the Matter, to ſhew, as in a Mirror, the prodigious Sums it coſt the King-

Kingdom, in a few Years, to maintain the *Vanity* and *Profuſeneſs of the Court at that Time*, and to ſupport a *Deſign* carried on all along, to *ſubvert* the *Religion*, *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Properties* of the whole Nation.

It is generally imprinted in the Minds of Men, that there is nothing ſo dear to them, as the Preſervation of their Religion, their Laws, their Liberties and Properties. Life is contemned, to preſerve theſe four ineſtimable Comforts of human Being; which makes it a ſtrange Thing to conſider, that People, who were ſo laviſh to undo themſelves, ſhould ſo ſtingily grudge a neceſſary, though more than ordinary Expence, to be for ever quit of future Danger.

They do not find their Money now profuſely waſted upon the Exceſſes of prodigal Luxury, nor upon Wars, to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion; nor upon Deſigns, to enſlave both their Souls and Bodies; but thriftily expended, by a frugal and ſaving Prince *, once their generous and fortunate Preſerver, upon Men, Arms, and all Manner of warlike Ammunition, both by Sea and Land.

They find not now Pretences of Wars to juggle them out of their Wealth, to be as deceitfully expended either upon Pleaſure, or to ſupport the Intereſt of the common Foe: But a real War at the Door, maintained by the capital Enemies of the Proteſtant Religion, and the general Peace of *Europe:* And withſtood with as much Vigour, as prudent Counſel and wary Conduct will permit, by a Prince no leſs vigilant, no leſs courageous and formidable, than his Adverſaries are potent and malicious.

To repine at Expence, at ſuch a Time as this, and in the Management of ſuch princely and faithful Hands, is to be like niggardly Miſers, that love the Banquet, but grumble at the Payment. The Choice is now, Whether to be Free for ever, or Slaves for ever? The Expence is neceſſary, therefore juſt; and, being neceſſary and juſt, no true *Engliſhman* will murmur at the Purchaſe of his own, and the Preſervation of his Poſterity, though it coſt never ſo dear.

Is it poſſible there ſhould be Men that ſhould ſo ſoon forget the late Ravages of *Tyranny* and *Popery*, upon their Religion and Laws? Is it poſſible for Fathers to forget the Murders of their Sons, or for Sons to forget the Haling of their Parents to Execution †? Is it poſſible for them to forget the Contrivances of ſham Plots, and the Subornation of perjured Evidence, to take away the Lives of the Innocent †? They that ſo fondly kiſs the late King's Picture, and are ſo covetous of his Return, forget the Verſes made upon the Cruelty of *Tiberius*, that gave them ſufficient Warning of a Prince returning from Exile to Power again, by the Examples of *Marius*, *Sylla*, and *Mark Anthony*. There is nothing to be ſo much dreaded, as the Diſpoſition of a Prince, *Longo exilio efferati*, *i. e.* Grown wild with long Exilement; and, *Ignomia accenſi*, *i. e.* Enraged at the Ignominy he has received. They forget how infinitely the *abdicated* King muſt be beholden to his *French* Patron, the profeſſed Enemy of the *Engliſh* Name and Freedom, if ever this Kingdom ſhould be ſo unhappy as to be under his Clutches again. For, farewel, then, that noble Liberty, which has ſo long bleſſed *this* fortunate Land. And, therefore, the Miſeries of the *French* Government ſhould be enough to make theſe unthinking *Jacobites* tremble at the very Sound of what they ſo extremely wiſh for, the Return of their Idol. The very Picture of *France* is enough to kill with the Sight of it. Where the People live in Cottages of Straw, in a fat and fertile Soil, reduced to the utmoſt Degree of Poverty; where the miſerable Peaſant, after he has tilled his Land, when he comes to reap the Fruit of his Labour, has nothing to feed him but the Rye and Barley, or a few Cheſnuts; nothing to drink but Water ſqueeſed through the Lees of the preſſed Grape; the Collectors of the Taxes, the Impoſt-Gatherers, and other ravenous Beaſts of Prey, carry off the Corn, his Wine, his Oil, and other choicer Conveniencies of Life; ſo innumerable are the Taxes, Impoſts, Rights of Entrance, Peages, Aids, *&c.* which, if a Man ſhould reckon up, he would ſeem to talk the Language of a Conjurer; and all theſe ſo tyrannically exacted, by the numberleſs Swarms of Ruffians, Publicans, and Harpies, as render one of the moſt delightful Countries in the World a Hell upon Earth. Into this Condition was *England* tumbling, till redeemed by their moſt ſacred Majeſties, King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and ſuch would *England* be, if theſe unreaſonable *Jacobites* might have their Will; which God forbid.

* King *William the Third.* † As was done in the *Weſt* by Judge *Jefferies*, and Col. *Kirk*, after *Monmouth*'s Defeat, in the Reign of *James the Second.*

A modeſt Account of the wicked Life of that Grand Impoſtor, *Lodowick Muggleton:* Wherein are related all the remarkable Actions he did, and all the ſtrange Accidents that have befallen him, ever ſince his firſt Coming to *London*, to this Twenty-fifth of *January*, 1676. Alſo a Particular of thoſe Reaſons, which firſt drew him to theſe damnable Principles: With ſeveral pleaſant Stories concerning him, proving his Commiſſion to be but counterfeit, and himſelf a Cheat, from divers Expreſſions which have fallen from his own Mouth. Licenſed according to Order. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages, printed at *London* for *B. H.* in 1676.

Lodowick Muggleton was born of poor, though honeſt Parents, living at *Chippenham*, within fifteen Miles of *Briſtol:* His Relations having but little Means, and a great Charge of Children to maintain, they were forced to ſend their Daughters to wait on their neighbouring Gentry, and to place their Sons to ſuch Trades as coſt little Binding them Apprentices; but, amongſt all the reſt of thoſe of this worſhipful Brood, they were bleſſed withal, they might have obſerved, even in his cunicular Days, in this *Lodowick Muggleton*, an obſtinate, diſſentious, and oppoſive Spirit; which made them deſirous to ſettle him at ſome Diſtance from them, and alſo to bind him to ſuch a Trade, and Maſter, as might curb him from that Freedom, which the Moroſeneſs of his coarſe Nature extorted from his too indulgent Parents: By which Means, as ſoon as heh ad made ſome ſmall Inſpection into his Accidence, without any other Accompliſhment, beſides a little Writing and Caſting of Accompts, he was hurried up to *London*, and there bound Apprentice to one of the croſs-legged Order, but of an indifferent Reputation in the Place where he lived, though by Trade a Taylor. We will paſs over the Parentheſis of his Youth in Silence, therein being nothing but uſual Waggeries, which generally recommend to our Expectation ſomething remarkable, when the uſeful Extravagancies ſhall be ſeaſoned with Age.

When the Time of his Apprenticeſhip grew near its Expiration, ſo that he was admitted more Liberty, than formerly was granted him, he was obſerved to be a great Haunter of Conventicles; inſomuch that there could not a diſſenting Nonconformiſt diffuſe his Sedition in any obſcure Corner of the City, but this *Lodowick Muggleton* would have a Part of it; by which Means, continuing in the ſame idle Curioſity, and taking great Obſervation on that unknown Gain, many of that canting Tribe got by their deluded Auditors, he propoſed to himſelf a certain and conſiderable Income to be got by the ſame Means, by which he had obſerved many of thoſe great Pretenders gull both himſelf and others: For a rooked Conventicler, like a bankrupt Gameſter, having, for ſome Time, been cullied out of his Money, learns the Trick, ſets up Hector, and trades for himſelf.

Thus did *Lodowick Muggleton*, by ſliding out of one Religion into another, ſo diſſatisfy his Judgment, and run himſelf from the ſolid Baſis of his firſt Principles; firſt degenerating, from the orthodox Tenets of the Church of *England*, to *Presbytery*; from thence to *Independency*; thence to *Anabaptiſm*; thence to *Quakeriſm*; and, laſtly, to no Religion at all.

When Men have, thus, once fooled themſelves out of Religion and a good Conſcience, it is no Wonder, that their ſecular Intereſts draw them into all Sorts of Impiety and Profaneneſs, as it has done this *Lodowick Muggleton*; who, though, in himſelf, a poor, ſilly, deſpicable Creature, yet had the Confidence to think he had Parts enough to wheedle a Company of ſilly, credulous Proſelytes out of their Souls and Eſtates: And, indeed, he has had ſuch admirable Succeſs in that wicked Enterpriſe, that, tho' we cannot abſolutely conclude, that he has cheated them of the firſt; yet we can prove, if Occaſion were, that he has defrauded them of the latter; as has been often told him, ſince the firſt Day of his Standing in the Pillory.

It has been told already, how this impious Impoſtor lays Claim to a counterfeit Commiſſion, whereby he has infected the Truths of many honeſt, ignorant People, with an extraordinary Power, that was delivered to him by as infamous a Blaſphemer as himſelf, *John Reeve*; who, as he formerly rivalled *Muggleton* in Impiety, had he been yet living, ſhould certainly have clubbed with him in his deſerved Puniſhment.

It is about twenty-one Years, ſince this impudent Creature began his Impoſtures; who, knowing himſelf as defective of Reaſon, as of Religion, made it one of the grand Maxims of his Policy, That his Proſelytes ſhould be fully perſuaded, contrary to all Senſe, or Probability. Reaſon was that great Beaſt, ſpoken of in the *Revelation*, and, conſequently, not to be conſulted withal, as to the Examining of any fundamental Point in Religion; whereby he ſecured both himſelf, and his ſhallow Diſciples, from all thoſe frequent Diſputations and Arguings, which, otherwiſe, muſt neceſſarily have diverted them from adhering to his damnable, impious, and irrational Tenets; which I purpoſely omit, as being too unſufferably profane for the modeſt Ear of any ſober, well-meaning *Chriſtian*.

But we may judge a little of the Theorick by the Practick, I mean, of his Principles by his Practices, and of the Soundneſs of his Doctrine by thoſe Duties he held himſelf, and his Followers, obliged to, in the Performance of it; which, indeed, were none at all; it being his uſual Cuſtom, when they met on the Sabbath-day, to entertain them with a Pig of their own Sow; I mean, with Wine, ſtrong Drink, or Victuals; which either they ſent in before-hand, or brought along with them; allowing them to be as licentious, as they pleaſed, in all Things that might gratify, or indulge their Senſes.

A Friend of mine was, one *Sunday*, walking in the Fields; and, meeting there an old Acquaintance of his, who was lately turned *Muggletonian*, with a young Baggage in his Hand, which, he did more than ſuſpect, was light, he could not forbear Expreſſing his Admiration, to this *Muggletonian* himſelf, in theſe, or ſuch-like Terms: 'I cannot but wonder to ſee you, my 'old Neighbour, who have, for theſe many 'Years, buſied yourſelf in the Study of Reli-'gion, and was, not long ſince, like to have 'gone mad, becauſe you knew not which Opi-'nion to ſtick to. I ſay, I cannot but won-'der to ſee you Abroad, on the Sabbath-day, 'in this briſk Poſture; you are altered both in 'Countenance, Apparel, and Manners, ſo that 'I almoſt doubt, whom *I* ſpeak to. Ah, an-'ſwered the *Muggletonian*, you know, Friend, 'how I have heretofore troubled myſelf about 'Religion indeed; inſomuch that it had al-'moſt coſt me my Life, but all in vain, till 'about ſix Weeks ſince; at which Time I 'met with *Lodowick Muggleton*, who has put 'me into the eaſieſt Way to Heaven, that ever 'was invented; for he gives us Liberty, pro-'vided we do but believe in his Commiſſion, 'freely to launch into all thoſe Pleaſures, 'which others, leſs knowing, call Vices; and, 'after all, will aſſure us of eternal Salvation." Behold, Reader, what a ſweet Religion here is like to be.

But, as *Muggleton* was liberal in the Freedom he gave his Adherents, ſo he was always careful to avoid the Prohibitions of the Law; he generally appointed his Bubbles to meet in the Fields, where he alſo permitted them to humour their Senſualities with any Recreation, not excepting Uncleanneſs itſelf; for which Profaning the Sabbath he was, in *Oliver Cromwell*'s Time, committed to *Newgate*, where he had like to have been ſo dealt withal then, that *Tyburn* had ſaved the Pillory this Trouble now: But that perfidious Uſurper, conſcious to himſelf, that *Muggleton* could not be a greater Impoſtor in the Church, than he was in the State, upon the Conſideration of *Fratres in malis*, reſtored him to his Liberty.

Howbeit, a little before *Oliver*'s Death, *Muggleton*, by continual Flatteries, had got into his Books, and, amongſt other Prophecies con-

cerning

cerning him, had declared, that *Oliver* ſhould perform more wonderful Actions, than any he had yet atchieved, before he died. But, he happening to depart this Life, before he had done any Thing elſe that was remarkable, *Muggleton* was demanded, Why his Prophecy proved not true? He anſwered very wiſely, and like himſelf, *viz. That he was ſure* Oliver *would have performed them, had he lived long enough.*

But, ſince his Gracious Majeſty's Return, he has driven on a much more profitable theological Cheat, having aſſumed the Liberty not only of infuſing what Doctrine he pleaſed into the Minds of his ignorant deluded Followers, but writ ſeveral profane Books, which, to his great Advantage, he diſperſed among them; poiſoning their Minds thereby with a Hodge-podge of rotten Tenets, whereby they are become uncapable of reliſhing the more ſound, wholeſome, and undoubted Principles of the Church of *England.*

I ſhall conclude with one Story more concerning *Muggleton*, and ſo leave him to the Cenſure of the ingenuous Reader. A timiſh Gentleman, accoutered with Sword and Peruke, hearing the Noiſe this Man cauſed in the Town, had a great Deſire to diſcourſe with him, whom he found alone in his Study; and, taking Advantage of that Occaſion, he urged *Muggleton* ſo far, that, knowing not what to ſay, he falls to a ſolemn Curſing of the Gentleman; who was ſo inraged thereat, that he drew his Sword, and ſwore he would run him through immediately, unleſs he recanted the Sentence of Damnation, which he had preſumptuouſly caſt upon him. *Muggleton*, perceiving, by the Gentleman's Looks, that he really intended what he threatened, did not only recant his Curſe, but pitifully intreated him whom he had curſed before; by which we may underſtand the Invalidity both of him, and his Commiſſion.

Thus, whoever conſiders the Contents of *Muggleton*'s whole Life, will find it, *in toto*, nothing but a continued Cheat of above twenty-one Years long; which, in the Cataſtrophe, he may behold worthily rewarded with the modeſt Puniſhment of a wooden Ruff, or Pillory; his grey Hairs gilded with Dirt and rotten Eggs; and, in fine, himſelf brought, by Reaſon of his own horrid and irreligious Actions, into the greateſt Scorn and Contempt imaginable, by all the Lovers of Piety, Diſcretion, or good Manners.

An Epitaph, or rather a ſhort Diſcourſe made vpon the Life and Death of Dr. *Bonner*, ſometime vnworthy Biſhop of *London*, whiche dyed the Fifth of *September* in the *Marſhalſie*. Imprinted at *London*, at the long Shop adjoyning vnto S. *Mildreds* Church in the *Pultrie*, by *John Allde*, *An. Dom.* 1569. *Sept.* 14. *Duodecimo*, containing fourteen Pages.

Quam cito de viuis extirpabuntur iniqui?
Fidentum Domino pars bona fortis erit:
Per breue tempus adhuc et non erit impius vltra,
Quæretur, nec erit quo fuit ante loco.

HOW ſoon are wicked Men cut of,
From ſuche as liue in Fame?
Yet is the Lord the Portion good,
Of thoſe that loue his Name.

A little While as yet therfore,
And there ſhall not remain
One wicked Man hencefoorth to be,
Of all the wicked Train.

The wicked Man ſhall then be ſought,
But he ſhall not finde Grace;
There to be found, where he before
Was knowne to haue a Place.

And therfore joy all *Engliſhe* Harts
That fear the Lord aright,
And haue the Loue of natiue Land,
Alwayes before your Sight.

Lift vp your Harts, rejoyce in him,
For Work of his owne Hand ;
For I of happy Tidings mean,
To let you vnderſtand.

Whiche cheerful wil be ſure to all,
Of faithful *Engliſhe* Blood ;
Whoſe Harts did neuer hate the Truthe,
Nor Goſpel yet withſtood.

A Man there was, a *quondam* great
Of Might, of Pomp, and Praiſe ;
Of *Engliſhe* Blood, though *Engliſhe* Loue
Were ſmall in all his Wayes.

As did appeer by *Roomiſhe* Acts,
Proceeding from his Hight ;
Whiche prooude him not an *Engliſhe* Man,
But ſure a *Romain* right.

For neuer faithful *Engliſhe* Hart
Was Foe to natiue Soil;
Yet hee in natiue Land did ſeek,
Chriſt's faithful Flock to ſpoil.

And alſo then he wrought much Wo,
To *England*'s chiefeſt Stayes ;
He ſpilt their Blood, and mockt God's Woord,
Whereby his gaue him Praiſe :

Seducing Men from ſacred Truthe,
To walke in *Roomiſh* Trade ;
Whereby this Land was ranſackt ſo,
So ſpoil'd and ſo bare made,

That many yet doo feel the Smart
Of that unhappy Time ;
Though God haue clenſed now theſe Parts,
From ſuche moſte vgly Crime.

Wherwith this Land infected was,
By *Balams* Brood throughout ;
Who fought a Miſcheef huge and great,
As then to bring about.

And more then ſo, t'encreaſe, by Blood,
The great and pining Lack
Of Paſtors pure, and Pillers ſtrong,
Whiche then were brought to Wrack.

Without Remorſe, his Mates and he
Ful ſore did them torment ;
By ſeeking of their Death and Loſſe,
Which lov'd Chriſtes Teſtament.

And more then ſo, of woorthy Wights,
Of whom bereft are wee ;
Whiche left their Welth, their Eaſe, and Life,
That Chriſte might gayned bee.

And yet not ſo, this * *Cyrus* left
Muche humain Blood to ſpil ;
And ſo ceace his devouring Rage,
And moſte blaſphemous Wil.

But more and more he ſought Outrage,
(As all his Mates were bent)
By Lies and Tales, and Popiſh Toyes,
Gods Goſpel to preuent.

As one in Place by *Sathan* ſent,
Gods Inſtrument of Ire ;
To daunt the Pride of *England* then,
(Which did it much require.)

And ſo no dout this † *Bonner* did,
He ſpared no Degree ;
Ne Wiſe, ne Graue, ne Riche, ne Poor,
Be pitied no Man hee.

Ne Lame, ne Blinde, ſuche was his Thirſt,
Ne Fooles, ne Wiſe in Name ;
Yea Nobles Blood, as Tyrant tride,
He ſought to bring to Flame.

When Paſtors Roum, and Biſhops Place,
Of *London* See he had ;
As Beautie then of all his Dayes,
(A Woolf in Lamb-ſkinne clad)

His Rage defilde the Seat with Crime,
That Nations far could ſay :
A drunken Man dooth take in Hand,
To guide the Ship her Way.

Not drunk with Wine, tho' Iudgement might
Declare he loou'd it more ;
Then Chriſtes Paſture Sheep, whereby
He ſhould have let great Store.

But bloody drunk, ſith he not one
Did ſpare of Chriſtes Sheep ;
Whiche did deſire their Conſcience pure,
By Goſpel, for to keep.

* *Cyrus* was Sonne of *Cambiſes*, and King of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who making War againſt the *Scithians*, *Tomiris* the Queen, hauing by Suttletie ſlain *Cyrus* with Two Hundred Thouſand *Perſians*, did cut of his Head, and caſt it into a Boll of Man's Blood, ſaying, *Satia te ſanguine quem ſitiſti*, &c. *Iuſtin.* li. i.

† He ſpared none, that he eyther durſt, or could, be bolde to put to Pain for Gods Truthe.

Yet

Yet he did watche, though as a Woolf,
Chriſtes Lambes for to deuoure ;
He watched not to feed their Soules,
Nor yet to preache one Houre.

For ſure, though he had Biſhops Rowm,
Paul ſaith, he was vnfit * ;
In ſuche a Place of Chriſtes Flock,
At any Time to ſit.

Whoſe Iudgment was ſo ſmall and weak,
In Chriſtes Teſtament ;
And Learning leſſe to teache the Flock,
With that ſo ſlowe Intent.

Should he obtain of Grace Deuine,
Now for to haue a Praiſe ?
Whoſe retchleſs Rage, and ſwiniſhe Life,
Shall liue in all Mens Dayes.

His Knoweledge was to baſe, no Dout,
To ſit in Biſhops Seat ;
Though he, perhaps, in Popes Decrees,
Through Travail might be great.

And Ciuile Law right prompt he knew,
Though all for private Gain ;
And Cannons too, for therin was
His only ſtudeous Pain.

And all but to upholde the Pride
Of *Rome*, which was to ill;
Or els to finde a Way how he
Gods Childrens Blood might ſpil.

But who can boſte in Gods Decrees,
Of *Bonners* Knowledge now,
In Scriptures Force his Anſwers ſhewd
Him learned as a Cow.

Or as an Aſſe, whiche Iudgement lacks,
In Sence of Holy Writ ;
Though he obtaind, a bitter Space,
In Biſhops Seat to ſit.

† *Sus* taught *Mineruam* there to long,
Whiche held uſurped Place ;
'Till Chriſte, by Force of Goſpel Truthe,
This ‡ *Bufo* did diſplace :

‖ And took the Aſſe from his Repaſt,
Of playing on the Harp ;
Whoſe horned Pawes, in Harmony,
Made neither flat nor ſharp.

But ſpilt the Sound ſo long a Time,
When Miſcheef reignd at Wil ;
'Til § *Pallas* came who took the Aſſe
Down from *Parnaſſus* Hil.

And tied him vp at Maunger yet,
Whiche once did there remain ;
Though there he felt not his Deſerts,
Nor halfe deſerued Pain.

To lodge on Boords, as he had made
Some other lodge before ;
With Hands and Feet, to ſtarue in Stocks,
With Giues to be ful ſore.

No, no, in Stall, his Torments were
None ſuche, nor half ſo vile ;
He Pris'ner hath been ſure, but yet
Not taſted, all this While,

Of Pris'ners Thrall, of Hungers bit,
In Dungeon deep to grone ;
Yet he of Captiues Life, ful oft,
To many made his Mone.

Not ſure for Pain, whiche he did feel,
But for the greateſt Greef:
That he could not be fed as yet,
(In Slaughter who was cheef)

With Blood of Saints, and Chriſtian Fleſhe,
Wherwith his Luſt was fed ;
That he could not exalt the Pope,
Stil heer as ſupreme Hed.

That he could not his Holy Lambes,
And Leaden Bulles beſtowe ;
His Pardons and his Obſequies,
Mens Souls to ouerthrowe.

* 1 *Tim.* iii.

† *Sus Mineruam*, the Sow teacheth *Minerua*. What a Sow is by Nature, needeth no Expreſſing. *Minerua* was Daughter of *Iupiter*, and called by the Poets *Goddeſs of Wiſdome* and all good Arts ; now this is Talking a Prouerb, where one unlearned teacheth him of Wiſdom he might better be taught.

‡ *Bufo* is a *Tod*, ſo applied to *Bonner*, becauſe of his venemous Minde.

‖ *Aſinus ad Liram*. This is a Prouerb of thoſe that haue neither Goodnes, nor Wils to ſubmit to Diſcipline.

§ *Pallas* the Neck name of *Minerua*, ſo named from a Mountain of *Theſſalia* or *Aonia*, with a twiſted Top, where the Muſes called *Parnaſſides*, or *Aonides*, did remain.

That

That Truthe had ouerthrowen with Power
His brutiſhe vile Intent ;
Whiche thought, by Fire and Fagots Force,
Gods Goſpel to preuent.

This wrought his onely Greef and Wo,
As wel it did appeer ;
For other Cauſe ſure there was none,
That euer I could hear.

He lay ful ſoft and had inough
Of Beer, and Chaunge of Wine;
Bothe Fleſhe and Fiſhe, bothe Fruits and Foul,
Moſte delicate and fine.

His Table neuer wanted Sutes,
At Wil it to maintain
He lacked neuer Cators he,
His Ayds took always Pain.

To keep their God, their Hope, their Truſt,
Their Staffe of *Roomiſhe* Stay ;
Becauſe with him they wiſht a Chaunge,
Stil looking for a Day.

And not with him, but with the reſt,
Of all their helliſhe Rable ;
Whiche are in their blinde Errors ſtil,
Moſte hard and wilful Stable.

Who Pris'ners are as Foes to Chriſte,
To Chriſtian Queen and Land ;
But cheef this *Quondam* which made boſte,
If he might haue in Hand

His former Poure and Time again,
To bleſſe and curſe at Wil ;
Where one he burnt, on Thouſands then
He would his Luſt fulfil.

This was his Boſte and blooddy Thirſt,
Wherin his Ayds did truſt ;
That once again the *Roomiſhe* Whore
Might haue her filthy Luſt.

Although ſince he, by due Deſert,
Hath been in Holde for Sin ;
Suche Mercy hath been ſhew'd him there,
As he ſhew'd none I win,

To ſuche as were his Betters far,
In Knoweledge, Birth, and Fame ;
Yea, and in Life Apoſtolique,
Of muche more godly Name.

For ſure his Manners were moſte vile,
At all Times plainly ſhew'd ;
Why ? wa'ſt not he that ſought the Tree
Of our Increaſe t'aue hew'd ?

Who ſhameleſly hath ſtood thus long,
At Royall Mercyes Grace ;
Although his Deeds and Woords ful oft,
Did craue another Place.

But what ſaid thoſe of *Balams* Sect,
There is no Law wherby
The Sword of Juſtice could him ſtrike,
Nor Cauſe why he ſhould die.

Although, when as the Dragon rulde,
Right woorthy Wights were ſlain :
But * one, when Cannon Law could not,
He was adiudged Pain.

Without the Cannons Councels he,
That † *Pool* might haue his Place :
By Popes Aſſent, and *Roomiſhe* Rout,
Whiche ror'd him to deface.

Yf Popes aſſent, when *Engliſhe* Lawes,
Nor Cannons could preuail :
Might giltles make ſo wiſe a Sage,
By fiery Flames to quail.

Why might not Princes lawful Poure
Haue made a iuſt Decree ?
That ſuche, deſeruing open Shame,
Might recompenſed be.

But onely that pure Mercy did
Keep back that Right did craue :
In recompenſing him with Death,
As all the reſt might haue.

Yet he tryumpht ãs whole and ſound,
His Purpoſe whole to make :
Right many yet (if Time would ſerue)
To bring vnto the Stake.

And once again, if Fortune ſtood,
He might haue vp the Maſſe :
(But ſee how now the Lord of Hoſtes
Hath made his Foe like Graſſe)

* *Tho. Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Cant.* whom, by their Cannons, they could not put to Death, til the Pope, arraying his Image at *Room*, condemned it, burnt it, and then was he burned at *Oxford*.

† Cardinal *Pool*, who could not be Archbiſhop by the Cannons, til the other were dead.

Who

Who bragd and boaſted in his Greace,
To waſhe the Tile anew:
And faind an End to his Deuiſe,
Whiche yet he neuer knew.

And ſo the reſt with cheerful Sound,
At eu'ry Newes that came,
Sang, as the Prouerb olde hath been,
Laudes ante victoriam.

Sith monſt'rous Corps, with Delicates,
So monſt'rouſly was blowen:
Whoſe monſt'rous Minde, with poys'ning
In Graue is ouerthrowen. (Woords,

But what, did he repent of all
His blooddy ſinful Race?
And learn by Gods Woord to amend,
His Life ſo voyd of Grace?

Nay ſure, til Time of preſent Death,
He chaunged not his Minde:
But, as he liu'd a Foe to Chriſte,
So dyed moſte wilful blinde.

Oh, yet though he had liu'd ſo il,
Gods Mercy is not bace:
To ſuche as think that Jheſus Chriſte
Can all their Sinnes deface.

But as this * *Ereſichthon* liu'd,
In Spite and Rage to ſpoil:
So, in his End, of mightie *Ioue*
He took a deadly Foil.

Not that he died, but that in Death
His Helth he did denie:
For ſure *non mori turpe eſt*,
Sed turpiter mori.

And yet though *Eriſichthons* End
Hapt not vnto this Foe:
To eat his Fleſhe, ſith *Bonners* Mates
In Stie did fat him ſo.

Yet viler End had he, no Dout,
Then *Ereſichthons* was:
Becauſe their Times were far vnlike,
As it did come to paſſe.

The one a Chriſtian was in Name,
The other Pagan prowd:
Yet in there Acts of Maners like,
As may bee wel avou'd.

He *Ceres* ſought, this *Iheſus Chriſte*,
And his to bring to Wrack:
He did ſtarue, this with Greaſe died,
Though Grace from him went back.

Whereby all ſuch as blinded were,
By fau'ring of his Acts,
May ſee what Iudgement is preparde,
To recompence their Facts.

And therefore houle all *Balams* Seed,
And weep both moſte and leaſt:
Which bear the Mark (in ſuch a Light)
Of that ilfau'red Beaſt.

But *Engliſhe* Harts, which love Gods Word,
Our Queen and *Engliſhe* Land:
Reioyce, ſith Hope of Foes is ſpoild,
By Force of Gods right Hand.

Sith filthy Fleſh doth lie in Graue,
Though Soule I fear be il:
Which liu'd and dide ſo ſtout a Foe
To Chriſtes Death and Wil.

But what though blooddy Corps of his
Be forſte to live ful lowe:
His blooddy Facts and Deeds moſte vile,
From hence, ſhall no Man knowe?

Shall Treaſon ſo conſpir'd, ſhall Pride,
Shall Blaſphemy lie dead?
No Fame from Earth, to vpper Skies,
His Wickednes ſhall ſpread?

His brutiſhe tigriſhe Toil, in Time
Of his moſt high Renown:
T'extoll the Power and Pomp of him,
That weres the triple Crown.

His Rage and curriſh cruel Spite,
Againſt his Cuntriemen:
His butcherly Deuice to waſte
The Fleſhe of Chriſtians then.

* *Eriſichthon* was King of *Theſſalia*, who deſpiſed *Ceres*, and cut down her Woods; at laſt, being ſtroken with a meruailous Hunger, was compeld to eat his own Fleſhe.

His

His falſe Surmiſe and murdring Spite,
Whiche ſhew'd him then to be
A * *Poliphemus* right, whiche ſlue,
In three Yeeres, Hundreds three.

Not of *Vliſſes* Souldiours ſure,
But Chriſtians truly tride,
Whiche were deuoured, while he had
The Ruther for to guide.

Shall now † *Philonides* lie dead,
Shall ſerpentiniſhe Rage
So ſleep? Nay ſure his Wickednes
Shall liue the Worldes Age.

His Stoutnes ſhall remain now ſhewd,
In Time of his Conflict:
Who as a Subject did deny,
To haue his Hart adict.

And as a Foe to Chriſte (his Woord)
And to our gracious Queen:
Wiſht with his Mates moſte trat'rouſly
Some others Raign I ween.

Beſide his Epicuriſhe Life,
Before and in this Cace:
Though Corps be dead, yet Death cannot
Theſe Horrours quite deface.

He ſuffred was, ful ten Yeers Space,
By Fauour him to win:
(As Goſpels Nature is) yet he
Could never once begin

For to repent (though Fauour he
Deſerued had but ſmall
At thoſe, which now in his Diſtreſſe,
Did ſhew him moſte of all.)

But ſcoft and mocked thoſe, as yet
Whiche gladly would him teache:
But, cheefly in his Death, ſuch Men
As Goſpel ſoundly preache.

And therfore ſith, in Life of his,
No Vertue was to praiſe:
In Welth, ne Wo, no Spark of Grace,
Whiche liu'd and ſpent his Days,

So like a *Cyclops* in his Den,
Deſeruing no good Fame:
Sith God hath cut of ſuche a ‡ Drone,
Can we but praiſe his Name?

And eke beſeeche th' almigtie *Ioue*,
The Number to fulfil:
In cutting of the reſt with Speed,
That bear the Beaſt good Wil.

Who ſure may ſhame at his vile Race,
But more at his vile End:
And ſore lament his fearful State,
Whiche now did not amend.

Though all his Life he had been bent,
Yet now to ſtand ſo ſtout:
Denying Chriſte, at his laſt Breath,
Is fearful, out of Dout.

This may ſuffize, as God hath lent
Me Grace to rule my Pen:
In blaſing foorth the Deeds and Fame,
(Before all Chriſtian Men)

Of *Romaines* greaſy God, whoſe Life
And Death (ſo woorthy Shame)
I haue diſplay'd, and therfore now,
Such ſhal be muche to blame,

Which carp at Truthe, and ſtomack this
That eury Man can tel
Throughout this Land, and others to,
Ere this whiche knew it wel.

God ſaue our Queen *Elizabeth*,
And bring her Foes to Il:
And root out thoſe with Speed from vs
Whiche bear the Pope good Wil. *Amen.*

T. Knell. Iu.

* *Poliphemus*, or *Cyclops*, was Son of *Neptune* and *Thooſa*, a great Monſter, hauing but one Eye, which was in his Forehed: He was of the Ile of *Scicilia*, into whiche *Vliſſes* being caſt by Rage of Tempeſt, and happning on the Caue of this *Cyclops*, loſt four of his Men, who would have deuoured the reſt, if *Vliſſes*, making him drunk, had not, with a Fire-brand, bored out his Eye.

† *Philonides* was a great big Lubber of *Miletæ* (now called *Malta*) altogether ſo foliſhe and unlerned, that of him grew a Prouerb, *Indoctior Philonide*. Some wil ſay, *Bonner* was wel lerned. I graunt, yet, in Knowledge of holy Scripture, like to *Philonides*, notwithſtanding his Ciuile Law.

‡ A Drone breedeth among Bees, muche like a Bee; and alwayes liues in the Hiue, neuer coming out to gather Hony, but ſtil deuoureth that whiche the Bee dooth gather, and, at laſt, the Bee and all.

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The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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